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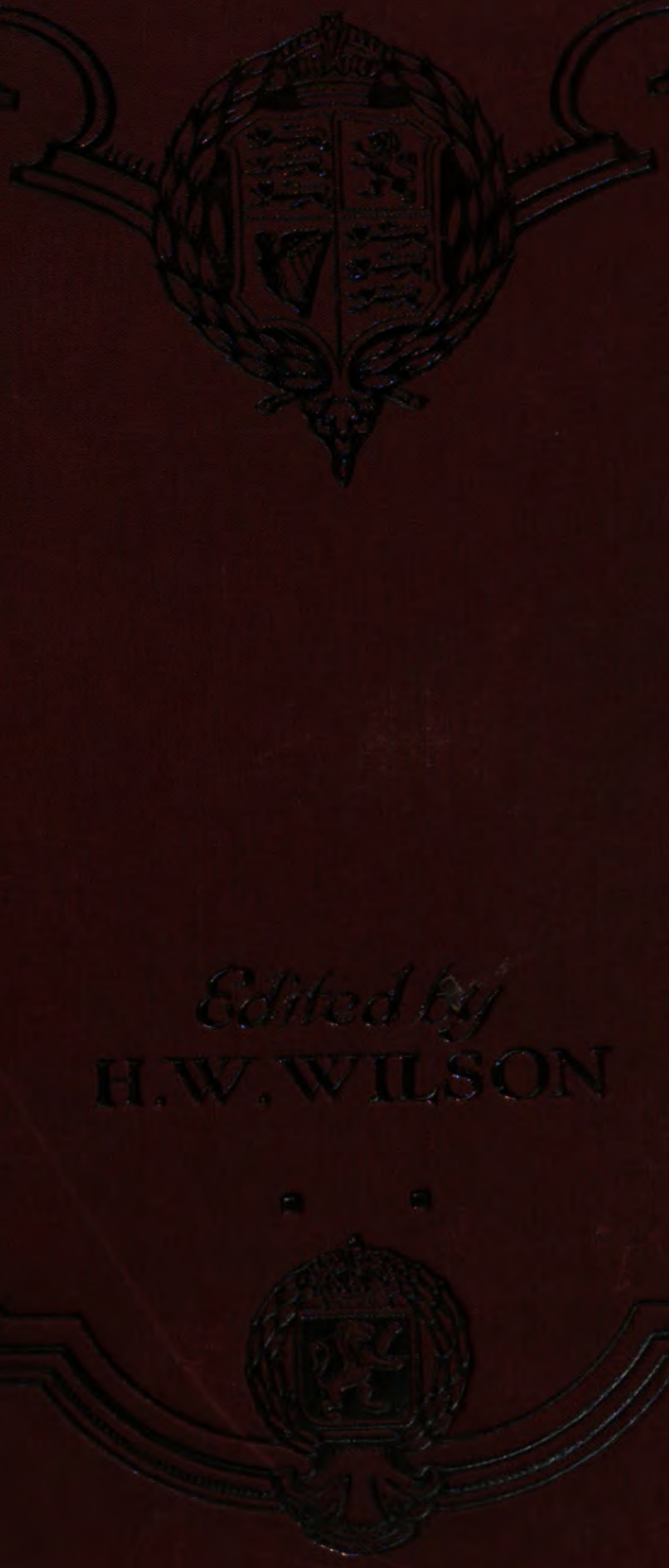
The GREAT WAR

THE STANDARD HISTORY
OF THE
ALL-EUROPE CONFLICT



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THE GREAT WAR

VOLUME 9

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Frontispiece Vol. IX "THE GREAT WAR".

Specially painted by CHAS SHELDON.

The Music of Triumph: Victorious Australians Entering Bapaume, March 17th 1917.

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THE GREAT WAR

THE STANDARD HISTORY OF THE ALL-EUROPE CONFLICT

EDITED BY

H. W. WILSON

Author of "With the Flag to Pretoria" "Japan's Fight for Freedom" etc.

and

J. A. HAMMERTON

Editor "Harmsworth History of the World"

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THE GREAT WAR

THE STANDARD HISTORY OF THE ALL-EUROPE CONFLICT

VOLUME 9

CHAPTER CLXXI.

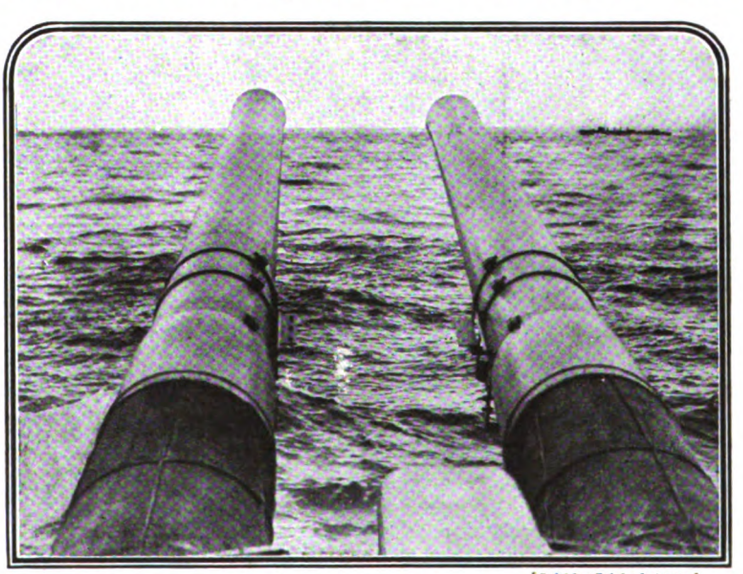
THE STRUGGLE OF LAND-POWER AGAINST SEA-POWER.

By H. W. Wilson.

Importance of Decisive Victory at Sea—Changed Conditions—Peril of Zeebrugge—Airships and Mine-fields—Meaning of the Submarine War—The New German Submarines—Consequences of Submarine War—Rail Power—The Blockade Does Not Starve Germany—Her Financial Strength—Zeebrugge Skirmishes—High Sea Fleet Out—Its Escape—Germans Preparing for Submarine Campaign—Voyage of the Deutschland—Neutrals and Submarines—U53 Blockades New York—Fierce Attacks on Neutrals—British "Wait and See"—The Channel Raid—Admiralty Reorganised—Submarines at Madeira—German Raider at Sea—Arming of Merchantmen—Measures Taken against Submarines—Admiral Jellicoe's Appeal—Destroyer Fight in the North Sea—German Threat to Hospital Ships—Eve of the New German Blockade—Its Announcement—Germans Believe Victory Certain—Insolent Contempt for the United States—Terror of Smaller Neutrals—President Wilson Breaks Off Relations with Germany—"The Supreme and Terrible Climax of the War"—Number of German Submarines—First Results—The Laconia Sunk—The U.S. Orders to its Merchantmen.

THE great naval Battle of Jutland had been fought, and its result could be summed up by reversing Nelson's phrase; it was not annihilation, but victory. The German Fleet had not been destroyed; it was battered, shaken, severely handled in those brief minutes of firing in the mist, before it vanished altogether. Beaten it was, and forced to retire. It was able to escape, as has been shown already, because of the British want of aircraft, because of the mist, and because the British destroyer flotillas were not sufficiently numerous to encircle it and definitely ascertain the direction of its retreat. But it had survived a day of immense peril; and in ships actually sunk it had inflicted as heavy loss as it sustained itself. How catastrophic to Germany, how precious to the Allies would have been such a victory as that of Trafalgar or the Nile or Tsushima, gained by close action and the determination to force decisive results, can be best understood from the chapter of history which followed, and from studying the probable consequences of a decisive German defeat.

If the German Fleet had been destroyed—if, that is to say, the enemy's battle-cruisers and Dreadnoughts had been taken or sent to the bottom—then the route into the Baltic could have been cleared, and communications opened up with Russia, who could have been aided in equipping her new armies and repairing her worn-out railways. The British flotillas could have pressed close up to the German coast, and by watching the stretch of water between Schleswig and Emden—the Bight of Heligoland—they could have made the blockade far stricter and greatly hampered the passage in and out of the German submarines. The whole aspect of the war at sea would have changed; the war on land would have been profoundly modified to Germany's disadvantage. Such difficulties would have been placed in the way of the German



[British official photograph.

BRITISH NAVAL 15 IN. GUNS.

Tested at the Dardanelles in the Queen Elizabeth, the first super-Dreadnought to be armed with these monster pieces of ordnance, the 15 in. gun has been declared to be "the best gun we ever had," accurate at all ranges and "exceptionally long lived."

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[British official photograph.

DIVERS AT WORK ON A DAMAGED VESSEL AT SALONIKA.

At work with a floating workshop in Salonika Harbour. The large vessel had been extensively damaged as the result of a collision. Despite, however, the great gash in her side, she was successfully kept afloat. The divers seen in the photograph were engaged in surveying the nature of the underwater damage.

submarine campaign that little could have been hoped of it. For ten years before the war, however, a doctrine had been allowed to gain ground in the British Navy that fleets existed for other purposes than destroying the enemy's organised forces in battle. They were to protect the country against invasion, to blockade, to safeguard commerce, to cover the movements of transports. Ministers seemed to forget that the destruction of the enemy's fighting fleet was the quickest and surest method of attaining all these ends. It was now shown that so long as the enemy's fighting fleet remained virtually intact, the other objects could not be fully achieved. In the old days the war waged against commerce by destroying British merchantmen was deadliest when it was supported by a powerful fleet. It languished after Trafalgar. So with the submarine. It was most threatening with a great force of battleships behind it.

All things had changed at sea except the fundamental law—"Destroy the enemy's fleet, and everything else shall be added to you." The British Admiralty was faced with baffling conditions. The old close blockade of the weak fleet by the strong was no longer possible when the Germans had packed the waters round their coast with mine-fields, and when German submarines cruised by the dozen in the North Sea. The object of sea-power in the old days was to blockade, to cut the enemy off entirely from the sea, and either to prevent his warships from leaving harbour or to make certain that, if they did, they would be brought to battle and swiftly defeated. There were then no mines and no submarines. It was impossible for two fleets to occupy the same waters—one on and the other below the surface. The ship of the line had nothing to fear from any vessels smaller than herself. In the Great War the battleship could be sunk by the enemy's submarines and destroyers, provided these could get to close quarters.

The torpedo was a weapon which had transformed naval war by giving small vessels this capacity of dealing a death-blow to the armoured monsters. The mine, scattered by submarine mine-layers and by German surface craft — often under a neutral flag — was nearly as dangerous and was full of strategic menace. Lines of mines could be used to close large areas of water, and so almost to turn the sea into dry land, but with this proviso—that the fleet which sowed the mines had secret passages available through its mine-fields. It was suggested that the Germans might thus carry protected lanes or covered ways between rows of mines, and down them move transports across the North Sea for the invasion of Great Britain.

The Germans had an excellent base for torpedo warfare close to the Strait of Dover and the eastern entrance to the Channel in Zeebrugge, which had fallen into their hands in the disastrous weeks of 1914 when Belgium was overrun. It was of the most vital importance for the British to hold this place, but at that date there were not the men, guns and ammunition required. It supplied the enemy with a respectable harbour for small craft. Destroyers of the most powerful type were gradually brought down to it from the north, the British forces in the North Sea being unable to prevent their transit along the Dutch coast. Smaller vessels were built at Antwerp and forwarded to Zeebrugge by the excellent canal system. The place itself was fortified by the enemy with extraordinary care. A large number of 15 in. and 11 in. guns and howitzers were mounted in the dunes so as to be invisible from the sea. The whole coastline bristled with smaller guns, and the waters near the coast were sown with mines so as to render approach extremely difficult. No serious naval attack on it was attempted in 1916, because long experience in naval war indicated that for ships—unless these were specially designed and armed ships—to assail fortifications

Vital importance of Zeebrugge

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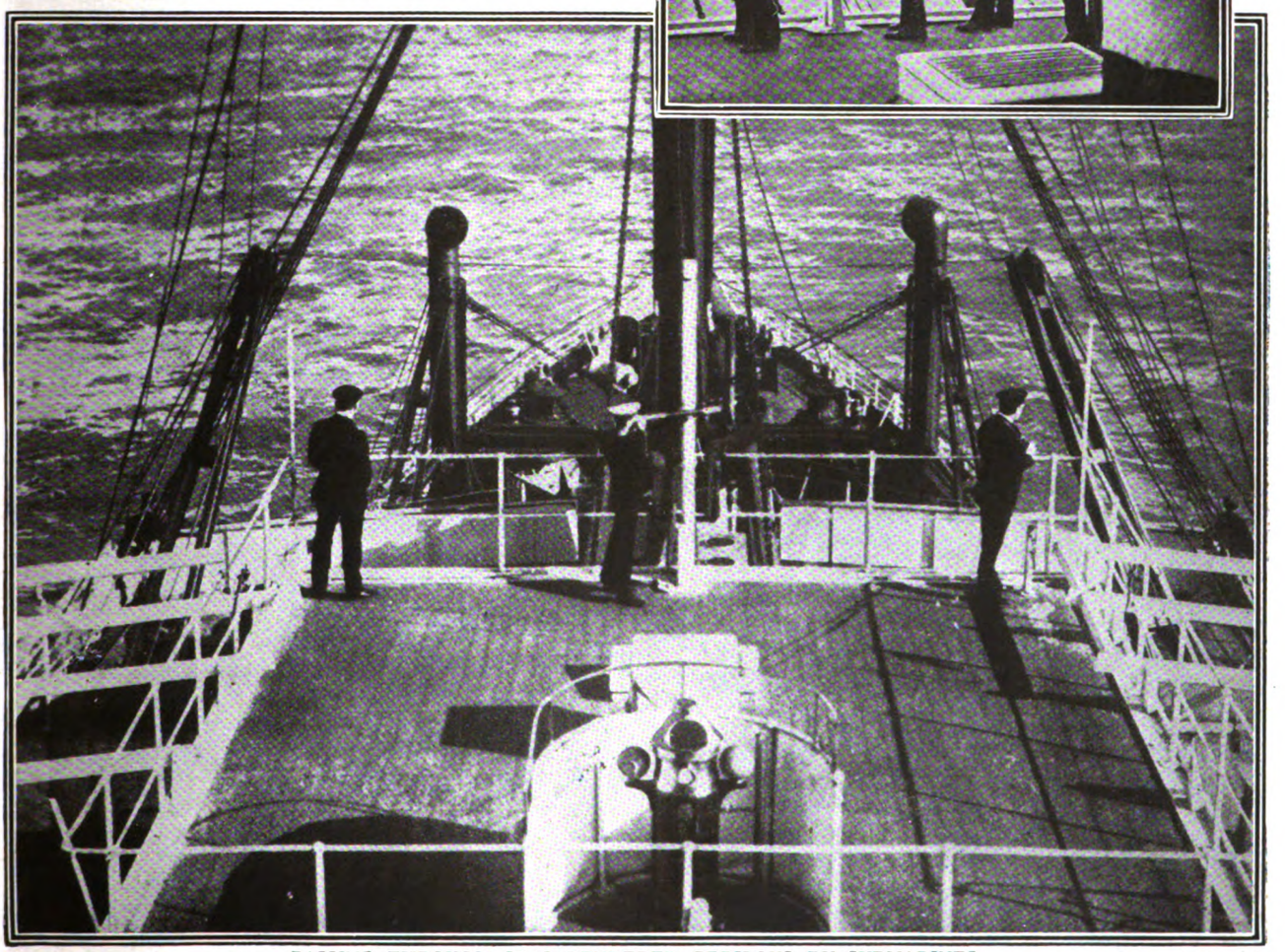
ashore was useless. Nelson never engaged the batteries at Toulon. The bombardments at the Dardanelles had proved that forts could resist the fire of Dreadnoughts, even when these were armed with 15 in. guns.

Zeebrugge was not only a nest of destroyers, submarines, and mine-layers; it was also a point from which Germany could deliver air attacks on the British coast. Aircraft operating from it could and did watch all Dutch shipping moving in and out of the Scheldt, and could also observe British shipping approaching the Thames. A circle with a radius of 100 miles from it—an hour's run in a modern fast seaplane—included Dover and Harwich, while Lowestoft and Yarmouth were only just outside. A circle with a radius of 150 miles included London. Because of this Zeebrugge hornets' nest, which the British strategists left intact, an elaborate system of British air patrols had to be maintained on the East Coast, and then was not always effective. Constant seaplane raids were made by the Germans on the East and South-East Coasts during 1915 and 1916, though with only the most trivial result. But the real object of these visits of German aircraft was probably rather reconnaissance than destruction—to ascertain exactly what was being done and what were the positions of the British troops and the anti-aircraft defences.

Disadvantages of the British Fleet

In North Sea war the British Fleet suffered from another signal disadvantage. It was without powerful rigid airships of the Zeppelin type. The small airships, of which it possessed a good number, were not capable of long-distance work at sea, and could not patrol far from the coast. The German Zeppelins could do so in any but the worst weather. If they cruised at a height of 4,000 feet—and on occasions they were seen at 10,000 feet—they could sweep with their telescopes a circle of which the radius was 67 miles, and in clear weather ascertain what the British Fleet was doing, and whether there was much shipping about. They could then direct their destroyers and submarines how to act. At every turn, owing to the fatal neglect of airships in the past before the war, and the astonishing failure to build them after the war had begun; British naval officers were like men who, with bandages over their eyes, fenced against opponents with perfect vision. The work of patrolling the North Sea could have been easily and cheaply carried out with airships. As it was, it had to be expensively performed by an enormous number of trawlers and small armed vessels which burned much coal, required many men, were good targets for the enemy's attacks, and were vulnerable to mine or torpedo.



PASSING THROUGH SEAS RENDERED PERILOUS BY SUBMARINES.

Orient Line steamer outward-bound for Australia with mails and passengers. Germany's "unrestricted submarine warfare," or the running amok of U boats among the world's shipping, did not scare the mercantile marine off the seas, as its blockaded perpetrators hoped, though it necessitated a constant watch being kept on board ship. Above: Officers on an Orient liner on the look-out for enemy submarines.

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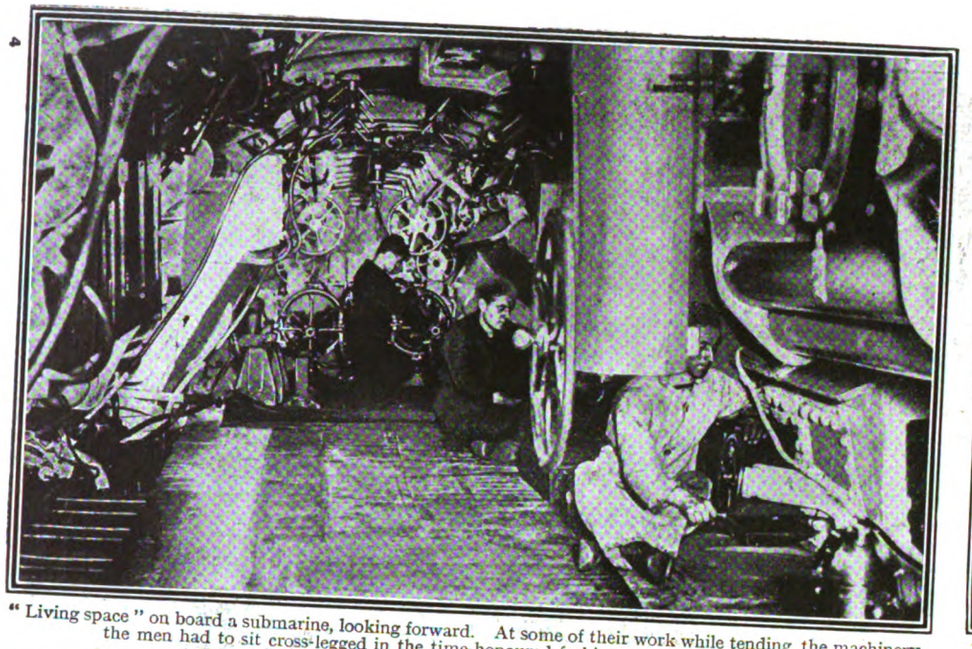
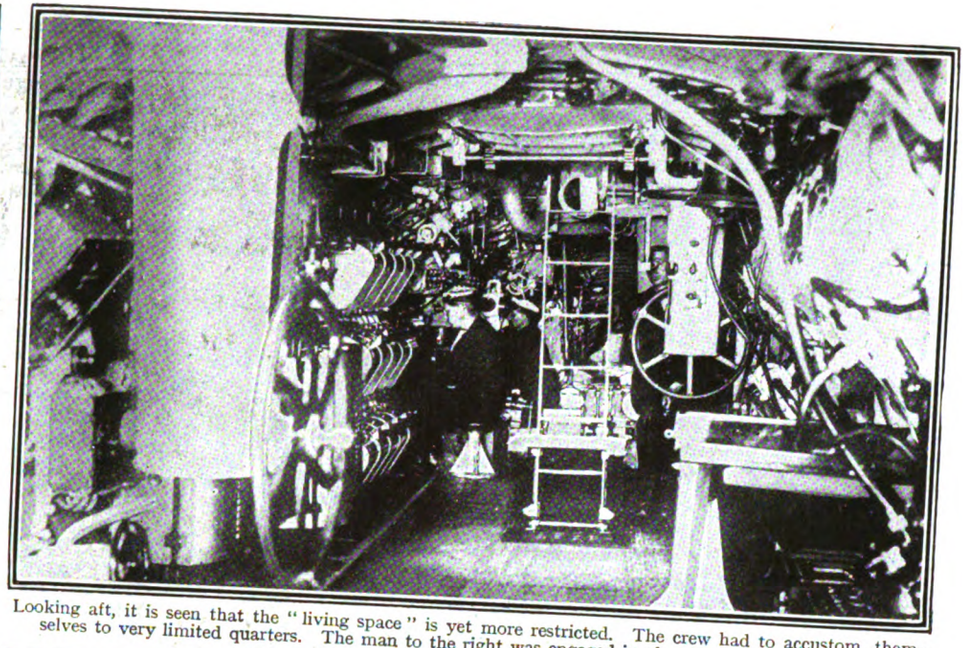
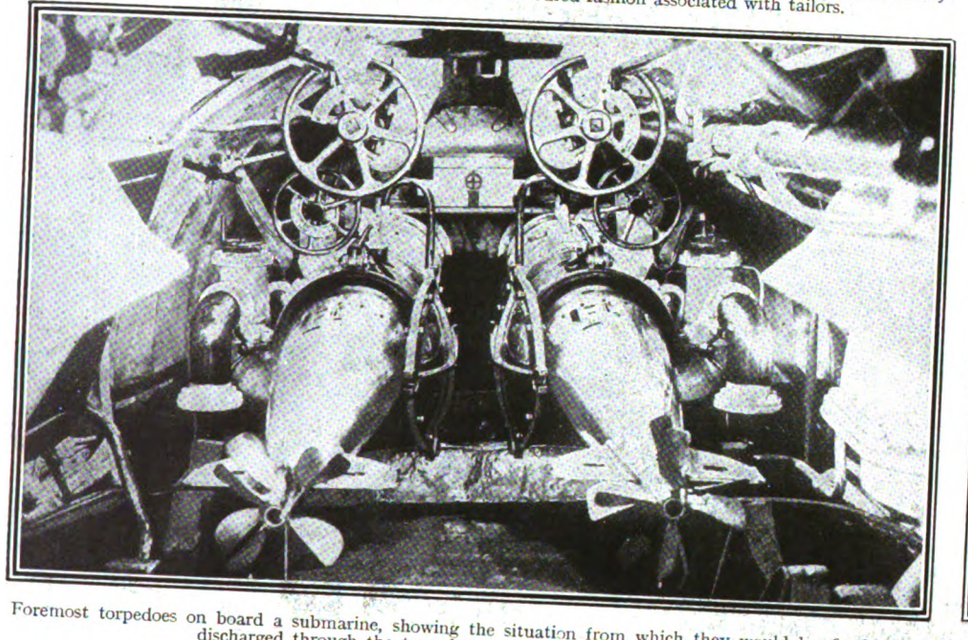


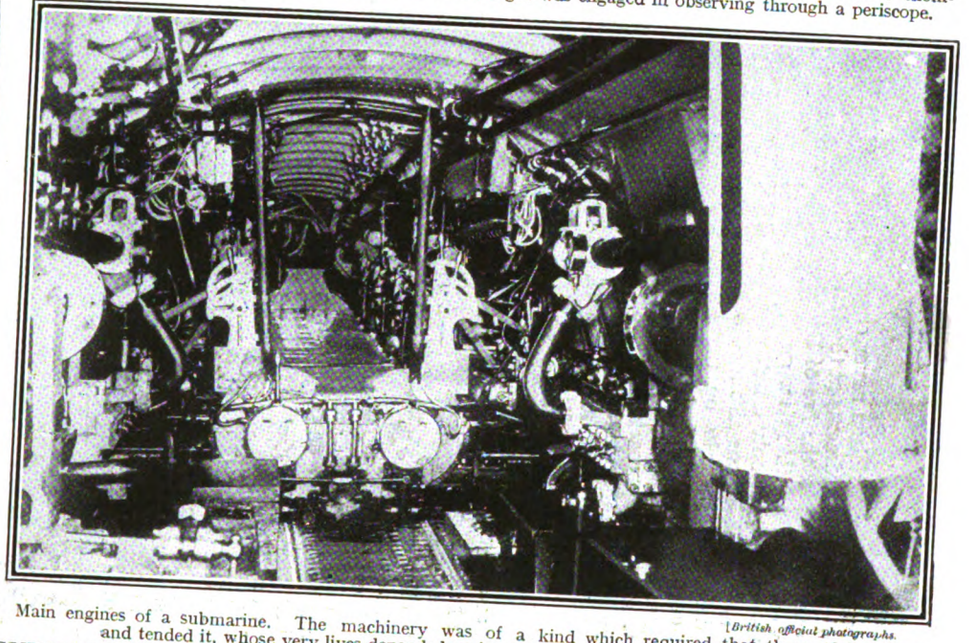
"Living space" on board a submarine, looking forward. At some of their work while tending the machinery the men had to sit cross-legged in the time-honoured fashion associated with tailors.



Looking aft, it is seen that the "living space" is yet more restricted. The crew had to accustom themselves to very limited quarters. The man to the right was engaged in observing through a periscope.



Foremost torpedoes on board a submarine, showing the situation from which they would be fired when discharged through the torpedo-tubes on their destructive journey.



Main engines of a submarine. The machinery was of a kind which required that those who worked and tended it, whose very lives depended on it, should have highly specialised training.

[British official photographs.

SEEMING MEDLEY OF MACHINERY BY WHICH THE SUBMARINES ACHIEVED THEIR WONDERFUL WORK.

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Early in the war a British mine-field had been laid at the northern entrance to the Channel and publicly notified, but though this should have hampered the movements of the enemy in Zeebrugge, it did not appear to trouble the Germans much, nor did it entirely prevent attacks on traffic in the Channel, as will appear later. Another British mine-field, laid early in the war, after Lord Fisher's accession to the Admiralty, closed the North Channel leading into the Irish Sea, between Scotland and Ireland, except for a narrow passage near the Irish coast.

Because of the imperfect British control of the North Sea and the British inability to blockade closely, or seal with mines, the German harbours and Zeebrugge, the Germans were able to employ the submarine with great effect. In their hands it became a pirate craft, possessing the terrible power of suddenly becoming invisible, like Mr. Wells' ghastly "Invisible Man." The German submarine officers behaved with the inhumanity of pirates. They murdered women and children with less compunction than a Captain Kidd or Captain Teach. They were ready to sink neutral ships without warning, so long as these neutral vessels did not belong to a formidable Power, and sometimes even then. Their chief aim was to destroy shipping. The German Staff argued that with each ton of shipping sunk the scarcity of ships was augmented, the price of freight rose, and the dearness of food increased. It did not greatly matter whether the ships sunk were neutral or British, provided that the neutrals were too weak or too timid to cause Germany alarm.

The struggle, as has been well said, was one between force and invisibility. The invisible German pirates stole out of the German harbours and Zeebrugge, and voyaged under water through the zone where the British cruisers and patrols were most active. Even there they often contrived to sink ships. All through 1916 the Germans were building submarines of much larger type and much greater sea-keeping capacity than the earlier boats with which they had carried out their blockade in 1915. Then they had perhaps fifty boats. Now they aspired to place hundreds at sea. The older boats were capable of 16 to 17 knots on the surface, and 10 knots under water. They had a radius of perhaps 3,000 miles. They could remain ten days or a fortnight on their cruising ground. The new boats could move at 18 to 21, or even 25 knots on the surface. They had a radius of 10,000 miles, and could remain at sea six weeks or two months, and much longer if they were supplied with torpedoes, oil, and food by submarine cargo carriers or neutrals.

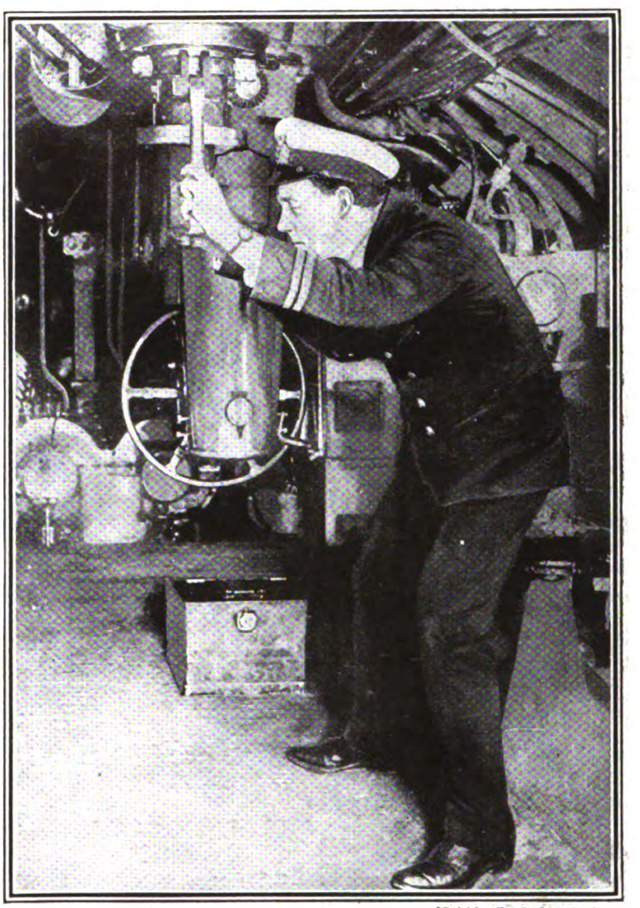
Force versus invisibility

According to certain Austrian newspapers, which cannot, however, be implicitly trusted, a radical change was made in the new German submarines. The older boats employed oil-engines on the surface and electric-motors under water. In the new boats, it was stated, oil-motors were used below water as well as on the surface. A boat dependent on electric-motors and accumulators below could only move very slowly beneath the surface, and must re-emerge at short intervals if she kept her motors going, to recharge the accumulators from the main oil-engines. The boat with oil-engines could move as fast below the surface as on it, and need only emerge at long intervals. It was alleged that the German scientists had discovered a method of dealing with the exhaust of their oil-engines, without discharging it from the boat, which would have left a trail of bubbles and instantly have revealed her presence below to the British patrols. Whether this report was as apocryphal as that which asserted that non-inflammable gas was employed in the German super-Zeppelins of 1916, remained to be proved.

In the armament of the new boats there was an equal advance. The older submarines were sharply specialised for torpedo work or mine-laying. The new submarines were fitted in many cases to lay mines as well as fire torpedoes, of which the larger vessels are said to have carried 20. The older submarines carried a 12-pounder gun with a small 1-pounder for anti-aircraft work. The new boats mounted 4·1 in. guns of the semi-automatic type, firing a 35 lb. shell with great rapidity to a range of 6,000 yards.

A few of the largest were said to have attained the proportions of veritable cruisers, and to carry 6 in. guns firing 100 lb. shells. They were vessels that could be used for bombardments, and that could not easily be beaten in an artillery fight by anything smaller than one of the latest and largest destroyers.

The older patrol boats and armed yachts employed by the Allies, and equipped only with one or two small guns, were not of much service against them. They were also much more difficult to sink. The conning-towers and upper works were armoured lightly, and the conning-tower was completely separated from the interior of the boat, so that it could be riddled without the loss of the boat. It was fitted with automatic valves, allowing the air to be drawn in while the boat was on the surface, but closing when she submerged. There were undoubtedly cases—as was disclosed by neutral witnesses who were taken against their will on board these craft—when the conning-towers were hit by the British guns without sinking the boat. The hull was double, and to the outer space in it the sea was admitted, so that to ram one of these submarines was not to sink her.



[British official photograph.

BRITAIN'S PART IN THE SUBMARINE WAR.

Scanning the surface through the periscope of a British submarine. Although German submarines chiefly held the world's attention owing to their nefarious activities, the British submarines did invaluable work.

The periscopes carried were two in number, of extraordinary clarity and power. One led down to the main compartment in the conning-tower where the boat was manœuvred; it was raised and lowered by electricity.

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MAP SHOWING THE PRINCIPAL BRITISH AND GERMAN MINE-FIELDS IN THE NORTH SEA.

In 1914 British mine-fields were laid to protect the northern entrance to the English Channel and the North Channel leading into the Irish Sea. In January, 1917, a new mine-field was notified in the North Sea, from Flamborough Head 320 miles north-eastwards to Denmark and south-eastwards to the Dutch Frisian Islands. This blocked the approach to the North Sea coast of Germany, except through neutral territorial waters.

A second periscope went down to the engine-room, and was worked by hand-power. There were two masts of steel, lying flush with the deck in pockets when folded down, and telescopic. They were raised and lowered by electric-motors, and were fitted with wireless. They could be so disguised with sails and spars as to give the boat the appearance of an innocent sailing ship at some distance.

These vessels could proceed to favourable points on the great routes and attack commerce with the utmost effect. It was as though not one Emden, but a hundred Emdens, each able to vanish at will, had been turned loose. Their power of submerging enabled them to escape from warships sent on patrol duty or in search of them, and even to attack them if any carelessness was shown by the surface craft. They could commit any outrage with impunity. One submarine is exactly like another submarine. If the German boats carried numbers on a thin steel plate, this plate could be removed or hidden, and nearly always was removed. There was no check whatever upon their conduct, such as exists in ordinary surface vessels of war. If only for that reason, they were a deadly menace to neutrals as well as to the Allies. Nothing whatever like them existed in the warfare of the past. Then commerce was attacked by vessels moving on the surface, which with more or less difficulty could always be hunted down. The first result of the submarine war was that the sea Power controlling the surface lost many of the advantages of its position. The ocean routes behind its blockading fleets were no longer

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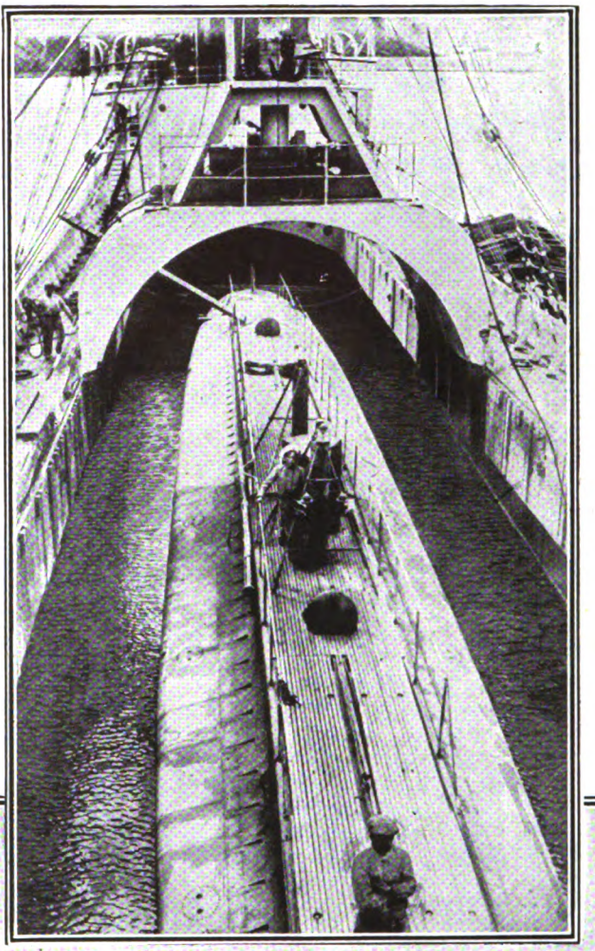
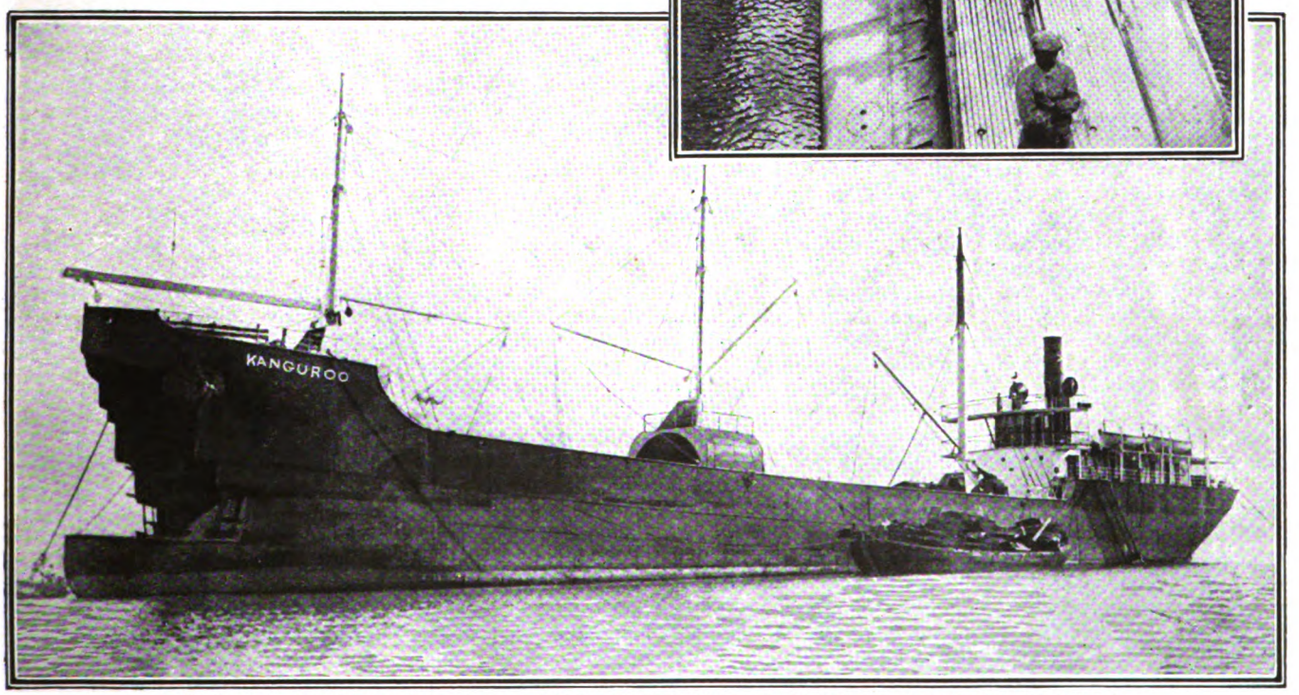
safe. Its communications were liable to constant interruption. On the other hand, land-power had gained prodigiously, owing to the general introduction of railways, since the Napoleonic Wars. Germany, with her central position stretching across Europe and Western Asia, enjoyed perfectly secure communications. No raider could attack her trunk railways except through the air, and here Germany in 1917 was able to hold her own, or something more. The great artery which ran from Zeebrugge and Hamburg by Berlin and Vienna, through Sofia and Constantinople towards Bagdad and the Egyptian frontier, gave her safe lines of attack and operations against Great Britain in three different directions—at Salonika, in Mesopotamia, and in Egypt.

More than this, in the old days the sea Power could threaten the land Power with attack on every part of the land Power's coastline, while itself enjoying safety from menace. In the Great War, however, the gigantic scale of operations and the prodigious force needed to produce any effect, rendered the rapid movement of armies by sea out of the question. The Dardanelles Expedition was an example of the immense difficulties incurred and the perils that waited upon failure. The land Power, however, with its railways could transfer enormous forces with extraordinary speed. In a week a German army corps was transferred from Verdun to the Russian front, which meant that some 40,000 men with 160 guns were moved 1,000 miles. In two days 160,000 men were moved 200 miles from one part of the east front to another. British troops sent by sea from London to Salonika had to cover 3,510 miles of water, and the transports conveying them had to be escorted every mile of the distance. German troops en route from Zeebrugge or the western front to Salonika had a distance of only 1,730 miles to cover, and could make the journey in complete security. With railway communications a commander was always certain of receiving what supplies and munitions he needed, while the commander who depended on transport by sea might discover that some particular munitions of which he stood in great need had been loaded in a ship that had been torpedoed and sunk. Transport by sea was also much slower than movement by railway. Troop trains could usually be trusted to do 20 miles an hour, and on well-constructed and organised lines 30 miles. Ships could not average more than 10 or 15 land miles an hour. In the Napoleonic Wars it was calculated that armies could be moved nearly twice as fast by sea as by land; that on land the average marching distance was 12 miles a day. In the Great War it was possible to move troops 500 miles in a day. Here again the tables had been turned upon sea-power. The sea was betraying those who trusted in it.

Land and sea mobility contrasted





FRENCH SUBMARINE-CARRIER KANGUROO TORPEDOED IN FUNCHAL HARBOUR, MADEIRA.

On December 3rd, 1916, a large German submarine appeared at Funchal, in the island of Madeira, and torpedoed the French gunboat Surprise and submarine-carrier Kanguroo, and the British cable-ship Dacia, which were lying in the harbour, and afterwards bombarded the town. The fore part of the Kanguroo was detachable, giving access to a sort of dock into which the submarine entered. Above: Submarine in position in the mother-ship.

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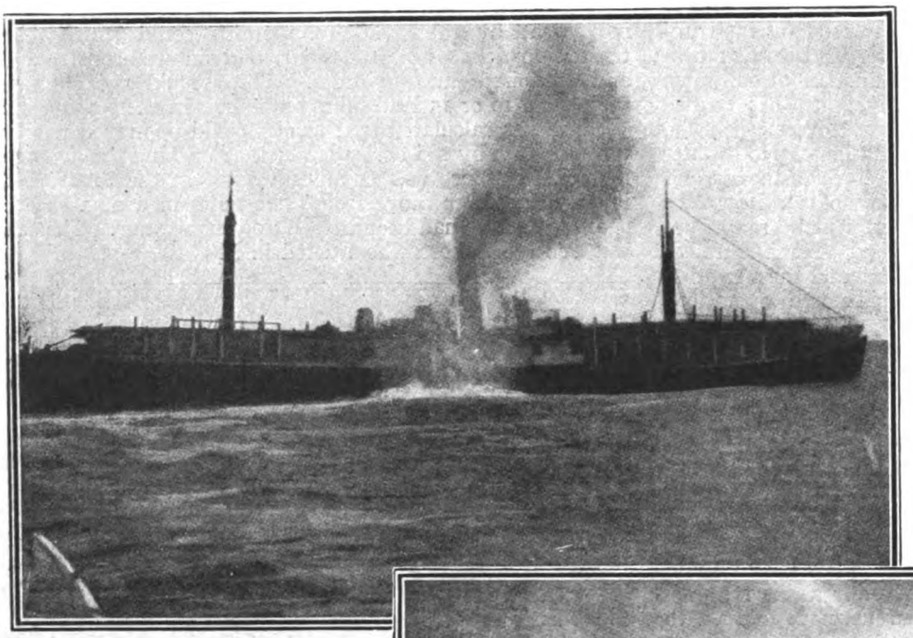
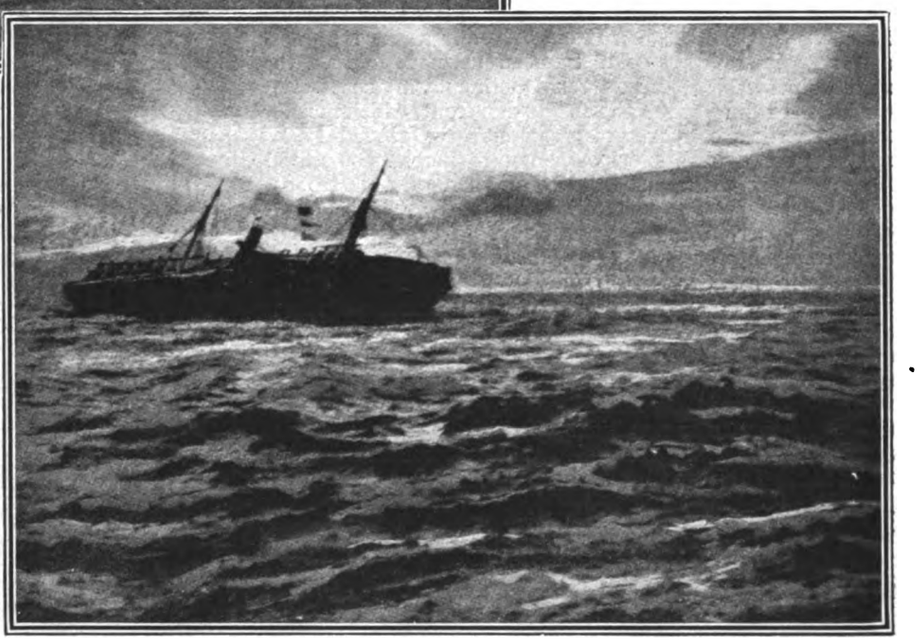


HIT FULL AMIDSHIPS.

Alleged to be carrying contraband, this vessel, nationality not specified, was sunk by gun fire from a German submarine.



THE END OF HER DAY: GOING DOWN WITH THE SUN.

Torpedoed vessel sinking off the North Cape. Impressed by the beauty of the spectacle, an exponent of "Kultur" aboard the submarine produced his camera and secured this photograph of his victim's end, subsequently publishing it in a German newspaper, from which it is reproduced here.

The distance to be covered by the German railways from Zeebrugge (which is chosen as the extreme point in the west occupied by the German armies) to the railhead on the Egyptian frontier was little over 3,000 miles, while the distance by sea from London to Port Said was 3,730 land (not nautical) miles. The most southward point attained by the vast German railway network, in early 1917, was Medina, in Arabia, 3,750 miles from Zeebrugge, but an extension was under construction to Mecca prior to the revolt of the Arabs. The equipment of the Hedjaz Railway, as this line into Arabia was called, was bad, but it was slowly improved, and with the enormous efforts made by Germany in 1916-17, material for it was available from the German works and factories. To a corresponding point in the Red Sea the distance by sea from London was 4,250 miles, so that the sea route was much longer and subject to all the dangers and uncertainties of submarine interruption. The last of the great tunnels in Asia Minor had been pierced in the autumn of 1916, and it was reported that the Bagdad line might be open for through traffic in the summer of 1917 as far as Nisibin, in the direction of Bagdad, or possibly to the neighbourhood of Bagdad itself, a distance of 3,290 miles from Zeebrugge, and greater than that from New York to San Francisco, measuring in a straight line. To reach Mesopotamia, British shipping had to cover a distance of 7,680 miles to Basra from London, or more than twice as far, passing through much more inclement regions. The Germans had thus everywhere distance on their side, and with distance, time.

The Berlin-Bagdad Line

It might have seemed obvious strategy to cut this great trunk system of railways which exercised such a profound and ever-growing influence on the war. The risk of attack from the sea, however, had been foreseen by the Germans, and provision had been made against it. The Bagdad line was everywhere carried at a safe distance from the sea, and where it approached closest, at the point where Asia Minor meets Syria, it was ten miles from the Mediterranean, and protected by formidable fortifications. It was a German rule to leave nothing to chance, as it was the British policy in time of peace to leave everything to it and to shut the eyes to all unpleasant possibilities.

In the Napoleonic Wars each country was, as a rule, able to produce the food which it needed, and the British blockade did not bring starvation into view. It cut off all or most trade by sea, and it deprived the peoples under Napoleon's rule of such luxuries as tobacco, sugar, coffee, and tea, to which they were then beginning to get accustomed. In the Great War, Germany, with her dependents and the conquered areas, controlled 1,400,000 square miles of continuous territory, populated by 170,000,000 of people, of whom nearly 30,000,000 were in the position of slaves, and were compelled to labour on State farms or in the German munition factories. The food raised in this enormous area was almost, but not quite, sufficient to feed the population; the Germans, as has already been shown, were generally hungry, though not actually starving; while the conquered population was often in the most miserable plight conceivable, and cruelly stinted of food. Had the British Navy blockaded vigorously and closely at the outset, Germany might have swiftly succumbed, but because the blockade was not pressed with energy, the German organisation was given the opportunity of laying up stupendous reserves, adapting itself to the new conditions, and making immense preparations. By the opening of 1917 Germany had organised herself perfectly, while

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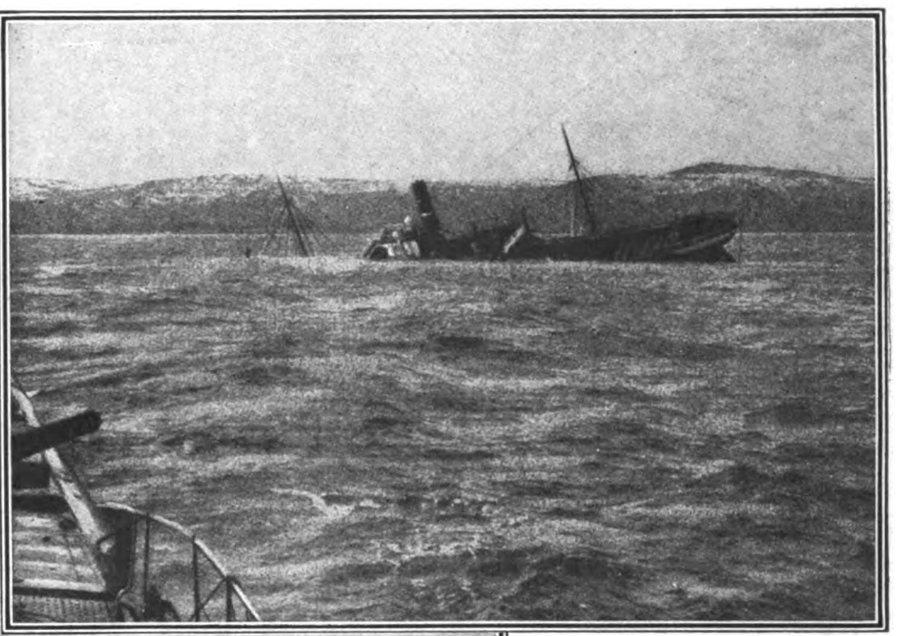
Great Britain had done little or nothing to increase food production. Thenceforward the real danger which Germany had to fear was the failure of cotton, leather, rubber, wool, vegetable oils, alcohol (for explosives), fats, and nitrates, rather than an insurmountable shortage of food.

In the matter of food production, as in other directions, the Germans had made far-seeing preparations, recognising that wars are won in advance by taking care and thought, and always intending to attack their neighbours. In spite of the rapid increase of urban population and manufactures in the twenty years before the war, they had enormously increased the annual production of corn and potatoes from 15,000,000 tons of corn to 27,000,000, and they had at the same time raised the number of live stock from 50,000,000 to 56,000,000. They grew at home in 1913 all the rye they required, 67·7 per cent. of the wheat consumed, 97 per cent. of the oats, and 98·6 per cent. of the potatoes. They exported sugar largely. They had a sufficient supply of potatoes not only to feed human beings and animals, but also to provide raw material for starch and spirit manufacture. While good land in improvident Great Britain was lying derelict, waste land in Germany was being eagerly reclaimed. A sturdy population was maintained, at the cost of great sacrifice, on the soil to form the backbone of the German armies; whereas in Great Britain, at every turn, the interests of agriculture were neglected. The immense agricultural strength of Germany was one of the factors which enabled her to withstand the pressure of the blockade.

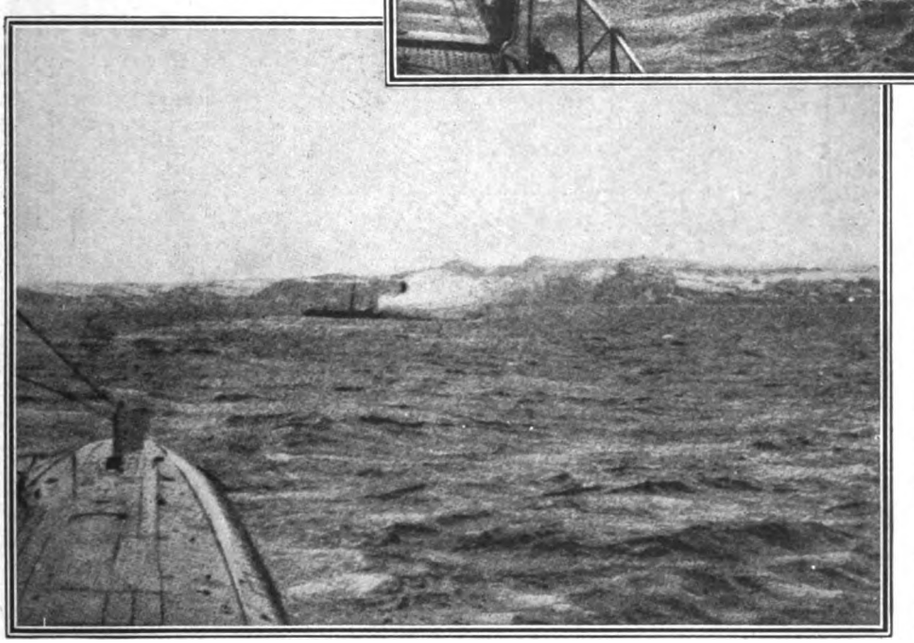
The blockade did not exhaust Germany's food supply with the rapidity that many expected. It also did not affect her finances so seriously as might have been anticipated. She had seized the richest mineral areas in Belgium and France, and had obtained in them assets of incalculable value which she utilised with an entire disregard for the rights of property. The rich Belgian and French coal and iron fields were exploited, so as to give the largest possible yield, with forced labour, and with no care for the future of the mines. The heart was picked out of them, and the coal and iron ore thus secured were worked up in French or Belgian or German factories and foundries, again with forced labour, into products of which neighbouring neutrals stood most sorely in need. Switzerland, Holland, and Sweden were supplied with a certain quantity of coal, iron, and steel, on condition that they paid for it in gold or food, and complied with Germany's diplomatic demands. Thus these products not only strengthened German finances and enabled Germany to carry on a very valuable trade, but they also served as counters in the diplomatic game. The Allies were bled while Germany drank up their blood. Without the iron ore of the Briey district of France, east of Verdun, the German output of munitions could not have been maintained. The ore fields there were of extraordinary richness, and their loss was an immense catastrophe for the Allies and a prodigious success for Germany.

German industrial organisation

In time of peace and several years before the war the German industrial organisation had been equipped on a scale equal to the supply of all Europe, especially in such machine-tools as the big lathes used for big-gun production. Warning had been given of this in 1908 to the British Government, which treated it with ridicule. Hence Germany had no need to transform herself, at incalculable expense, for the manufacture of munitions when she began the war. Everything was ready to hand, and she had not to make the machinery to make rifles and guns, or to



A LOST HARVEST.
This fishing steamer, sent to the bottom by German pirates, was said to have a cargo of herrings aboard worth about £50,000.



HER LAST—AND VAIN—APPEAL FOR HELP FROM SHORE.
Torpedoed within sight of shore, a sinking steamer shrilly blew her siren in appeal for succour for the crew, but in vain. Aboard the waiting submarine her callous destroyers remained listening to her swan-song until she went down, meanwhile taking this photograph during her last moments.

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The Great War

MAP TO ILLUSTRATE THE SUPERIOR TRANSPORT FACILITIES OF THE GERMANS AS COMPARED WITH THOSE OF THE ALLIES.

Germany, with her central position and network of railways, enjoyed prodigious advantages over Great Britain with her long lines of communication by sea. From Zeebrugge to Constantinople the railway distance is 1,862 miles; from London to the Dardanelles, by sea, it is 3,454, and the men and munitions conveyed by sea were threatened by submarines throughout the entire route. Submarines and railways had completely altered the relative position of sea and land Powers since the Napoleonic era, for troop trains could cover a given distance in a third to a half of the time taken by sea transport.

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import it oversea. With the system which she introduced, the discipline she maintained, the millions of slave-workers whom she commanded among the conquered allied populations, she could manufacture munitions cheaply. There were no strikes (despite legends to that effect circulated by German agents in Holland, probably to stimulate unrest in Great Britain). There were no "war-bonuses" for the women and the Belgian slaves, who were tortured and starved if they refused to work. There was no "ca' canny," or deliberately reducing the output, for selfish and unpatriotic reasons. The whole vast machinery of the Fatherland roared in continual full blast.

As the war progressed the Germans obtained additional and very valuable resources by the capture of iron and coal fields in Poland, of rich copper mines in Serbia, of the great oil-field in Rumania (though the wells had been temporarily put out of action), and of the magnificent wheatlands of the Danube plain. The cash value of their conquests cannot be stated at less than £1,000,000,000 and may very greatly have exceeded that sum. As they methodically stripped the territory which fell into their hands of raw materials, manufactured goods, machinery, and furniture, the total of such removable plunder cannot be placed at less than £500,000,000. The property seized in Northern France alone was estimated by Dr. Gustav Streseman, a member of the Reichstag, so early as January, 1915, at several hundred millions. The agricultural and industrial produce carried off from Belgium was estimated at £200,000,000 at the close of 1916. From Poland timber, pianos, furniture, and even the miserable rags of the people were taken, as was disclosed in the Hungarian Chamber in February, 1917. Railways were removed wholesale from occupied districts when the Germans did not need them, and transferred to totally different areas. If the German claim is correct, 10,000 miles of new line were laid during the war, largely on the Russian front, and some considerable part of the material for them was taken from the conquered territory.

Germany's colossal "booty"

It was estimated by the "Frankfurter Zeitung" in February, 1917, that the Allies were then spending and had continuously spent £2 for each £1 that the Germans spent. There were no large assets in the hands of the Allies to offset the colossal German "booty." The value of the German Colonies, which had all been conquered except East Africa, was not great, and the Allies showed extreme reluctance to seize German property in their territory, Thus Germany was given great advantages in a war of exhaustion. Each allied ship that she sunk, each allied life or dwelling that she destroyed in her attacks with submarine or aircraft, weakened the allied resources. Germany suffered no corresponding injury, as there was no German shipping at sea, and the allied Governments carefully abstained from bombardments for the sake of mere destruction.

For some weeks after the Battle of Jutland the German Fleet was undergoing repairs, but continual skirmishing proceeded between the British and German light craft in the North Sea. The German destroyers at Zeebrugge made frequent sorties, and eluded destruction at the hands of the British with extreme good fortune, or possibly through the scouting of the Zeppelins. On June 8th, 1916, a few shots were fired, and the British flotillas drove the Germans back into port.

On June 23rd the Germans came out again and seized the British passenger steamer Brussels, Captain Charles Fryatt. She was taken into Zeebrugge, as there was no British warship to protect her — the line of traffic to Holland was left open to interruption by the enemy all through 1916 — and Captain Fryatt was separated from those on board her, tried by court-martial on July 27th, and sentenced to death. He was shot by special instructions of the German Emperor, after a council at the German Headquarters had determined on his fate, on the charge that he had been guilty of acting as a "franc-tireur," or guerilla, because on March 28th, 1915, he had tried to ram a German submarine which was attacking him. The German naval prize regulations, issued on the eve of war, recognised the perfect legality of his conduct, for from time immemorial it had been the universally admitted right of a merchantman to be armed and to defend herself.

BRITISH NAVAL OFFICERS LOOK FOR THE ENEMY.
Officers on board a British cruiser scanning the horizon for a sight of the enemy. They were well-equipped with life-saving appliances against any eventuality from a suddenly appearing submarine or mine danger.

On July 11th a German submarine shelled the small defenceless town of Seaham, on the Durham coast, killing a woman and hitting a colliery and a house.

On July 23rd there was a double skirmish with German small craft from Zeebrugge. According to the British report, three German destroyers were encountered by British light craft off the North Hinder (a shallow in the North Sea north-west of Zeebrugge), and retired at once. The Germans professed that they had reconnoitred to the Thames mouth, and that on their return they had met a number of British light cruisers and destroyers, on which they made some hits. The second affair was off the Schouwen Bank, which lies almost due north of Zeebrugge in the North Sea. Six German destroyers were encountered there, and after being repeatedly hit by the British fire went off at great speed. According to Dutch reports, when the German destroyers returned two of them were seen to have a heavy list. No damage was done to the British vessels, and the enemy's escape appears to have been due to the very high speed of his newer destroyers. For some years before the war the Germans had built faster destroyers—as they built faster cruisers and battle-cruisers—than the British; and as the result of this far-seeing policy they were often able to get away when in dangerous positions.

Destroyer skirmishes in North Sea

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On August 13th the British destroyer Lassoo was torpedoed and sunk. A few days later the German Fleet put to sea in strength for the first time since the Battle of Jutland. The weather was dull, cold, and misty, and the Germans may have hoped to steal across the North Sea bombard some British town, and perhaps destroy some weak British detachment. A great array of German Dreadnoughts, twenty-one in number, was seen by Dutch fishermen moving west early in the morning of August 19th, preceded by three Zeppelins and a number of submarines which were obviously scouting for it The general direction of the course was towards Hull. At noon the German Fleet had reached the Dogger Bank. By that time one of its Dreadnoughts had been put out of action. The British submarine E23, Lieut.-Commander Turner, managed to get near the German battle squadrons, and fired a torpedo at the battleship Westfalen, which was seen to be hit. Re-emerging cautiously a little later, Lieut.-Commander Turner saw that the Westfalen had separated from the Fleet and was returning to a German base, escorted by five destroyers. With great daring he contrived to run in

GUNS SALVED FROM THE SEA TO DO SERVICE ON LAND.

Two naval guns that did useful work in the rounding up of the Germans in East Africa, the last of their Colonies. The guns had been salved from H.M.S. Pegasus, which had been sunk by the German ship Königsberg while in Zanzibar Harbour on September 20th, 1914.

once more within range and to fire another torpedo at her, which hit. None the less, she was able to regain harbour, according to the German reports. Possibly her elaborate system of sub-division saved her in the same way that the British Dreadnought Marlborough was saved in the Battle of Jutland.

The Germans, according to the Dutch trawlers' statements, had now concentrated between fifty and sixty ships in the centre of the North Sea. They were steaming very slowly east at noon, possibly waiting for the reports of their scouts and Zeppelins. Speedily there were signs that the British were approaching from two or three different directions. The Dutch saw a squadron of British light cruisers come up swiftly from the south; about that time the German Fleet increased speed and retired, steaming fast towards its ports. It was not out to fight, and that was the last seen of it. In his speech on January 11th, 1917, Sir John Jellicoe gave this account of the affair: "Our enemies have only on one occasion ventured sufficiently far with their main fleet to give us an opportunity to engage them." [He meant on May 31st, at the Battle of Jutland.] "No vessels, neutral or British, have sighted the High Sea Fleet far from its ports on any other occasion. It is true that on August 19th the enemy fleet came within measurable distance of the English coast, being sighted by some of our patrols, but turned back, presumably because the presence of our fleet was reported by their aircraft." This was a plain hint that if the British Fleet had been equipped with airships as fast and powerful as the German ones, Von Scheer's fleet might have been brought to action and the decisive battle fought. Thus another great opportunity was lost through the want of foresight which had neglected aircraft.

German Fleet in the North Sea

The Germans reported seeing five British light cruisers, with two destroyer flotillas and six great battle-cruisers behind them, steaming swiftly down from the north-west — presumably Admiral Beatty's "Cat Squadron," hurrying down full of fight and fire to draw the enemy once more into battle. At five p.m. a German submarine torpedoed one of the British light cruisers, apparently the Nottingham, hitting her twice. She did not sink at once, but was being escorted back by British destroyers when the submarine, according to the German report, slipped in again and discharged a third torpedo, which sank her. About the same time another German submarine torpedoed and sank the light cruiser Falmouth. Both these vessels were excellent, if somewhat slow, ships of about 5,500 tons, with crews of 380 men; the loss of life was fortunately small, only 39 being killed. The British Fleet claimed to have destroyed one German submarine and rammed another; the loss of neither was admitted by Berlin.

Two British cruisers lost

Two other sorties of minor importance were made by the German Fleet during the last three months of the year. On October 21st a British submarine got close up to a squadron of German light cruisers and fired a torpedo which hit the München. She was seen steaming off with difficulty, but there is no reason to think that she sank. On November 5th a number of large German ships were sighted by British submarines, one of which, under Commander Laurence, with great skill and boldness approached the German line sufficiently close to attack it. Two German Dreadnoughts were hit. One was of the Kaiser class, and was severely damaged in her stern, but was believed to have reached harbour. Of the injuries to the other there were no particulars, and the Germans professed that the second torpedo missed. Probably Commander Laurence found things too warm to permit of his making further observations.

Throughout this stage of the war the Baltic was a sealed lake so far as the British were concerned. Their submarines were no longer able to pass freely in and out. The Germans had placed an elaborate series of mine-fields at the entrance to the Sound, and had brought pressure to bear on Sweden to induce her, in defiance of an ancient treaty with Great Britain, to forbid the passage of all but Swedish vessels through her territorial waters, which could not be mined by Germany without an open breach of Swedish neutrality. Swedish warships were also instructed to destroy all submarines which were not commercial submarines. As Germany alone employed—or pretended to employ—commercial submarines, the effect of this regulation was that allied submarines were sunk without warning if they entered Swedish waters, even inadvertently, whereas German submarines were merely warned to withdraw. In another way Swedish regulations assisted Germany. They allowed German shipping to proceed through Swedish waters from Kalmar to Lulea, the route

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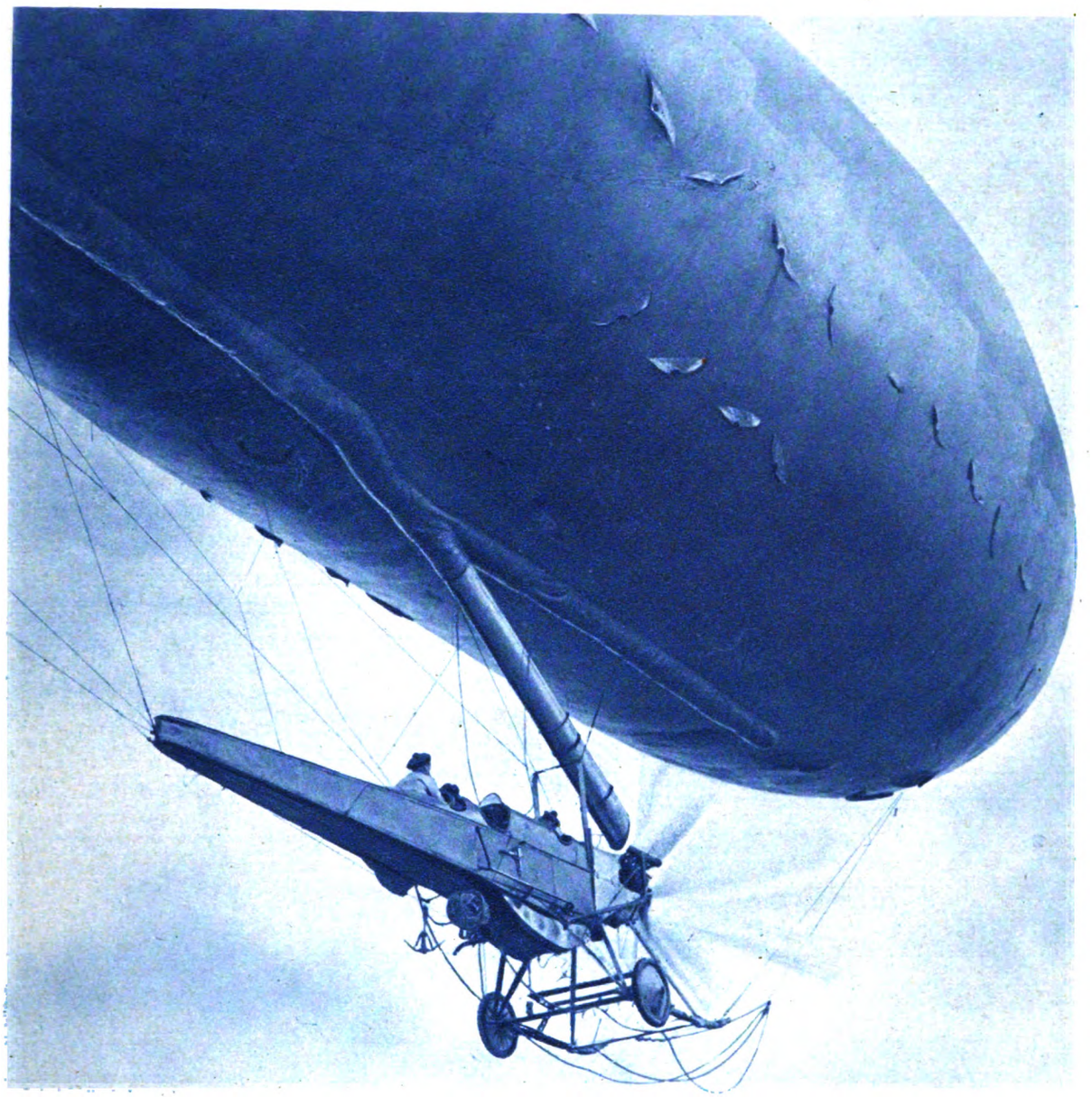

Submarine hunting: Small naval dirigible, introduced by the British Navy, for scouting.

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Rescue in sight: Soldiers aboard one of the Ivernia's rafts watching an approaching patrol boat.

Coolness and courage: Troops on the Ivernia facing the camera before taking to the boats.

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Swamped by breakers: One of the boats from the transport Ivernia, torpedoed January 1st. 1917.

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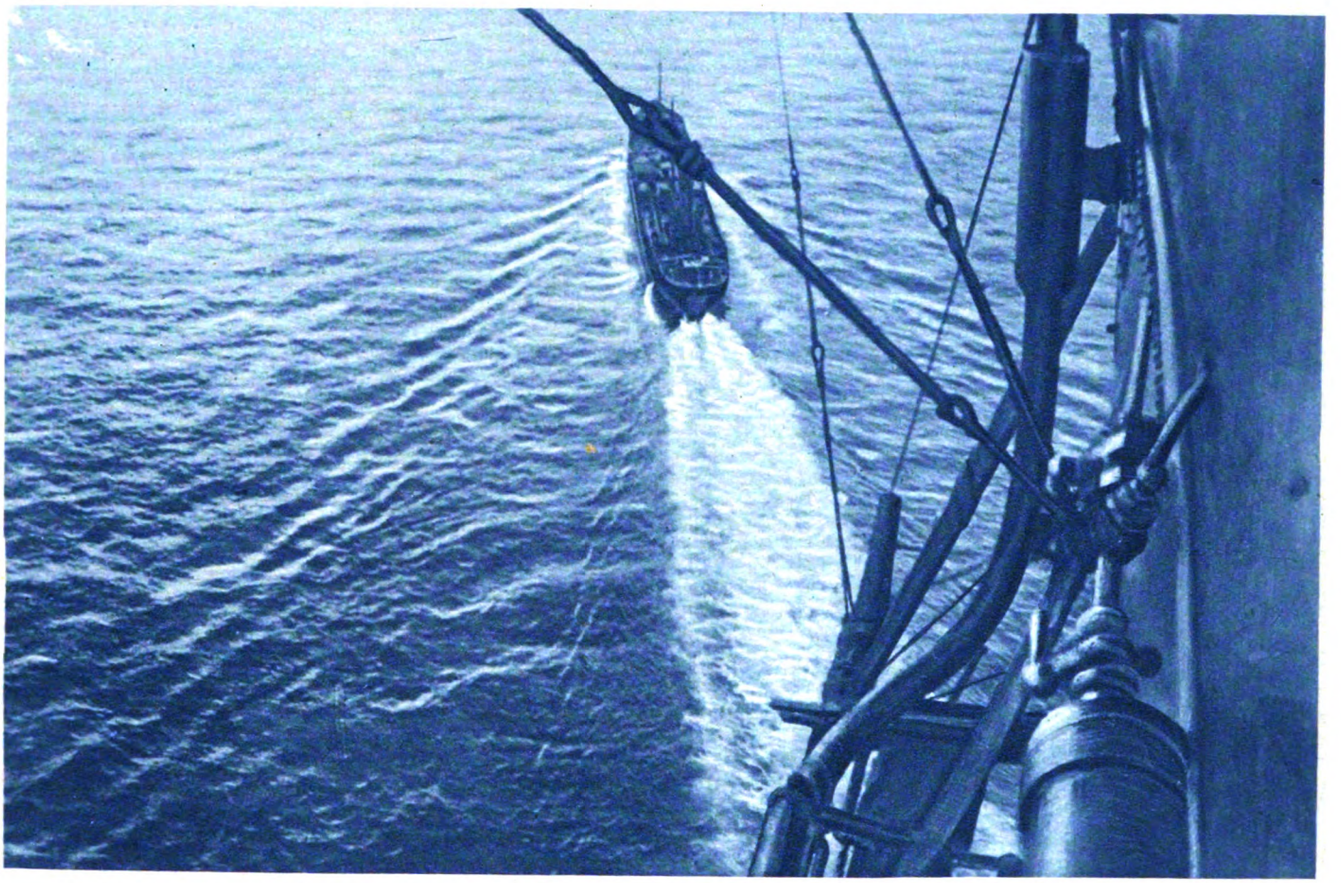
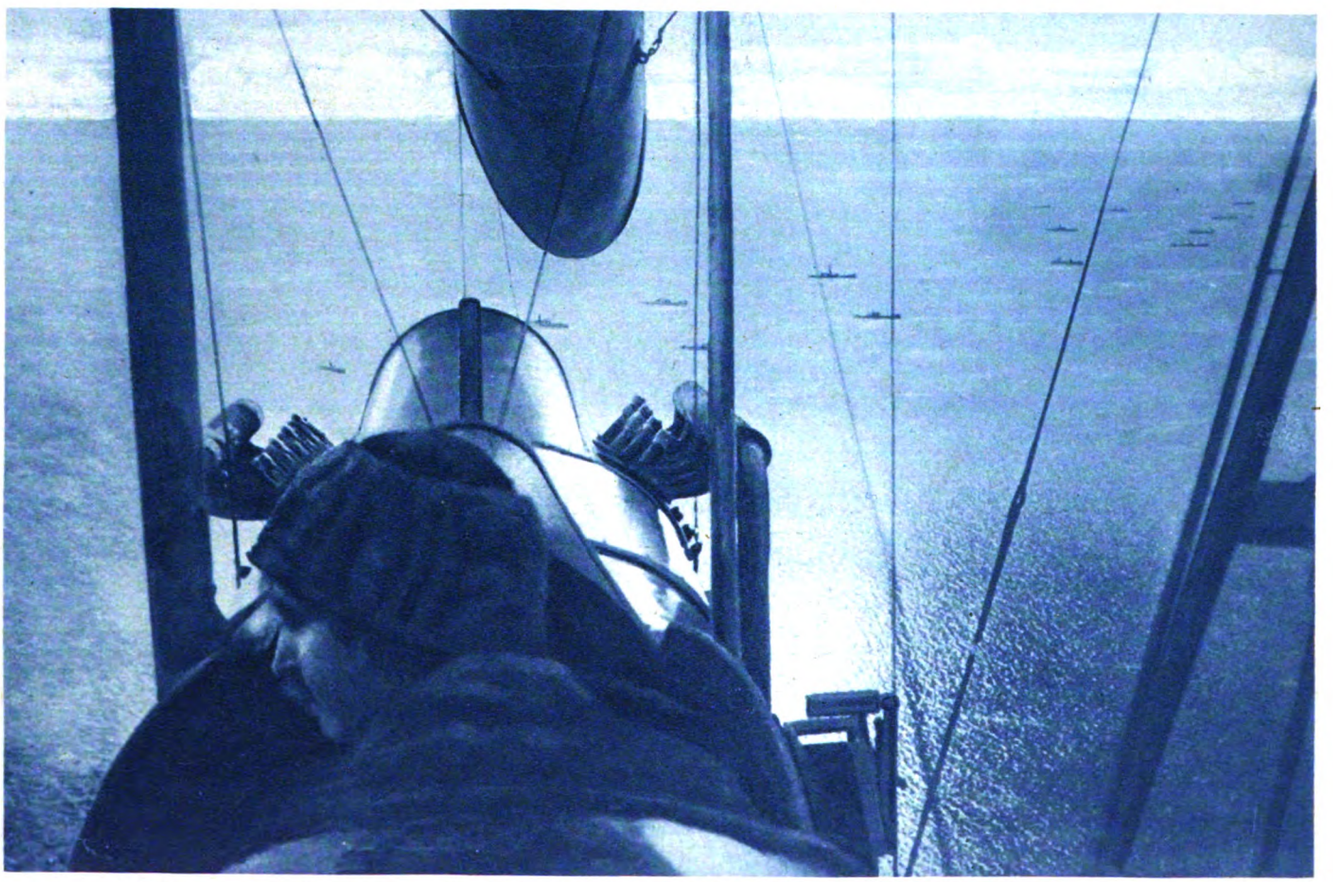


Coming down for news: Air-scout hailing a vessel from an altitude of 230 feet.



Flying over the fleet: Naval scouting dirigible passing over allied warships.

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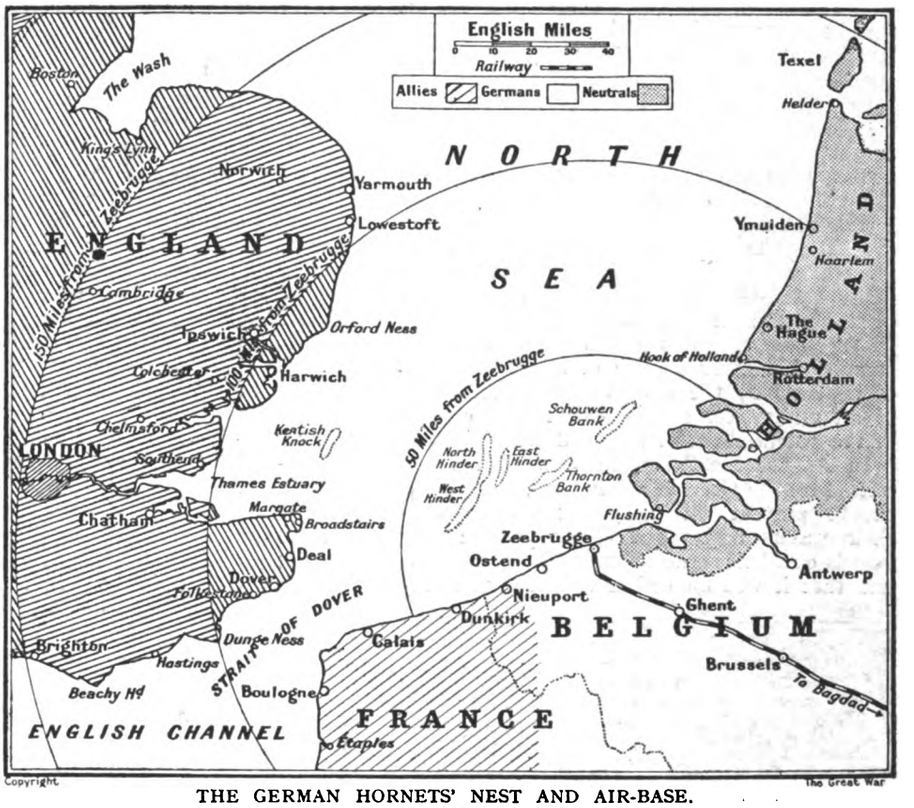
which was followed by vessels carrying the rich Swedish iron ore, needed for the best qualities of steel, from the mines to the Krupp works. In Swedish waters they could not be attacked by the British and Russian submarines. Meanwhile, the Germans with destroyers, Zeppelins, and armed trawlers diligently watched the Sound and the Cattegat.

All through these weeks the German preparations for the great submarine campaign, which they believed would close the war, were going forward silently. Types were being tested and arrangements made, though for the time being it suited the German Government to profess that it would faithfully observe the rules laid down by President Wilson. The torpedoing of the Channel steamer Sussex, on March 24th, 1916, when eighty innocent civilians were killed or wounded, had brought on a fresh crisis between Germany and the United States. The German Government at first declared that the ship had struck a British mine, and then that it had been torpedoed with a British torpedo. It pretended that a report from the only German submarine near the scene showed that her captain had torpedoed a vessel "near the Sussex," but that this vessel did not resemble the Sussex, as a drawing of it—which was enclosed in the report—showed. The actual fact was that the guilty submarine had been destroyed, and that her captain, who was either dead or in the hands of the Allies, never made any report at all. Moreover, portions of the torpedo remained in the vessel's hull, and were examined by United States officers, who at once identified them as German. This impudent trickery would have exasperated a less pacific and long-suffering politician than President Wilson. He replied to it with a Note requiring the German Government "now, without delay, to proclaim and make effective renunciation of its present methods of submarine warfare against passenger and cargo ships," or the United States would break off diplomatic relations. On May 4th Germany simulated obedience, and informed the United States that an order had been issued to the effect that merchantmen "both within and without the area declared a naval war zone, shall not be sunk without warning, and without the saving of human lives, unless the ships attempt to escape or offer resistance." The German Government at the same time called on the United States to force the British Government to abandon the blockade, as otherwise Germany must reserve herself "complete liberty of action."

Torpedoing of the Sussex

This outward surrender raised a furious storm in Germany, where it was not understood that the German submarines had not, in actual fact, in any degree altered their methods. If they were less successful than previously, it was because of the precautions taken by the British Navy. They still sank ships without warning; indeed, on May 8th, when the German Government's order forbidding this ought to have been in the hands of the submarine commanders—supposing it to have been genuine—the unarmed British liner Cymric was sunk without warning. There were so many subsequent instances of Germany's disregard of her pledges as to show the utter worthlessness of any undertaking given by the German Government. A few typical examples may be mentioned. On June 9th the Norwegian steamer Orkedal, on a voyage from the Argentine with a cargo of maize for Denmark, was sunk without warning off the Dutch coast. She was proceeding from one neutral port to another neutral port, and her cargo would ultimately have reached Germany in the shape of Danish butter and bacon. Her destruction was thus an insane outrage. Again, the Kelvinia, with twenty-seven American horse-tenders on board, was sunk without warning on September 2nd. The German submarines did, however, show a certain caution when they suspected that there were American citizens on board ships attacked. But as Herr Bethmann-Hollweg told the Reichstag on January 31st, 1917, he never opposed the ruthless use of submarines from principle, but only because "according to the unanimous judgment of the political and military authorities, the question was not ripe for decision." It was not that the German Government cared for humanity or American scruples. It had not enough submarines ready to make it worth while for Germany to defy the United States.


English Miles
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Railway
Allies
Germans
Neutrals
NORTH SEA
ENGLAND
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Boston
The Wash
King's Lynn
Norwich
Yarmouth
Lowestoft
Cambridge
Ipswich
Orford Ness
Colchester
Harwich
Chelmsford
Southend
Thames Estuary
Chatham
Margate
Broadstairs
Deal
Dover
Folkestone
Brighton
Hastings
Beachy Hd
Dunge Ness
STRAIT OF DOVER
Boulogne
Calais
Dunkirk
Nieuport
Ostend
Zeebrugge
Flushing
Antwerp
Ghent
Brussels
To Bagdad
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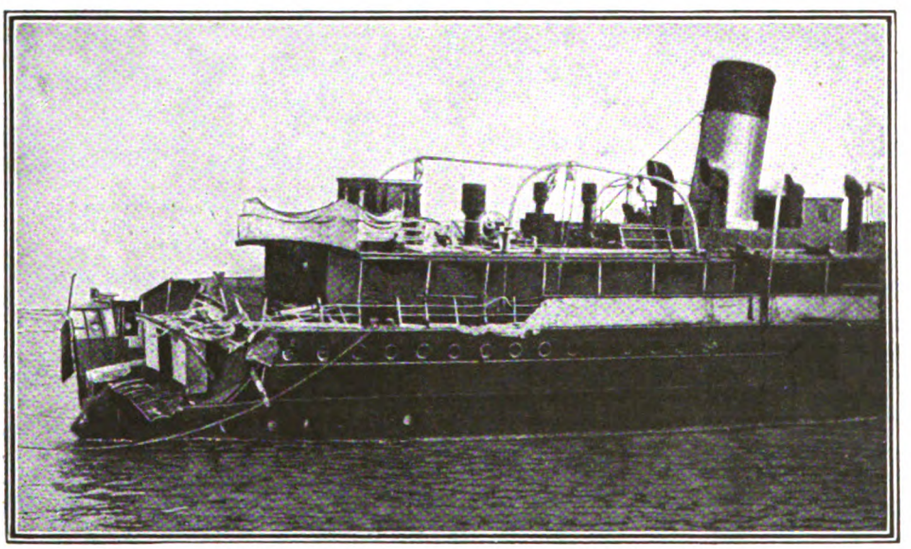
the American market, and importing small quantities of certain raw material of which the German munition factories were running short.

In future wars the submarine merchantman may be developed on a much larger scale, though it will always be an expensive form of conveyance. The Germans incorrectly claimed that the Deutschland was the first submarine to cross the Atlantic without escort or aid. Ten British submarines, built in Canada for the Navy, made the passage many months earlier, in 1915. A second submarine of the same type as the Deutschland, the Bremen, was less successful. She sailed from Heligoland, and nothing more was heard of her. The Deutschland completed another voyage in December, but the rupture of relations by the United States ended this experiment of an underwater service which was a fresh illustration of the potentialities of that evil craft the submarine.

Gravity of the submarine situation

In August the Allies, in view of the atrocities committed by the German submarines, proposed that neutrals should prevent all belligerent submarines from using their waters and ports. They pointed out that these vessels could navigate submerged and thus elude control; and that it was impossible to identify them and ascertain whether they were combatant or non-combatant, and in the latter case to remove "the capacity for harm inherent in the nature of such vessels." These invisible pirates had, in fact, confronted the world with a new and terrible problem. The neutral response to these proposals was most unsatisfactory. The United States flatly refused to exclude combatant or non-combatant submarines from its ports or waters, and almost pushed its Note to a point of unreasonableness by calling on the Allies to "distinguish between submarines of neutral and belligerent nationality," ignoring the fact that a surface ship could not possibly tell from the appearance of a periscope whether it belonged to a German or a neutral submarine; and that, if she waited to investigate and did not fire, she would almost certainly be sunk.



SUBMARINE WAR ON PEACEFUL PASSENGERS.

Cross-channel passenger steamer Sussex, which was torpedoed on her way to Dieppe on March 24th, 1916, when about fifty persons lost their lives. The passengers included a number of Americans, and the outrage led to an emphatic exchange of views between the United States and Germany.

The question was one of extreme gravity, as was seen on October 7th, when submarine U53, for which the way had been left clear by the withdrawal of the British patrols, arrived at Newport. She was a war submarine fully armed; her captain is said to have been personally guilty of dastardly outrages on Americans, neutrals, and non-combatant subjects of the Allies. She was allowed to communicate with the shore, where she obtained full details of allied and neutral shipping in the vicinity. From such facts as were disclosed she seems to have been larger than the British E boats and the Deutschland, a vessel of about 1,000 tons. She put to sea after three hours' stay, without taking on board any supplies, and in the absence of the British patrols, the presence of which President Wilson had denounced in a previous Note as "vexatious and uncourteous," she could do what she liked. She cruised off the American coast without asking whether such conduct was "vexatious and uncourteous," and torpedoed in quick succession the British ships Westpoint, Strathdene, Stephano, and Kingston; the Dutch steamer Blommersdijk, and the Norwegian vessel Christian Knudsen. The Blommersdijk was on a voyage from one neutral port to another, and was not inside what the German called their "war zone." Her destruction was not permitted by the German proclamations, and was an act of senseless piracy. While these things were being done, the United States destroyer Benham cruised close at hand, watching the acts of piracy. It was, however, false that her commander—as was pretended by the Germans—was ordered to move out of the line of fire at the Blommersdijk and submitted to the German order. In the Stephano were a large number of American passengers, who were treated with easy insolence and discourtesy.

A tiger is not soothed by smiling at him; and immediately after this sinister visit, Mr. Gerard, the United States Ambassador in Berlin, and Mr. Swope, one of the coolest and best-known American editors, who had spent two months in Berlin, reached the United States. They carried news of the gravest character. Both agreed that Germany was determined on an unrestricted submarine campaign to be waged with the most savage brutality, and that she would not be deterred by any fear of war with the United States. At her own chosen moment, when she had enough submarines ready, she would fall to work. It was further known, subsequently, that Mr. Gerard gave information as to stupendous preparations by Germany to fill the sea surrounding the British Isles with submarines. In the early days of the war Great Britain had been defined as "a piece of land entirely surrounded by the British Navy." The new version was to run "a piece of land entirely surrounded by German submarines."

The attack on neutral shipping was prosecuted by the Germans with fury. The destruction of neutral craft was a relatively safe business, as they were never armed and did not venture to defend themselves. A particular set was made against Norway, whose Government had had the temerity to propose the introduction of the Swedish rule, forbidding the presence of any belligerent submarines in her territorial waters. These waters were constantly used by the German underwater boats attacking the munition ships en route to the Russian bases in the White Sea. Germans argued that Sweden was right to apply the principle because in her case it helped them, but they contended that Norway was wrong to apply it because in her case it hurt them. When the Norwegian Government hesitated to accept this remarkable logic they sank Norwegian ships. By the close of the year they had destroyed 400,000 tons; though somewhat to their disgust, as fast as they sank Norwegian vessels the shipowners,

Attacks on neutral shipping

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out of their fabulous profits, bought or built new tonnage. Spanish shipping was just as roughly used, though the German submarines stealthily created bases and supply-depots on the Spanish coast. Early in October it was announced that one-twelfth of the Spanish tonnage had been destroyed by the pirates.

Depredations on such a scale ought to have roused the British Government to intense energy. Mr. Runciman announced on October 17th that Great Britain had lost 2,000,000 tons of shipping during the war, intimated that there would be difficulties of food supply, and, incidentally, gave the Germans the valuable information that the British Government had purchased 500,000 tons of wheat in Australia. This was immediately followed by a development of German submarine war on the Australian routes, through the Mediterranean and Atlantic. The most important measure requisite was to reassure farmers and organise agriculture for the largest possible production of food. This was not taken. The Cabinet had been advised by an authoritative committee, so far back as 1915, to guarantee a minimum price for wheat and other food products, so as to give the farmers confidence—for the seizure of their crops for military purposes at a price well below market rates had left them in great uncertainty. Unfortunately it could not make up its mind to abandon old doctrines in that hour of destiny. It disputed and debated while the weeks wore on; and its half measures and irresolution were among the chief causes of the political revolution in December. The inaction of the Food Production Department was paralleled by the inadequate and unimaginative measures of the Admiralty, face to face with the deadliest peril that had ever threatened the British Empire, and by the spiritual bankruptcy revealed in the leadership which failed to tell the nation plainly that it must gird itself with all its heroism, patience, and endurance. None that knows British history can believe that the British people would not have responded gloriously to such an appeal.

Australian food route attacked

Anxiety as to the management of the Admiralty was deepened by the incident of the Channel raid on the night of October 26th, which was in itself a trifling affair, though it showed very plainly the danger of Zeebrugge and the difficulty of guarding the Channel against alert German torpedo officers. It was a moonless night with a high tide, when the mines in the British mine-field at the entrance to the Channel would be well submerged. It was therefore a night when an attack might have been expected and watched for. Ten large German destroyers put out of Zeebrugge, steamed into the Channel, and reached a point not far from Folkestone. They sank eleven small drifters or trawlers and captured some few of their crews. They came upon the British Channel steamer Queen, which fortunately had no troops or passengers on board her, and placed bombs in her after her crew had made their escape. Encountering a detachment of British destroyers they sank the Flirt, an old boat of 380 tons, with most of her crew. They torpedoed the larger and modern destroyer Nubian, which vessel had to be beached owing to the storm that was raging, and eventually became a total loss. They then disappeared. The first British official report claimed

German destroyers in the Channel

AMERICAN COAST CUTTER SALVING A DERELICT DANGER TO NAVIGATION.

Derelict Brazilian ship Nephthis being salved by a United States coast cutter. Vessels which have had to be abandoned by their crews, and drift water-logged at the mercy of the tides and currents, are a constant danger to navigation at all times. When the running amok of German submarines threatened to diminish seriously the world's tonnage every effort was made to bring such derelicts into port rather than sink them.

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that two German destroyers had been sunk, but the German Admiralty at once repudiated this assertion. That was not in itself conclusive, but it subsequently appeared that the British officer in command only thought that the destroyers had been sunk because he had heard the noise of two violent explosions, and did not claim to have seen them go down. It is therefore probable that the German official report was on this occasion approximately correct.

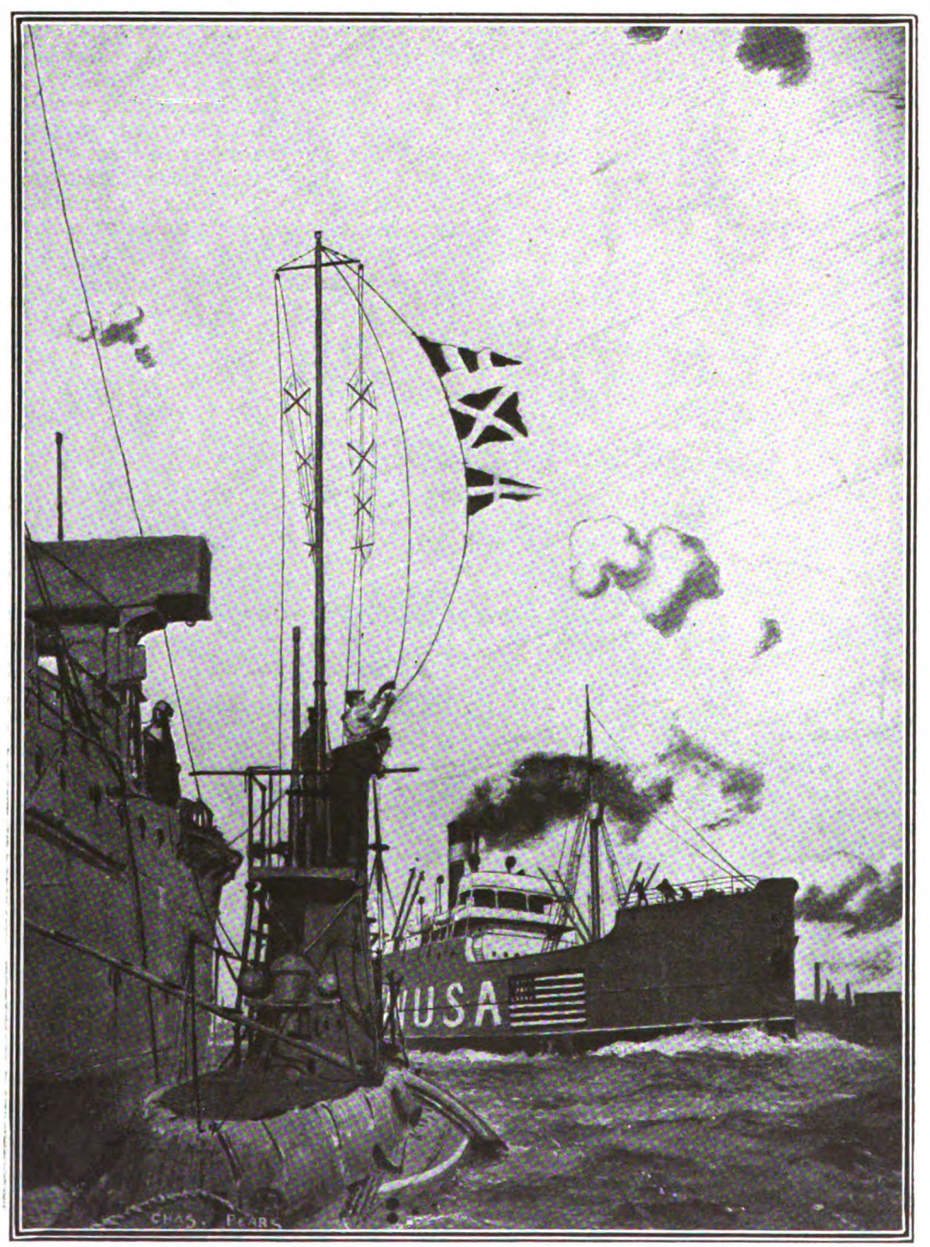
The German destroyers engaged in this raid appear to have been very large, fast, and heavily-armed vessels, carrying 4·1 in. semi-automatic guns or even 6 in. weapons. They had this great advantage that, as there were no other German ships at sea, they were able to fire at everything they met without challenging. The British, before they opened fire, had to ascertain whether the vessels which they suspected were British or neutral, and it was quite easy for the Germans to discharge their torpedoes at the challenge, thus dealing a deadly blow at once. None the less, the fact that the German destroyers were able to get back to port came as a disagreeable surprise to the House of Commons and the British public.

Another attempt to enter the Channel was made on November 23rd by six of the Zeebrugge destroyers. The night was dark; the tide was high; but on this occasion they did not come farther than the neighbourhood of Ramsgate, off which port they encountered a number of small British patrol craft and retired after firing a few shots which did no damage. They falsely claimed to have bombarded the "fortified port" of Ramsgate. Again they regained Zeebrugge without being intercepted and brought to action. A third sally was made on November 25th, when a British armed trawler on duty off the East Coast was sunk and her crew captured. The Germans claim to have searched a number of neutral steamers for contraband, but to have released them as they carried nothing objectionable. For the third time they returned safely. Throughout the summer and autumn the German molestation of shipping on the route between England and Holland continued, and between the date of the capture of the Brussels and the end of November no fewer than twelve vessels were seized and taken into Zeebrugge for examination, some of them being condemned.

Changes at the Admiralty

The effect of these minor German successes was to strengthen the desire for a stronger policy at the Admiralty, conducted by men with actual experience at sea in the Great War. Most of the Board had seen no service in the new conditions, and as a whole the Board could show no real success at sea, for the Battle of Jutland was not the great blow which the Navy had wished to inflict on the enemy. On November 29th Sir Henry Jackson, the First Sea Lord, was replaced by Sir John Jellicoe, who again was replaced in command of the Grand Fleet by Sir David Beatty. The command of the Battle-Cruiser Fleet was taken over by Sir William Pakenham. Sir Cecil Burney became Second Sea Lord. On December 10th, with the formation of Mr. Lloyd George's National Government, Mr. Balfour, the First Lord and political head of the Admiralty, was succeeded by Sir Edward Carson, a man of action of remarkable determination and driving power, who, the nation hoped, would insist on the blockade being made effective and on all the channels by which supplies leaked into Germany being stopped.

A few days before the new First Lord entered office the German submarines gave a fresh proof of their audacity. A large German submarine appeared at Funchal, in the island of Madeira, on December 3rd, torpedoed the French gunboat Surprise, which was lying there, a small vessel of 620 tons built for river work; destroyed the British cable-ship



SIGNALLING TO THE GREAT: "GO SLOWLY FOR SAKE OF THE SMALL."
British submarine, alongside her "mother-ship" for small repairs, signalling "M F" to an American vessel. This in the new international code indicated "Reduce speed," and was adopted owing to the damage often caused to vessels alongside piers or other vessels by the wash from ships passing at a high rate of speed.

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Dacia and the French transport Kanguroo, which were in the harbour"; and then wantonly bombarded the town for two hours, causing great alarm among the Portuguese but without doing any serious damage. In all, thirty-four men were killed or drowned in the ships sunk. Six hundred miles from Lisbon, Madeira is on the routes to South Africa and South America by which the Germans expected the wheat purchased by Mr. Runciman in Australia to be conveyed to Great Britain. A few days later several German submarines were reported off the Canaries, 300 miles south-east of Madeira, in the Central Atlantic, and their appearance in this quarter caused acute distress, as they practically blockaded these Spanish islands.

A fresh embarrassment was provided by the appearance of a German surface commerce-destroyer in the Atlantic on December 4th. This successor of the Möwe—or as some of those captured by her declared, the Möwe herself — carried supplies and provisions sufficient to enable her to remain at sea till April, 1917. She was equipped for mine-laying and carried a very powerful battery, apparently four 6 in. guns, besides a number of smaller weapons. Her speed was estimated at 18 to 19 knots. As usually seen she had a most innocent appearance, resembling a tramp, with one funnel and two masts. It was alleged, however, that she had contrivances by which additional funnels could be shown and the rig and disposition of her masts completely altered. She had four torpedo-tubes, which would enable her to sink any warship that unwarily approached her. She passed the British patrols disguised as a neutral, with a deck-load of hay, flying a neutral flag in bad weather when there was difficulty in boarding suspected vessels. A favourite device of hers was to make the distress signal and then disloyally to destroy ships which came to render aid. She achieved considerable success. The names of eleven ships sunk by her were published in January, 1917, with a total displacement exceeding 70,000 tons.

WAVES THAT GERMANY CLAIMED TO RULE FROM UNDERNEATH.

The waters "barred" by Germans to all shipping after February 1st, 1917, included the whole of the Mediterranean (except a "lane" twenty miles wide leading to the Greek coast), the whole of the North Sea, and an area extending from the Faroe Islands to 260 miles west of Ireland and twenty miles north of Cape Finisterre to the French frontier.

Methods of the Möwe

As for the method employed, the case of the Dramatist may be taken as typical. On December 18th she sighted a vessel approaching on the same course but closing in on her. Suddenly the stranger increased speed, and came up fast alongside. The bulwarks were dropped, revealing a couple of small guns, and the Dramatist had no course but to surrender. She was boarded, a detachment of Germans was placed in her, and most of her crew were transferred to the raider, where they were kept below in the stifling heat when any vessel was sighted. The Dramatist was sunk with bombs the night of her capture.

Two ships, the Yarrowdale and St. Theodore, each of about 4,500 tons, were kept afloat by the Germans after capture and used as tenders. A third, the Japanese vessel Hudson Maru, was spared, and directed to proceed to the Brazilian port of Pernambuco with 237 prisoners. Of the remaining prisoners 441 were placed on board the Yarrowdale, which, with a prize crew, contrived to reach the German port of Swinemunde, first proceeding to the north of Iceland and then through Norwegian territorial waters. The St. Theodore was reported to have been armed and commissioned as another commerce-destroyer, after her decks had been strengthened at sea to take guns; but, according to other reports, she was sunk at sea in January. The island of Fernando de Noronha, in the Central Atlantic, which belongs to Brazil, was for several days the raider's headquarters. Then she vanished, possibly to the base which the Germans were said to have secretly prepared and provisioned at the mouth of the Amazon, possibly to the Indian Ocean, where mines were presently laid in the Gulf of Aden and off Ceylon. Off the Cape of Good Hope other mines were laid. On March 22nd the German Admiralty reported that she had returned to Germany with 593 prisoners, and that in all she had taken twenty-two steamers and five sailing vessels of 123,100 tons gross register. Another German vessel with a large quantity of arms and supplies on board stole out of a Chilian port on the eve of the Möwe's departure, and may have joined the raider. There was reason to believe that a number of neutral steamers laden with coal and supplies—and, it was alleged,

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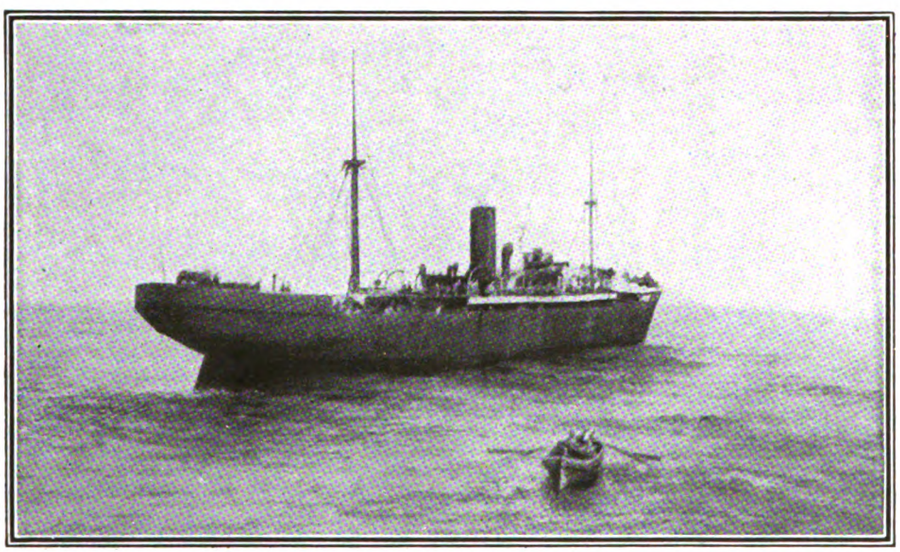
with mines—had also been instructed to meet the German at some secret rendezvous. That the raider was not able to do more damage was due to the generally effective patrol of the ocean routes by the Navy. She was a far less formidable antagonist than the German submarines, but her promiscuous scattering of mines made even distant waters dangerous.

Her operations and the work of the German submarines would have been greatly hampered by the effective arming of British merchantmen. The need of this had been often pointed out before the Great War, and, very tardily in 1913, the Admiralty began to supply guns to certain vessels on the South American routes. Forty had received two guns apiece, both mounted in the stern, by the spring of 1914. This restriction was imposed by the British Foreign Office, which throughout the years before the war had been willing to hamper the Royal Navy by every kind of concession to German diplomacy. Germany viewed the arming of British ships with great alarm, and stirred up the pacifists in the British House of Commons and the Press to protest vehemently against it and oppose it at every turn. When the war came the United States



THE INNOCENT-LOOKING GERMAN PIRATE MÖWE.

On December 4th, 1916, a German raider carrying a formidable armament appeared in the Atlantic and had considerable success. Her identity with the Möwe seems to have been established by one of her captives, the skipper of the Nantes, who from German photographs identified Count von Dohna-Schlodien and other officers of the Möwe.

let it be known that it would regard the equipment of merchant vessels with guns forward—so as to enable them to resist attack from ahead—as transforming them into warships, and the British Foreign Office accepted this view, though the custom of the past in the United States merchant service, as in the British, during war was always to sail armed and to carry guns wherever they could be most effectively mounted.

The new Admiralty showed far more vigour in arming the merchantmen and in giving them guns forward as well as aft. Finally, but not till March, 1917, the United States Government acquiesced in the allied view, which was undoubtedly the sound one, that guns could be carried anywhere. For some weeks and months, however, allied ships carrying guns forward for their safety had to land those guns at the Canadian port of Halifax and reship them on their return voyage from the United States. The value of an effective armament can be understood from these facts. While only 25 per cent. of unarmed merchantmen escaped when attacked up to February, 75 per cent. of armed merchantmen escaped.

Arming the mercantile marine

Not content with arming merchantmen on a larger scale and in a more effective manner than its predecessors, the new Admiralty Board appointed a special committee of young officers with experience at sea in the Great War to deal with the submarine campaign. It developed all the measures which had been employed by Lord Fisher in his successful period of office. An excellent account of the special means employed during 1916, so far as they may be disclosed, was given by the French expert, M. Blanchon, in "La Guerre Nouvelle." The chief characteristics of the earlier German submarine war were the practice of resting on the bottom of the sea, employed by the submarine captains, and the organisation of a supply system from neutral vessels and accomplices on neutral coasts. Resting at the bottom of the sea, so as to allow the crews to sleep, was easy only in shallow water such as that of the North Sea, but it was possible in deeper seas and oceans to arrange floating anchors. As for the supply system, secret bases were discovered at different times on the Greek and Spanish coast.

Meeting the submarine menace

The vessels engaged in patrolling for and attacking submarines, stated M. Blanchon, had various methods of making them very uncomfortable. The surface of the sea in calm weather would be watched, and a slight disturbance moving along it would be noted. That indicated a submarine. Fast vessels then hastened to the point and towed mines so as to hit the submarine, when they were exploded against her. Or they tried to envelop her in nets and loose hawsers which would foul her screws. They fished for her as men fish for whales. In straits and harbour entrances nets were fixed with explosive charges and cables were arranged to catch the screws. The newer German submarines, however, were fitted with apparatus for cutting or lifting the nets. A touch none the less gave the alarm on the surface and showed, like the bobbing of a fishing float, that there was something below, and this something could be attacked.

Microphonic appliances enabled the beat of the submarines' screws to be heard to a great distance. Aircraft were utilised, both in the shape of small airships and of seaplanes. An observer in the air looks downward through the water, and, if the sea is clear and the weather fair, can often detect a submarine which would not be visible from a ship. If the submarine was right under him he could usually see it without being seen, for the periscope of 1916 was so constructed as to sweep the horizon but not the zenith. The aircraft could then signal the position to surface craft, or could drop heavy charges on the submarine. In one or two cases British airmen claimed to have destroyed German submarines, and, though the claims were always disputed by the German Admiralty, they were probably correct. The closing of the submarine routes with mines was another method of dealing with the German boats, but these mines could with time be removed by sweeping. Early in 1917, however, neutrals were warned that an enormous area in the centre of the North Sea was, thenceforth, to be regarded as a danger zone. This covered the entire coast of Germany on the North Sea, and only left two channels, one along the Danish and the other along the Dutch coast, open to her submarines. These channels could be watched.

Another measure was the building of standardised merchantmen on the largest possible scale to replace the

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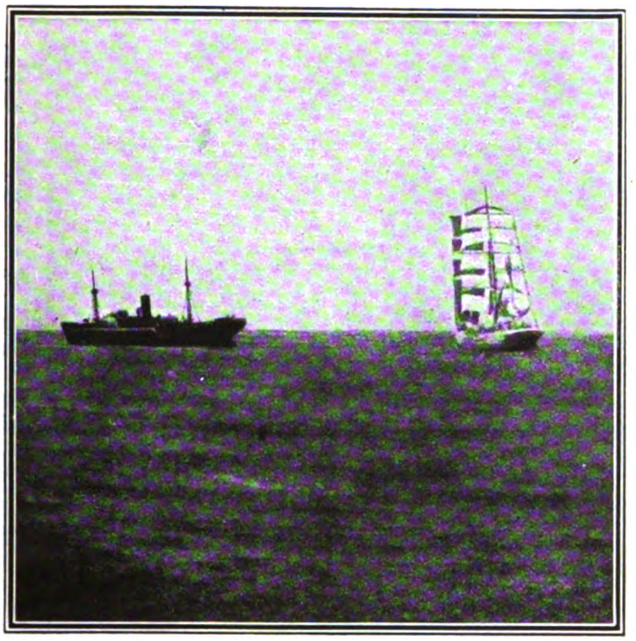
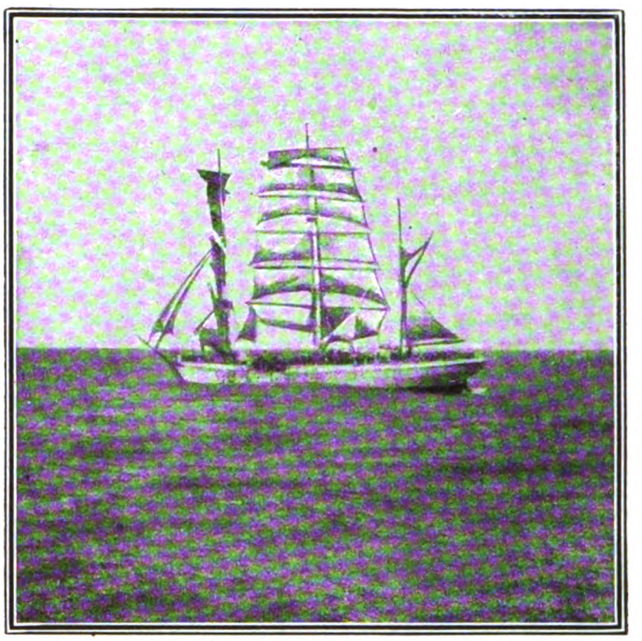
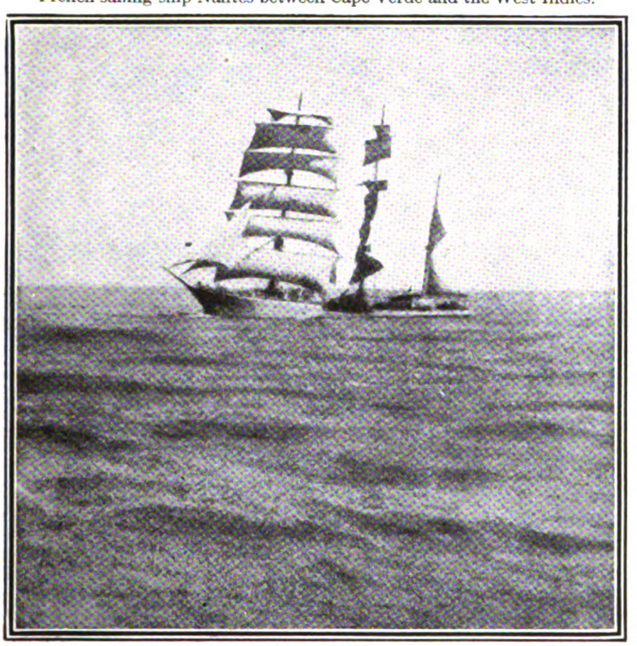


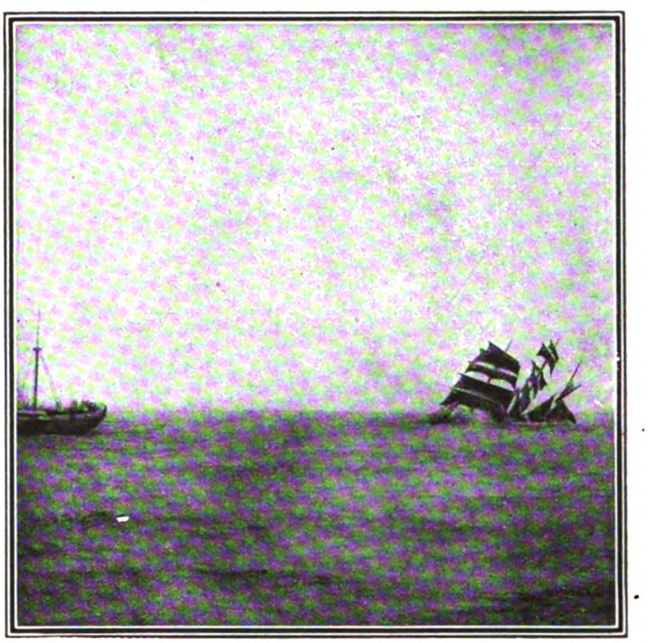
About 10.30 a.m. on December 20th, 1916, the raider Möwe held up the French sailing-ship Nantes between Cape Verde and the West Indies.



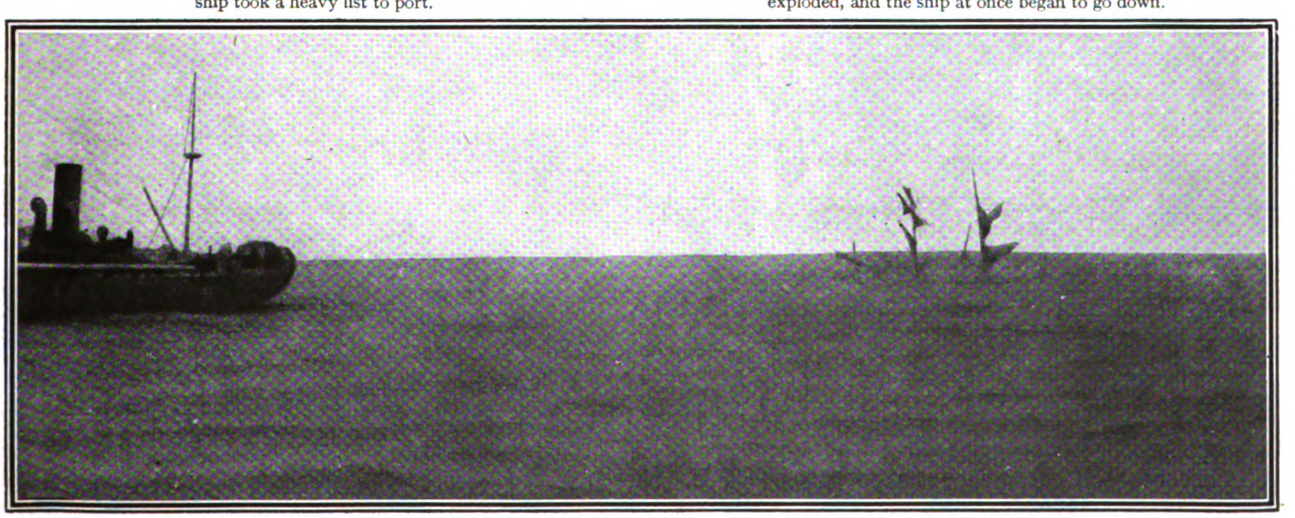
The Nantes was boarded by two officers, who confiscated her papers and some stores and sent her crew aboard the raider.



At 1.30 a first bomb, fixed aft by the pirates, exploded, and at once the ship took a heavy list to port.



Shortly afterwards a second bomb, fixed forward near the main hatch, exploded, and the ship at once began to go down.



In ten minutes the Nantes went down by the head, watched by her skipper from the bridge of the pirate ship whereon he and his crew were prisoners. These photographs were taken by an American sailor from the St. Theodore, a ship captured by the pirates and used as an auxiliary raider.

PIRACY ON THE HIGH SEAS: SINKING OF THE NANTES BY THE MÖWE.

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The Great War.

COMMUNICATIONS IN MODERN WARFARE: ADVANTAGE OF LAND-POWER OVER SEA-POWER.

This map illustrates the advantage possessed by the Central Powers over the Allies in respect of communications with the forces fighting in Mesopotamia. From Zeebrugge to Nisibin, above Bagdad, Germany had 3,000 miles of railway secure from all save air attack. From London to Basra the steamship route is 7,680 miles, all exposed to submarine dangers. Moreover, troops could be moved far more rapidly by rail than by sea.

British losses. This, unfortunately, absorbed much labour and raw material which would more profitably have been employed in building warships or making shells for the defeat of the enemy. It was at best a remedy and not a cure. "Lanes," or routes in the oceans guarded by patrol vessels, were established. Yet another step taken by the Government was to restrict the importation of all non-essentials, thereby liberating shipping for vital articles of food and raw materials, and, though only very tardily and after much hesitation and many mistakes, to grant special advantages to the farmers for the production of food. That the situation in January, 1917, was an exceedingly serious one was pointed out by the First Sea Lord, Sir John Jellicoe, in a notable speech on January 11th. "The submarine menace to the merchant service," he said, "is far greater now than at any period of the war, and it requires all our energy to combat it. It must and will be dealt with, of that I am confident." Even then, in the third year of the war, he had to make an appeal to the shipyards, begging the men there—who do not seem to have fully realised the tremendous danger—not to strike or keep bad time or idle.

The situation in January, 1917

The fate of the nation, indeed, was going to depend on whether the workers could or would redouble their energy, increase their output, and so meet the enormous

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mechanical resources of Germany. The British blockade of Germany had so far failed to stop many necessaries. There would be no make-believe about the German blockade of Great Britain. Unless the British people broke the submarine menace the British Empire must fall, the allied munition factories, deprived of iron ore, petrol, oil, nitrates, glycerine, cotton, and all the ingredients of explosives that could not be obtained in the British Isles, must be gradually brought to a standstill, the British people be slowly starved, and the British Empire cut up into a number of disconnected fragments. Moreover, the Empire could never reunite unless the submarine challenge could be defeated. The British Islands would lie at the mercy of the vast German organisation that stretched across Central Europe and Western Asia.

CAPTAIN JAMES BLAIKIE.
Taken prisoner after his ship, the s.s. Caledonia, was sunk by submarine on December 4th, 1916.

The opening of what the Germans called their unrestricted submarine blockade was fixed for February 1st, and was preceded by a fresh series of minor German successes or British misadventures. On December 21st, in stormy weather, two British destroyers collided in the North Sea, and both went down with a loss of 6 officers and 49 men. On January 1st the troopship Ivernia was sunk in the Mediterranean with the loss of 153 men on board. A peculiar atrocity was committed by a German submarine, apparently in the Atlantic. She torpedoed and sank the British steamer Westminster, and, after the ship had sunk, opened fire on the Westminster's boats, killing the captain and chief engineer deliberately and wantonly. Another German submarine captured Captain Blaikie, of the steamer Caledonia, which was sunk after firing on the submarine. The German semi-official Press announced that he would be executed as Captain Fryatt had been. Luckily, the German Government changed its mind, perhaps recognising that Mr. Lloyd George's Ministry would not shrink from reprisals. On January 9th the old British battleship Cornwallis was sunk by a submarine in the Mediterranean, but all her crew escaped except 13 men, who were killed by the explosion.

On January 23rd two sharp actions were fought between a number of destroyers from Zeebrugge and British craft in the North Sea. The first of these encounters took place off the Schouwen Bank, which lay off the Dutch coast, thirty miles north of Zeebrugge. The night was dark but very cold, with a stiff easterly wind and occasional showers of sleet. Both the British and German destroyers were whirling along at high speed, with all lights out, through the gloom when suddenly came the flash of guns, the detonation of quick-firers, and the rush of torpedoes through the water. The two forces had met. Unfortunately a German torpedo struck a British destroyer, damaging her and killing 47 officers and men. As she remained afloat, but could not be towed back to port in the heavy sea running, she had to be sunk by the other vessels in the British detachment. Otherwise the British vessels were untouched, and owing to the pitchy blackness nothing could be learned of injury to the Germans.

Two destroyer actions

The second was a fiercer and closer fight. A number of new and powerful German destroyers, whose leading boat was V69, laid down in late 1914 and mounting several 4·1 in. semi-automatic guns on a displacement of 1,200 tons, met a flotilla of British destroyers in the darkness and instantly received a violent fire. V69 was hit on the bridge by a shell which shattered the wheel, killed the officer in charge of the flotilla, Commander Schultz, two other officers, and two or three of the crew. The British salvos damaged one of her funnels and dislodged two of her torpedo-tubes from their pivot. Another shell

FINE DISCIPLINE ON THE TORPEDOED LINER ARABIA.
Saving women and children from the P. and O. liner Arabia, torpedoed without warning in the Mediterranean on November 6th, 1916. The 437 passengers included 169 women and children. Thanks to coolness and discipline all on board were saved, except two engineers probably killed by the explosion.

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put the relief steering-gear out of action, and the vessel had to be manœuvred with her screws. She made repeated attempts to escape northwards towards the German coast, but on each occasion she was headed off. About four she was rammed by a British destroyer, which ran at her fiercely and struck her with such violence as to bring the damaged funnel down and to cause a serious leak. Meanwhile, the other German destroyers were in full flight, making no attempt to support their leader. About 7 a.m., after five hours of intermittent firing, the combat ended indecisively. V69 was able to struggle into Dutch waters at Ymuiden, and, as the morning advanced, was brought into harbour, with a man's arm blown off and frozen into her rigging and eight corpses frozen firmly to her deck. It was reported that 80 of her crew of 116 had been killed or wounded, but this appears an excessive figure. The British report claimed that one German destroyer had been sunk (though this may possibly have been the V69), and that others had suffered "considerable punishment." Another damaged destroyer was seen off the north coast of Holland, but it presumably made its escape.

V69 at Ymuiden

The Germans admitted that they were on an "enterprise," which probably meant that they were preparing an attack on some point of the British coast. The British patrols, however, on this occasion were on the spot, and were able to prevent them from accomplishing anything. V69 was not interned, by some surprising Dutch jugglery with international law, but was repaired and released, and though ample warning had been given of the fact that she was preparing for sea, she was able unmolested to steam the hundred miles between Ymuiden and Zeebrugge on the night of February 10th. In the second engagement the British suffered no loss, and no damage worth reporting. In return for the exceptional favour which the Dutch showed the German Navy, their ships were relentlessly torpedoed.

In the night of January 25th, about eleven o'clock, a German vessel approached a place on the Suffolk coast which the German official report described as "the fortified town of Southwold," and fired two star-shells which lighted up the coast as though it had been day. Immediately afterwards the vessel opened fire. She discharged in all thirty or forty shells, most of which fell in fields, and then she disappeared. No lives were lost, and only the most trivial damage was inflicted. The vessel appears to have been a submarine.

The various peace intrigues of Germany and the efforts of President Wilson do not fall within the province of this chapter. The German proposals were never sincere, and were intended only to lead up to and prepare the way for the introduction of yet more savage methods of war and the perpetration of yet more appalling atrocities the moment a considerable number of large submarines were complete. The usual agitation in Germany preceded the German Admiralty's action. The Hamburg Chamber of Commerce, in January, 1917, entreated the Emperor to permit "the ruthless employment of our submarines for an effective blockade" of Great Britain. His Majesty replied that the "sharp weapons" of the German people would not be allowed to rest till victory had been won.

"Ruthless" employment of submarines

GUARDING A CHANNEL STEAMER FROM POSSIBLE ATTACK BY SUBMARINE.

British destroyer convoying a cross-Channel steamer. When German submarines made war on passenger steamers, neutral vessels, hospital ships—any peaceful floating target by preference—the English Channel was, apart from occasional espisodes, kept wonderfully free of them. The system of convoy—suggestive of the wars of an earlier age—was resorted to, and warships accompanied defenceless vessels on their journeys.

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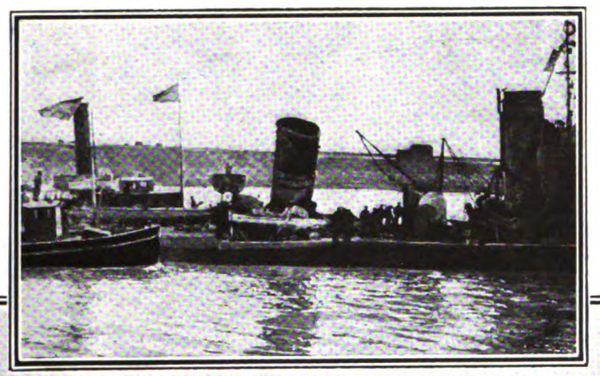
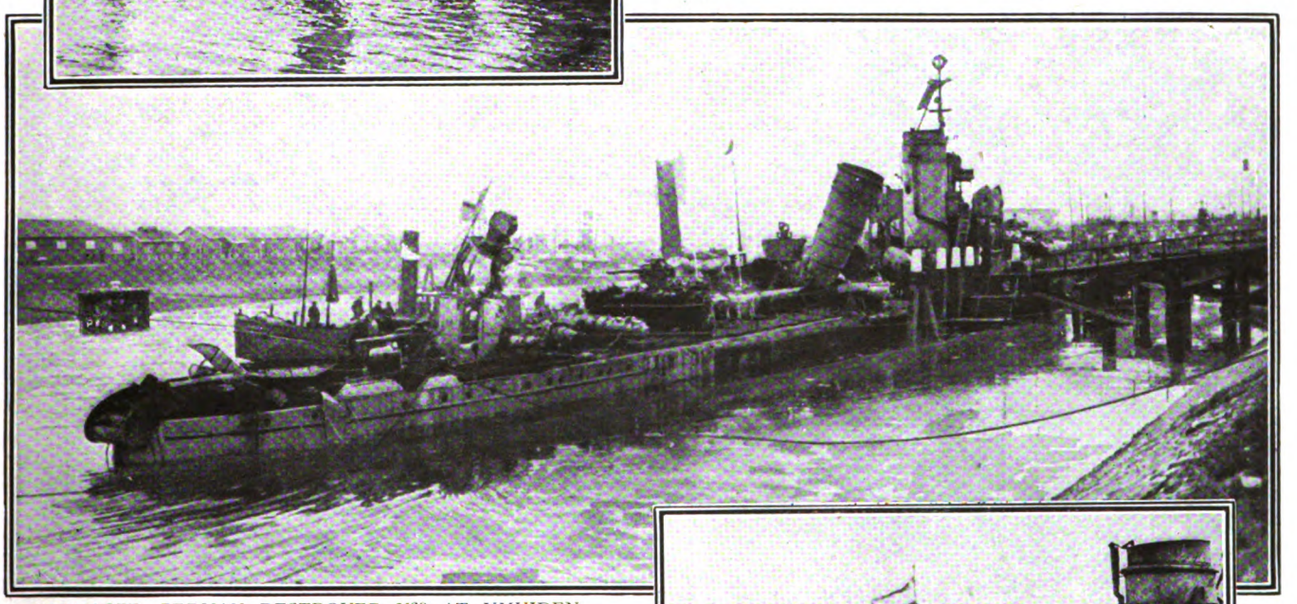
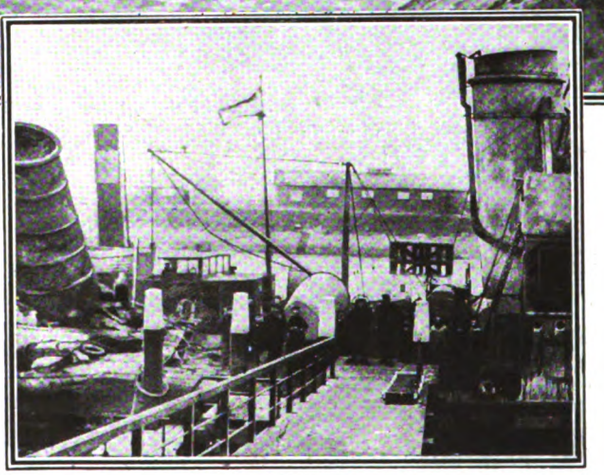
Early in 1917 preparations were made by all German ships lying in neutral ports to put to sea. Apparently orders had been secretly sent to them to break out if they were not closely guarded. The next step of the German Government was to announce that it had "conclusive proof that in several instances enemy hospital ships have been misused for the transport of munitions and troops. It has at the same time declared that the traffic of hospital ships . . within a line drawn between Flamborough Head and Terschelling on the one hand, and from Ushant to Land's End on the other, will no longer be tolerated." The British







DAMAGED GERMAN DESTROYER V69 AT YMUIDEN.
German destroyer that sought harbourage in Holland after being battered in a "scrap" with a British patrolling force in the North Sea on January 23rd, 1917. Above and right: Other views of the same vessel.

Government made the only reply possible to this infamous declaration. It stated that "if the threat is carried out, reprisals will immediately be taken." As a matter of fact, the Germans long before this impudent Note had attacked hospital ships. On November 21st a submarine sank the 48,000-ton Britannic in Greek waters, with a loss of 60 lives. A day or two later the hospital ship Braemar Castle was sunk in the Ægean, but with the loss of only one life.

Those last days of January were marked by the tremors which in political as well as in terrestrial catastrophes precede the greatest shocks. Norway, despite all the German bullying, decided to prohibit belligerent submarines from entering her waters. A Royal proclamation informed the combatants that any submarines entering Norwegian waters would be attacked without warning. Damaged boats or boats driven into harbour by stress of weather would only be allowed in territorial waters provided they navigated on the surface and showed their colours. The Germans at once savagely redoubled their attacks on Norwegian shipping.

Norway and the submarines

The Allies, aware of what was coming and the immense issues at stake, concerted plans for a counter-campaign. In January a Naval Conference met in London, mainly to discuss policy in the Mediterranean, where the submarines were becoming peculiarly active and dangerous. The proceedings were opened by Mr. Lloyd George. The British, French, and Italian Navies were represented, among the officers present being Rear-Admiral Lacaze, the French Minister of Marine, and Vice-Admiral Corsi, the Italian Minister of Marine, and various Staff officers and experts. Important decisions were reached affecting naval operations, the use of shipping, and the control of the trade routes.

Shipping casualty lists

On the eve of the German proclamation of unrestricted submarine war on shipping the situation was this: The Germans were destroying shipping, according to the lists of vessels which were then published day by day in the Press, at the rate of at least 150 a month. The ships which appeared by name in these mortality lists between December 1st and 31st numbered 147; and between January 1st and 31st, 148. The lists were not quite complete, as a certain number of allied and neutral vessels were sunk without figuring in the British reports, A valuable analysis of the losses for various periods of fifteen days was published in the "Daily Chronicle," and showed the following results:

	TOTAL SUNK	OF WHICH BRITISH
October 26th—November 9th	82	28
November 10th—November 24th.. ..	62	29
November 25th—December 9th	105	42
December 10th—December 24th	70	27
December 25th—January 8th	63	21
January 9th—January 23rd	88	40
TOTAL	470	187

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This rate of loss was three times heavier than in the earlier submarine blockade which began in February, 1915. It was not so heavy as the loss of British shipping in certain periods of past wars. The loss of British merchantmen in the most unfortunate year of the Revolutionary War with France, 1797, for example, was 949 vessels taken by the enemy, an average of nearly 80 a month, though naturally they were ships of very much smaller size. In those old days, however, Great Britain grew her own food. Nine-tenths of all that she required was produced at home, and even for munitions of war she had not seriously to rely on importation for anything except hemp, tallow and spars.

The German decision to disregard the Notes of President Wilson and openly repudiate all respect for humanity, was notified to the Reichstag by Herr Bethmann Hollweg on January 31st. He told that assembly that "the moment has now arrived. Last autumn the time was not ripe." There had been, he declared, several changes in the position. "The number of our submarines has been very greatly increased as compared with last spring, and thereby a firm basis has been created for success." The harvest had failed in Great Britain and the allied States. The coal question was becoming critical for France and Italy, which depended on sea-borne British fuel. In Great Britain there was a shortage of ore for munition manufacture and of timber for pit-props, without which coal could not be raised.

There was a great scarcity of allied cargo ships owing to the earlier operations of the German submarines, which had thus prepared the way for a decisive blow. Austria was acting in conjunction with Germany, and while Germany drew a blockade round Great Britain, she would encircle Italy with her submarines. He concluded by discussing the risks of war with the United States, which event had been carefully studied for months before by the German Staff.

ABOVE THE CLOUDS IN A SEAPLANE.

Naval aerial scout, above Salonika, passing through heavy clouds into the clear air above. Looking on this remarkable photograph almost imparts the sensation of being actually in the machine from which the picture was taken.

The effect of the submarine campaign was necessarily cumulative. It aggravated other troubles. It was true that 2,000,000 tons of new shipping had been built to replace that lost by Great Britain in the first two years of the war. But one of the difficulties of the Allies was that each ship in the war did only about two-thirds the amount of work that she had done before the war. This was due to delays caused by waiting for instructions, by the congestion of certain ports, and by the lack of labour to unload and load. Each reduction of tonnage or of carrying power was felt, as each successive reduction of a man's food would be, more and more severely. So the Germans hoped that each successive destruction of shipping would tighten the garotte round the neck of the Allies.

German bid for victory

It would be a mistake to accept the view, which was current in some quarters, that Germany adopted this plan of merciless submarine war as "a last throw" of the gambler's dice, or with some desperate desire to drag the United States into the war, and then make a hurried peace. Germany, as we have seen, had long been preparing the campaign; she opened it not with any intention of "riding for a fall," a practice unknown to the German Staff, but because her experts were firmly convinced that it meant victory—and speedy victory. They declared on every hand that while they had greatly underrated the capacity of the British Army, they had overrated the energy and leadership of the British Navy. In a curious, confidential circular, which was issued to the German Press, and a copy of which came into the possession of the British Government in February, 1917, the German newspapers were told that there must be no doubts or discussions as to the usefulness of unrestricted submarine war.

Position of the United States

> The determined approval of the entire people must ring out from the Press. It is a question, not of a movement of desperation —all the factors have been carefully weighed after conscientious technical naval preparation—but of the best and only means to a speedy, victorious ending of the war. . . . Material, personnel, and appliances are being increased and improved continually; trained reserves are ready. Britain's references to the perfection of her means of defence, which are intended to reassure the British people, are refuted by the good results of the last months. Each result is now much more important, because the enemy's mercantile marine is already weakened, the material used up in much coloured personnel. The psychological influence should not be underestimated. Fear among the enemy and neutrals adds to difficulties with the crews and may induce neutrals to keep ships in harbour.

As for the United States, the German view was that President Wilson would take several weeks or months to make up his mind, and even then would probably not act with any energy. The German Press was directed to "use the outward forms of friendliness." An immense contempt for democracy and a total disbelief in its capacity to wage war with success overwhelmed the German leaders. They hated the United States because, in perfect conformity with international law, it had supplied the Allies with large quantities of munitions. They hoped much from the intrigues and plots of their agents, from the votes of the German-American population, from the connivance of certain powerful German-American politicians. They had also mobilised the extreme Irish element. At the worst they knew that the United States Navy was weak in men, and that the United States Army hardly existed at all. They saw that it had taken Great Britain two years to organise herself for war. No serious attack from the United States was therefore to be feared before a decision had been reached. Arrangements were made to paralyse the American Government by fomenting trouble in Mexico and in Cuba, with a complete and saturnine disregard of the cherished Monroe Doctrine.

The German plan was a clever one, if the Germans had not fatally misunderstood the American character. It was to begin by making outrageous demands on the United States, which perhaps were not intended to be carried out in their entirety. On January 31st an arrogant German Note was despatched to President Wilson. It stated that German submarines would thereafter observe no restraints. It forbade neutral shipping to enter the waters round Great Britain, France and Italy, or to voyage in the Eastern Mediterranean. Concessions were offered of a nature that was merely derisive.

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This extraordinary document concluded with an ironical announcement that the German Government was actuated by "the highest sense to serve humanity," and expressed the hope that the people and Government of the United States would "appreciate the new state of affairs from the right standpoint of impartiality." Every other neutral Power received a similar communication from the Foreign Office in Berlin. To the Dutch, who were powerless to object or resist, in view of a great concentration of German troops on their frontier and of threatening hints in the German Press, the German Government offered as a special privilege the right to send one paddle-steamer a week to and from Southwold, subject to the restriction that it must be painted zebra-wise and must carry no contraband. This service was obviously allowed to remain because it was most useful to German spies and secret agents.

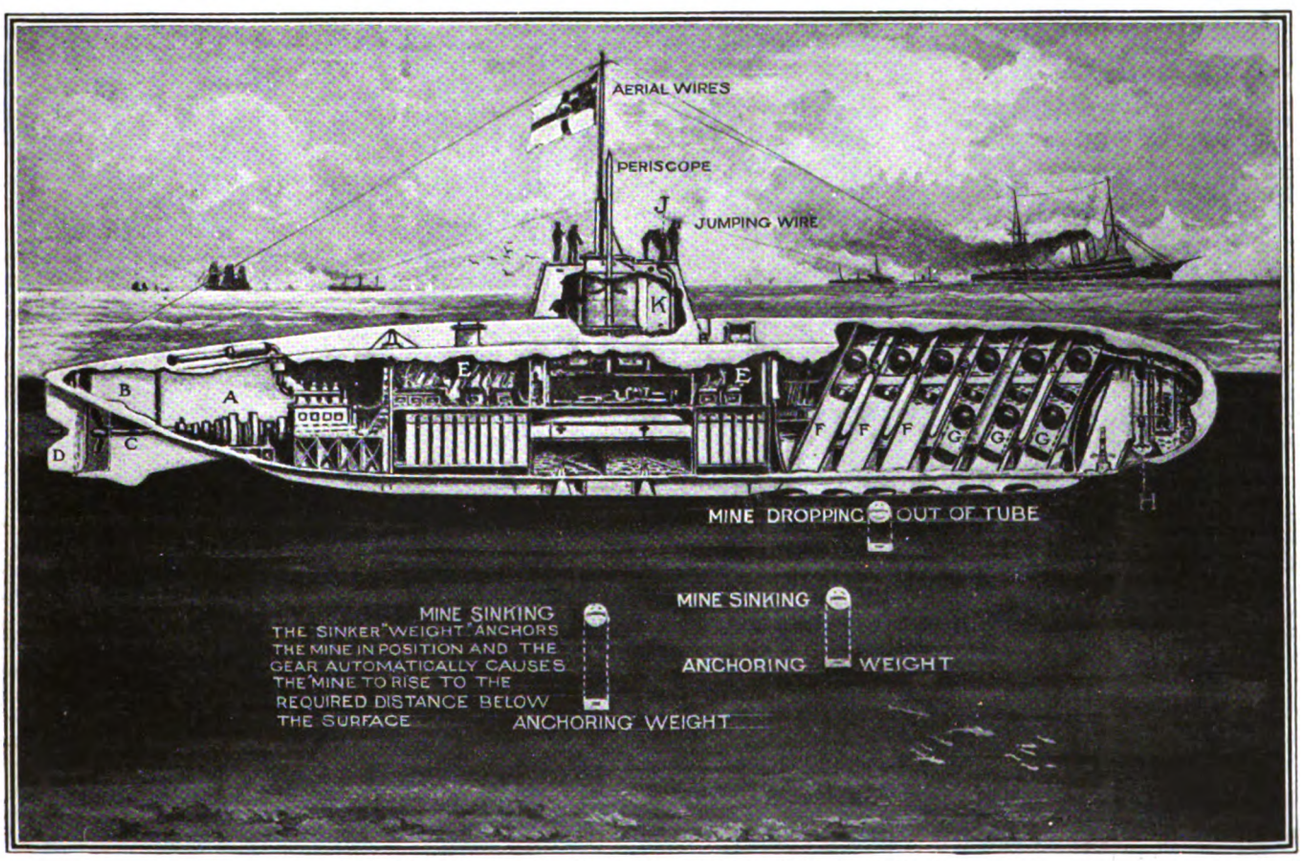
To the smaller and weaker neutrals these haughty Notes brought utter consternation. They were now shown what was the German idea of the "freedom of the seas," which the German Government had professed itself so supremely anxious to secure. The "freedom of the seas" meant, in effect, the freedom of the German submarines from all regard for honour and law of humanity, and the utter destruction of all ocean traffic. It meant sowing not merely the North Sea and the Mediterranean with mines; it meant sowing every sea and ocean with them. It meant that the German submarines would treacherously torpedo any vessel which they encountered anywhere. The example of U53 off New York had illustrated the German naval officers' regard for such flimsy restrictions as their own Government pretended to impose on them. Never before had the whole civilised world been menaced with such horrors, with indiscriminate massacre at sea on so colossal a scale. The weaker neutrals flinched. In Holland, Sweden, and Denmark it was decided that ships should, as far as possible, remain in port until it was seen what the Germans could do. By such acquiescence, passive it may be, but yet in effect involving tame obedience to the German will, these smaller neutrals complied with Germany's demands and served her aims. So long as neutral shipping vanished from the sea, she was satisfied. That was what she required to destroy Great Britain and the Allies.

Germany and neutral shipping

Norway showed greater courage and independence. Though her losses by February 11th had reached 338 vessels of 464,900 tons, her merchant navy continued its voyages and her seamen faced the risks from the German murder vessels unperturbed. The Norwegian Government protested against the German blockade, in common with the other Scandinavian Power, but appears to have permitted Sweden to weaken the force of its remonstrance. If it did not go to war, it was because it had seen the fate of Rumania, which was hardly such as to encourage the smaller neutrals to resolute action. The Spanish Government despatched a very forcible Note to Germany, but as yet made no other move, though many Spanish ships had been wantonly sunk by the German submarines. "The decision," stated this protest, "completely to close certain sea routes by substituting for the indisputable right of capture in certain cases the alleged right of destruction in every case, exceeds the legal principles of international life . . . and is contrary to the principle observed by all nations even in moments of the most extreme violence."

Norway's courageous independence

The United States did not show the feebleness and hesitation that Germany had expected. The country which had tolerated the Lusitania outrage, the incessant floutings of its Government by German diplomacy, and the frequent and callous murders of United States citizens on



SECTIONAL VIEW OF A GERMAN SUBMARINE MINE-LAYER.

A.—Engine-room with electric motors and oil engines. B.—Trimming-tank with oil for engine. C.—Screw-shaft attached to propeller. D.—Rudder for steering controlled from deck or conning-tower. E.—Bunks for the crew. F.—Mine-tubes from which the sinking mines have been released. G.—Mines in tubes. H.—Mushroom-shaped anchor. J.—External steering wheel. K.—Conning-tower.

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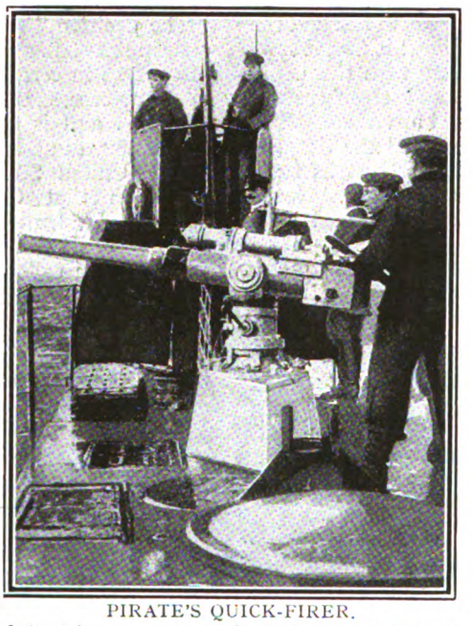
CAPTAIN-LIEUT. PETZ,
Commandant of a U boat, who claimed to have sunk 51,000 tons, February 6th-7th, 1917.

the high seas by German officers, received the new orders of Germany with a stupefaction which immediately developed into fierce indignation. It was as though the veil of the temple had been rent. The real meaning of German policy became clear. On February 3rd President Wilson announced to Congress "that diplomatic relations between the United States and the German Empire are severed," that the American Ambassador in Berlin would be forthwith withdrawn, that the German Ambassador in Washington had received his passports, and that a sum of £50,000,000 was required to complete warships. The House of Representatives was crowded as never before. Its galleries were packed to listen to an announcement which must make history, and which marked one of the most solemn moments in the war. As each firm sentence came from President Wilson it was answered with bursts of applause from the members and by the waving of handkerchiefs from the gallery. When at last the President concluded with the epoch-making declaration — that "if American ships and American lives should in fact be sacrificed by their (the German) naval commanders, in heedless contravention of the just and reasonable understandings of international law and the obvious dictates of humanity, I shall take the liberty of again coming before Congress to ask that authority be given me to use any means that may be necessary for the protection of our seamen and our people"— then all, able no longer to observe the convention which forbade cheering by strangers, broke forth into eager applause.

At first sight the action of the United States looked like a half measure. Its effects were not the less far-reaching. The hands of the Allies were no longer tied in their blockade of Germany. But important above all was the decisive act of President Wilson in stamping with eternal infamy the conduct of Germany. Bismarck, who was not a scrupulous man, once, in a moment of insight into the forces which ultimately sway the destinies of mankind, warned his countrymen against setting against themselves "the imponderabilia of Europe," by which he meant the moral feeling of mankind. Now the world was to be shown, amidst this final clash of all nations, whether Bismarck was right or William II.

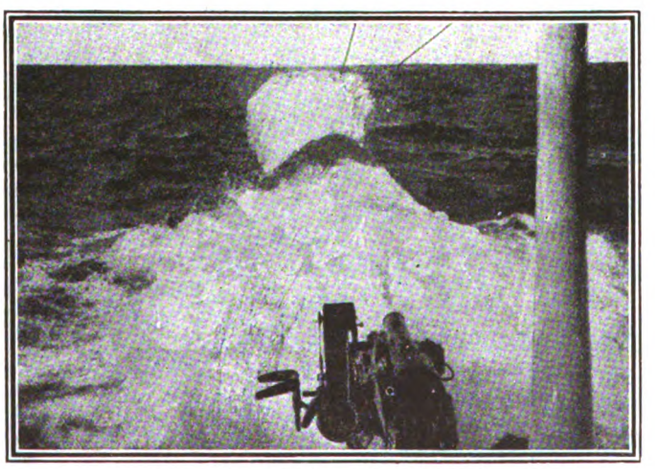
A point of further importance was that the Germans could no longer use bases, which they had perhaps secretly prepared, on United States territory, nor employ secret wireless installations in the United States, which they had as certainly arranged, nor charter United States steamers for the conveyance of oil, food, and munitions to their submarines in the Western Atlantic. They had, perhaps, made stealthy arrangements with various Mexican authorities, which enabled them to act from Mexican harbours, and this explained the continual reports of German bases in the Caribbean; while it was reported that the powerful wireless station erected near Mexico City and in the hands of the Mexican Government was at times employed for German purposes. The war, in fact, had crossed the Atlantic before President Wilson spoke his fateful words. The Monroe Doctrine had been insolently defied.

DEPUTY-LIEUT. BADEWITZ.
Took the Yarrowdale and four hundred and sixty-nine prisoners into Swinemunde, December 31st, 1916.



PIRATE'S QUICK-FIRER.
Quick-firing gun on a U boat. Improved U boats mounted 4·1 in. guns of semi-automatic type, firing a 35 lb. shell with great rapidity.

With the exception of Brazil and Chile, who took up a firm attitude, much resembling that of the United States, the other Republics of Central and South America made no decided move. German influence was so strong with them, and dislike of the powerful United States so general, that they did not respond to President Wilson's new policy, but rather threw cold water on it and on the diplomacy of Brazil, who suggested a combination against Germany; and this though the prosperity of the Argentine entirely depended on free traffic by sea between her magnificent pampas and estancias and the markets of Europe and the United States. In Asia the great State of China followed the lead of the United States. On March 14th the Chinese Government broke off relations with Germany and seized German shipping in its ports.



FULL SPEED ON THE SURFACE.
The newer German submarines in commission in 1917 could travel at eighteen to twenty-one, and even twenty-five, knots on the surface. With their low freeboard they were naturally awash when moving at that speed.

And so the "unrestricted" submarine war began. In the hour of its inception the German Staff published certain figures on which all its forecasts were based. These are of such importance that they must be reproduced from the Berlin "Lokalanzeiger." The total British tonnage the German Staff estimated at 20,000,000 tons, of which 8,600,000 had been requisitioned for military and naval purposes; 500,000 was employed in coastal trade; 1,000,000 was under repair; 2,000,000 was employed in the service of the Allies; and only 8,000,000 tons, at most, was available for the supply of Great Britain. It was

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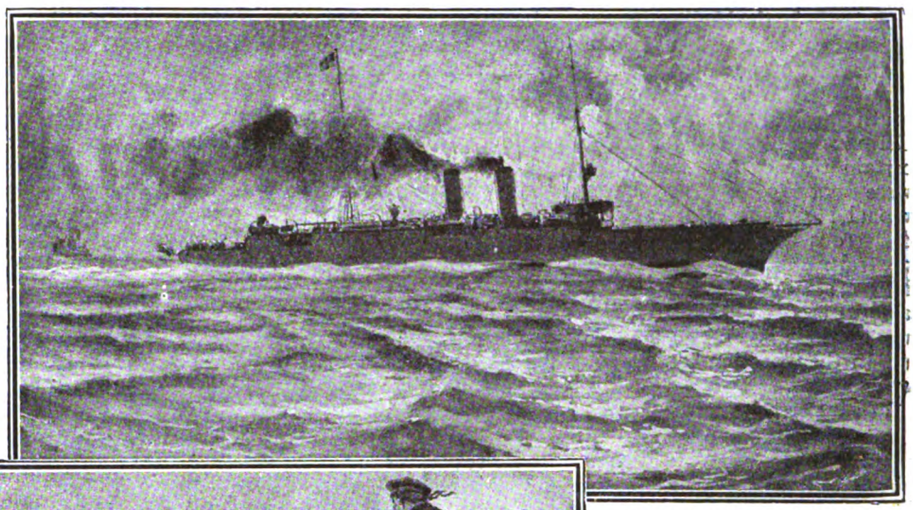
calculated that no more than 6,750,000 tons of British shipping had been serving Great Britain from July to September, 1916, eked out by 900,000 tons of allied shipping, and 3,000,000 tons of neutral vessels. This was barely sufficient, while a stoppage of neutral shipping between Denmark and Holland and Great Britain would at once produce a fat famine in the last country, as the British depended on Holland for margarine and on Denmark for butter. "Scarcity and high prices," already prevailed in Great Britain, stated the German Staff. The conditions were therefore "the most favourable conceivable" for the German campaign. At the same time it was announced that after the exhaustion caused by submarine attacks had been allowed to develop, the German High Sea Fleet might also come into action. These estimates were generally correct, and in accord with those of British unofficial authorities.

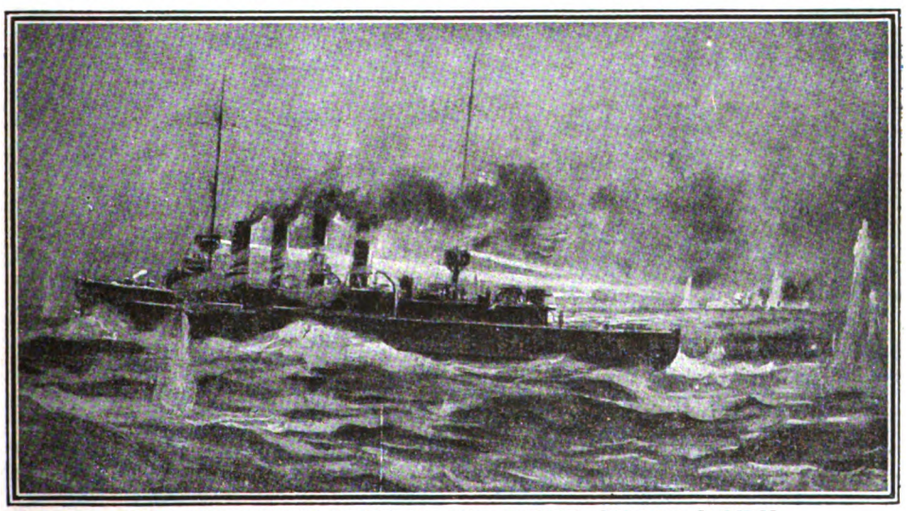
The British counter-precautions were indicated in Parliament, but the full gravity of the position was disclosed by Lord Lytton, speaking for the Admiralty on February 13th. He warned the public that, even if there were no submarines, there would be need for drastic restriction of imports, owing to the absorption of tonnage for military and naval purposes and the service of the Allies. "We are now approaching the supreme and terrible climax of the war," Lord Curzon stated. He added that further counter-measures had been taken. Scientific inventions were being employed and developed for the discovery and detection of submarines, and "lanes" of safety were being organised over the oceans, which were guarded for neutral and British shipping.



THE SOWER OF DEATH.
German mine-laying steamer busy—near the German coasts.

FISHING FOR MINES: A CATCH.
Crew of a German mine-sweeper watching a mine rising to the surface. Trawling for mines was most dangerous work, requiring great vigilance and courage. Mines brought up by the cables were exploded by rifle fire.

The number of submarines which Germany had available was estimated very variously. A German deserter put it at 1,000, but this fantastic figure certainly included vessels on the stocks, and was grossly exaggerated. A Swiss calculation gave the number as 300. The Americans, with Mr. Gerard, who had just left Germany, gave it as between 200 and 300 large boats, to which a considerable number of small boats had to be added. Whatever the number, it could be very rapidly increased, as arrangements had been made in Germany to build these craft, which were all standardised on two or three designs, with extreme speed. The various parts were made in works inland, and were put together on the sea-coast. Skilled workers were even brought back from the German Army in France. Three hundred large oil-engines were ordered in Switzerland, which would probably provide the motive power for one hundred large submarines. The real difficulty in augmenting the number of submarines necessarily lay in the provision of trained officers and men, but for them demands were made on the German Army, thus supplementing the personnel of the German Navy.



HOW THE ENEMY DEPICTED AN ALLEGED GERMAN SUCCESS.
German cruiser out on patrol destroying an English mine-layer. This illustration, like others on pages 30, 31, 32, is reproduced from a German newspaper, and may be founded on fact. No enemy surface mine-layers ventured near the English coast, but British mine-layers had to operate near German waters.

The zone which was barred to all shipping was enclosed by an imaginary line running 20 miles west of the Dutch coast, and then north and west to a point 3 miles south of the Faroe Islands, whence it turned south-westward, and then again south, 260 miles west of the Irish coast. It finally turned in and approached the Spanish coast near Cape Finisterre, running 20 miles north of that coast to the French.

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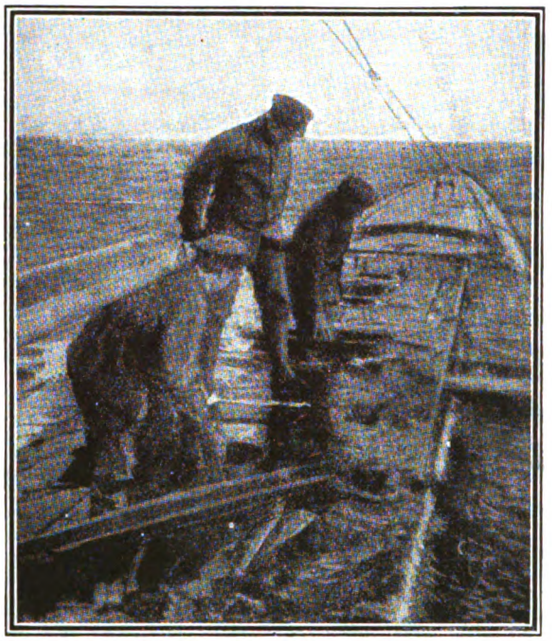
frontier. In the Mediterranean the barred zone included all the waters westward from a line drawn from the Gulf of Lyons, east of the Balearics, to the Algerian coast, but a narrow "corridor," 20 miles wide, was to be left open leading south of Sicily and Crete to the Greek coast. As the Germans scattered drifting mines everywhere, it was certain that even waters which were not professedly barred would gradually become dangerous to the most innocent neutrals. German piracy was, in fact, steadily becoming intolerable to the rest of the civilised world which had not been bred up in the peculiar Teuton code of brutality.

One of the first and most barbarous acts of German submarine officers was the destruction of the Belgian relief-ship Lars Kruse, voyaging with a safe-conduct, which was torpedoed and sunk. This cruel act did not injure Great Britain, but it increased the anguish of the miserable victims of Germany in Belgium. A Peruvian vessel, the Lorton, was sunk by a German submarine inside Spanish territorial waters on February 5th. The British liner Port Adelaide, with passengers on board, was sunk without warning about the same time. Other vessels with wheat and flour on their way to Greece, whose Government gave every sign of acting in concert with the Germans, were destroyed. Yet, though the losses were very heavy in the first week of the blockade, they were very far from answering the sanguine German hopes, which looked for at least 250,000 tons of shipping sunk a week. The following side by side are the records of ships, the destruction of which was published in the British Press in the first week of February ("unrestricted" blockade) and January ("restricted"):

DATE	FEBRUARY	JANUARY
1st ..	4	11
2nd ..	7	8
3rd ..	10	1
4th ..	11	7
5th ..	4	6
6th ..	16	3
7th ..	12	7
	64	43

The rate of destruction was increased 50 per cent. But if it was far below what Germany hoped, it was yet grave enough. It was not the case that the losses in February were light, but rather that those in January, before the "unrestricted" war, were very heavy. In the first fourteen days of February no fewer than 7,981 British ships entered or cleared at British ports, besides 452 allied and 858 neutral vessels. The British loss reported in the Press in the first fourteen days—some of it representing vessels destroyed before February 1st—was 34 ships, in addition to 25 fishing vessels and small craft.

Among the German victims were the large White Star steamer Afric, sunk about February 12th. On the previous day the Norwegian steamer Dalmata was sunk in the Atlantic, and the captain, with his wife and the crew, were bundled into small open boats in a heavy sea and bitter weather and left to die. One of the crew perished of cold, and three others were frost-bitten before a small Danish vessel chanced upon them. Even Swedish ships were not spared. The largest Swedish sailing vessel, the Hugo Hamilton, and the Swedish steamer Vaering, though en route from one neutral port to another, were both sent to the bottom, despite the fact that they had nothing which even lunatics could have called contraband on board.



The crew of a U boat on deck doing various small repairs necessitated by mishaps during a spell of dirty weather.

Pirates on the look-out in the North Sea. Outlaws, as they must have known themselves to be, the crews of German submarines had need of vigilance not to be caught unawares.

LIFE UNDER THE "JOLLY ROGER."

The humbler and feebler the Dutch became the more the Germans, like all bullies, delighted to injure and annoy the people that had once boasted a Van Tromp and a De Ruyter. On February 22nd seven Dutch steamers which left Falmouth were attacked at 5 p.m. in daylight by a single submarine, U3. This vessel went to work in the most leisurely fashion. She must have been, on the most moderate computation, thirty or forty minutes at her business. Three of the Dutch ships were torpedoed, and all these went down. In the other four, bombs were placed, a process requiring time. One of these four remained afloat, and was towed into port by a British trawler, which at last appeared on the scene. Nothing was ever published as to the fate of the other three. The Dutch had declined to accept British warnings or escort. They neither asked nor received instructions as to their route from the Admiralty, being, like very simple people, content with the promises made them from Berlin. They carried the usual navigation lights, though it was day when they were sunk. Two of them were laden with wheat and flour for Holland, a very considerable part of which might ultimately have reached Germany. It subsequently appeared that the Dutch Government had been informed by the Germans that its ships could leave with "relative security" on February 22nd, or with "absolute security" on March 17th, as it would be impossible to inform the German submarine officers at sea by February 22nd. Remembering that the German Admiralty had at its disposal high-power wireless installations which could communicate with every German submarine within 500 miles of Europe, without delay, the innocent Dutch sent

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orders to these vessels to sail. Another eleven vessels were ordered to leave at the same time. The German submarines had therefore plenty of notice, and could post themselves in readiness. When the ships were thus attacked and the German pledge was violated, the Dutch Press did not venture to utter more than a few timorous complaints. Indeed, certain of its organs attacked the British Government for detaining these ships, needless to say without rhyme or reason.

On February 25th the Germans attempted to repeat their Lusitania coup by sinking the Cunard liner Laconia, a vessel of 18,099 tons. The attack was delivered without the slightest warning, off the Irish coast, the happy hunting-ground of the German submarines. The crime was committed in the darkness. Suddenly a great crash was heard as though many tons of steel-plate had fallen from an immense height on to hollow steel. There was no panic. The vessel had been hit aft, and all the lights were turned on while the signal of distress was made by wireless. Meanwhile, the boats were lowered. After the ship had floated for a quarter of an hour the submarine drew up a second time and fired a torpedo into the Laconia's engine-room, whereupon instantly the lights went out and she sank very rapidly. In the vessel, among other women passengers, were two United States citizens, Mrs. Hoy and her daughter.

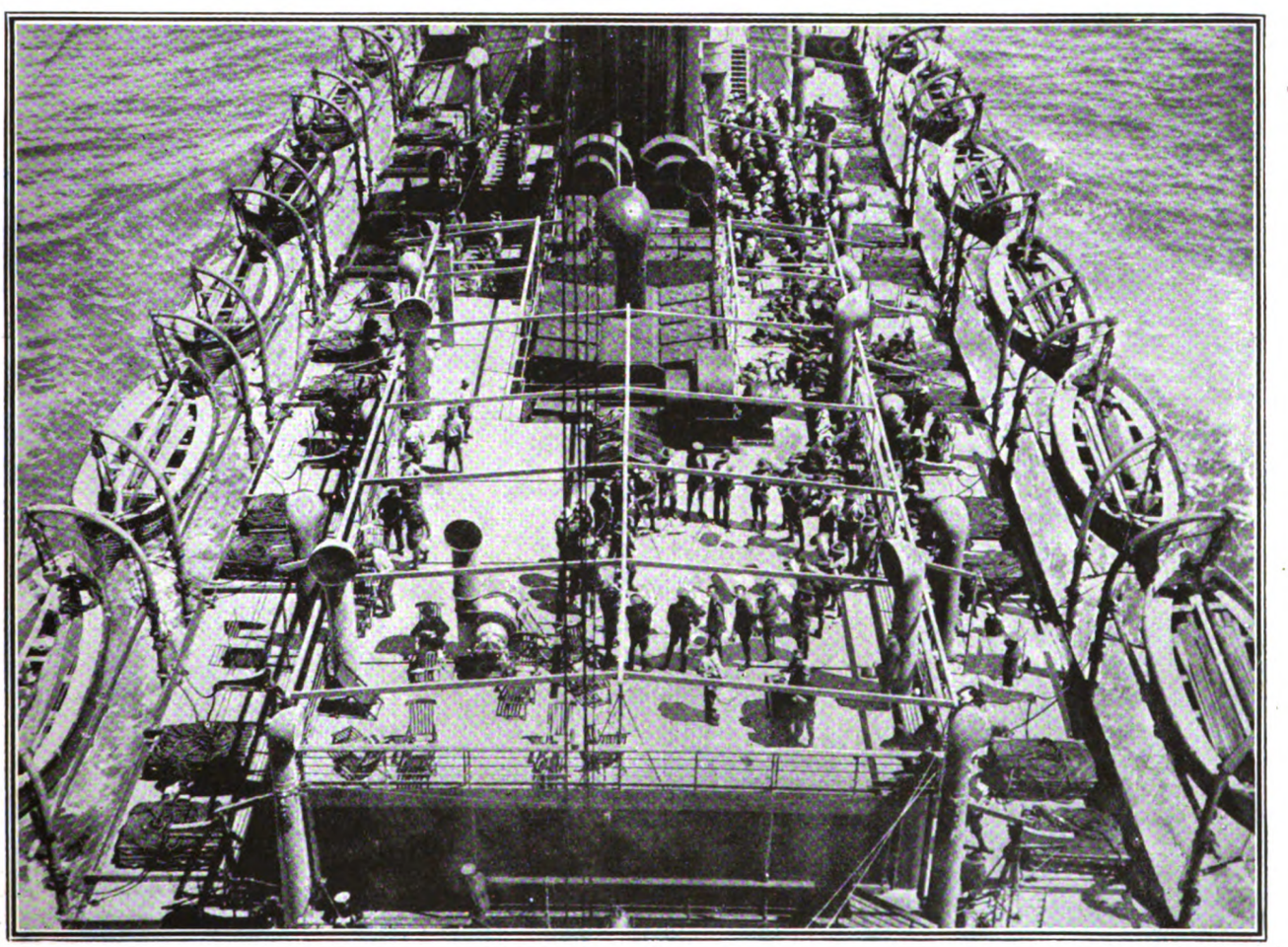
Sinking of the Laconia

The night was an intensely cold one, and, after suffering tortures, they died of exhaustion in one of the boats which had been smashed in lowering. The son and brother of the dead women telegraphed to President Wilson these words: "My beloved mother and sister, passengers in the Laconia, have been foully murdered on the high seas. As an American citizen outraged, and as such fully within my rights, as an American son and brother bereaved, I call upon my Government to preserve its citizens' self-respect, and to save others of my countrymen from such deep grief as I now feel. If my country can use me against these brutal assassins, I am at its call. If it stultifies my manhood and my nation's by remaining passive under outrage, I shall seek a man's chance under another flag." The crowning touch was given to the whole episode by a remark which the commander of the submarine made when he came close up to a boat, demanding the Laconia's captain, whom he did not ultimately find. He was told that he had sunk a vessel carrying women and children. "They are all right" was the cynically indifferent answer of the murderer.

American's passionate protest

Three days later President Wilson asked for power to arm American merchantmen. The Rubicon had been crossed and a new force was about to enter the field.

Figures for the week ending February 25th showed that 4,541 vessels of all nationalities over 100 tons had arrived in British ports. Of these 15 British ships over and 5 under 1,600 tons had been sunk, besides 4 British fishing vessels. Twelve British ships had been unsuccessfully attacked by submarines.



ABOARD A TROOPSHIP: INSPECTION TO THE MUSIC OF THE BAND.

Upon the British Navy rested the greatest part of the burden of the oversea transport for all the Allies. By a mobilisation of her mercantile marine Great Britain compassed the stupendous task satisfactorily, and by February, 1917, she had conveyed no fewer than eight million men by sea to the various fronts on which her armies were operating.

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RUSSIAN SOLDIERS' IMPROVISED WAY ACROSS A FLOODED STREAM.

Roughly and rapidly made bridge formed by Russian soldiers of logs and planks for establishing a crossing over a flooded stream. Parts of the long and varied front on which the Russian armies fought were seriously lacking in railways and other means of communication, and as much of the fighting took place along great rivers and their many tributaries, the men had frequently to show their ready resourcefulness in such improvising of bridges as is here shown, utilising for the purpose any materials which happened to be available and that could be in any way adapted for the purpose.

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RUSSIAN INFANTRY ON THE MARCH.

CHAPTER CLXXII.

RUSSIA'S TRAGIC STRUGGLE TO THE EVE OF THE REVOLUTION.

By Edward Wright.

Half a Million Germans Rescue Austria-Hungary—Railway Weakness of Southern Russia—Brussiloff has Only One Line to His Southern Base and no Proper Connections with Rumania—How Bismarck Triumphed over Alexeieff—Opening of New Offensive in Galicia—Desperate Battles around Halicz—Finns and Russians Break Across the River but Lose Ground in Counter-attack—Germany's Stronger Artillery with Ampler Munitions Dominates the Battlefield—Terrific Struggle on the Lysonia and Lechitsky's Drive Across the Carpathians—Failure of Rumanian Invasion Checks the Russian Offensive—Corrupt Russian Bureaucracy Tries to Make Separate Peace—Stürmer Overthrown by the Progressives in the Duma—Russian Nobility and Russian Princes of the Blood Royal Rally to the People—Sinister Power of Rasputin over Tsar and Tsaritza—Ministers of War and Marine Fight against Stürmer and Rasputin—Trepoff and Protopopoff Struggle for Autocracy and Democracy—Execution of Rasputin by a Grand Duke and Rise of Protopopoff as the New "Dark Force" in Russia—Radko Dimitrieff Cheers the Despairing Russian People by a Surprising Victory—Reopening of the Duma and Preparations for the Revolution.

THE position of Russia at the end of August, 1916, seemed to be of astonishing resurgent strength, as was shown in Chapter CXXXVII. (Vol. VII., page 319.) She had again overthrown the main armies of Austria-Hungary, captured 360,000 foes, over 400 guns, and put out of action a million men. So great was the force of the Russian blow that the Germans had entirely to reorganise the eastern front. They were no longer able to hold the line by merely stiffening the broken forces of their allies with occasional German units. Hindenburg took over command, and though, after a quarrel with Austro-Hungarian Headquarters, he allowed the Austrians to save their face by retaining some nominal positions, all the real work of army control and army administration was carried out by German generals. A strong Turkish force that had been trained and armed in Germany was diverted to the defence of the Lemberg line. Many of the new divisions that General von Falkenhayn had been creating for a final offensive against Russia were sent to the help of the stricken Austrians and Magyars.

General Friedrich von Bernhardi, the famous cavalry leader and preacher of Prussian militarism, was amongst the new army commanders selected to defend the Lemberg line. He fought on the Stokhod River, with a Hungarian general, Fath, nominally above him, but actually serving only as a political ornament. South of Bernhardi were Marwitz and Litzmann and Schmidt von Knobelsdorff—all three of them Germans exercising actual command, with another political ornament, Tersztyansky, nominally representing the Austro-Hungarians. Directly covering Lemberg were three more German generals, Eben, Melchior, and Wilhelmi, carrying out the work of defence which the Austrian Arab, Ermolli, pretended he was still conducting. Next came the army of the highly-capable Bavarian, Count Bothmer, who by a three months' struggle had saved the position in Galicia. Between the Dniester River and the Carpathian Mountains, where the army of the Austrian, Pflanzer-Baltin, had been annihilated, Prussians, Bavarians, and Hessians were mingled with Austrian and Magyar troops under the nominal command of two Austrians.

RUSSIAN SCOUTS HOT ON THE TRAIL.
In the broken country near the Dniester River the Germans had deeply excavated machine-gun positions which the Russians could only discover by scouting or by launching costly infantry attacks to draw their fire.

In all about half a million German soldiers came to the rescue. The general result was that the Prussians annexed Austria-Hungary and its remaining military resources. A separate peace on the part of the subject Empire became impossible, and when Francis Joseph died, towards the end of the year, and was succeeded by

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the Emperor Charles, this young man was actually in a more subordinate position to the Hohenzollerns than were the Kings of Bavaria, Saxony, and Würtemberg. Hindenburg, who was somewhat of a figurehead himself, with his Chief of Staff, Ludendorff, who was the new directing mind of Germany, exercised despotic control; and any point in Austro-Hungarian affairs with which they did not deal was settled by the former German Commander-in-Chief, Falkenhayn, who co-operated in the defence of Hungarian territory with the most brilliant of German commanders, Mackensen.

Alexeieff checks Falkenhayn's plan

The original German plan, as devised by Falkenhayn when he was Commander-in-Chief, was to make a grand drive towards the Black Sea port of Odessa. It was with this design that many fresh German divisions had been created, and the entire organisation of the German armies remodelled. The army corps had been abolished, and a small unit, formed out of three regiments of three thousand men each, constituted the new style of division. This was somewhat of a return to the old British practice of divisional commands, but the Prussians made their new divisions weak in infantry yet enormously strong in artillery. The underlying idea was to improve upon Falkenhayn's and Mackensen's artillery tactics of 1915, and blast a path to the Black Sea through millions of Russian soldiers, while using only hundreds of thousands of Teutonic troops. It was to nullify this scheme by forestalling it that the Russian Commander-in-Chief, General Alexeieff, concentrated in the south, and there gave General Brussiloff the main striking force of the resurgent Empire.

It may be doubted whether the Russian commander expected to win a great decision on the Galician battlefield. He may have contemplated the recapture of Lemberg; but that must have been almost the limit of his possible substantial gains. And though he did not reach Lemberg, he succeeded in one of his principal strategic aims. For by the middle of August the Russian offensive had so crippled Austria-Hungary as to relieve the pressure on the Italians on the Trentino front and enable them successfully to resume their attack upon Gorizia. It also reduced, but in a much slighter manner, the pressure against the French armies, as German divisions were brought both from Verdun and from the Somme in order to strengthen the defensive line near Lemberg. Then, as had been arranged at the Conference of the Allied Staffs, the Franco-British offensive, which opened on July 1st, 1916, and continued until November, 1916, helped the Russian armies in turn, by using up many of the German divisions that had been prepared for the drive towards the Black Sea.

But though Russia seemed, in the summer of 1916, to have recovered her strength, there was a most serious element of weakness in her general situation. As will be seen from the map (pages 48 and 49), a single railway line between Odessa and Tarnopol fed and munitioned General Brussiloff's southern armies. The Russians had no good railway system extending from the Black Sea to the Rumanian frontier and Bukovina. The frontier province of Bessarabia was only scantily provided with poor branch tracks from the Odessa-Tarnopol line. Imagine Sir Douglas Haig conducting a battle all along the British front with only one bad railway line linking his forces to his sea-base.

Russian deficiency of railways

WATERING HORSES AT A RUSSIAN FARMSTEAD.

Owing to the inadequacy of railway communications and the lack of good roads in Southern Russia, horses played a more important part with the Russian than with any other of the belligerent armies. Horse-power was the only means by which guns and munitions could be brought up to the front, and General Alexeieff employed countless trains of horse-drawn carts to cope, however slowly, with this vital need of his army.

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RUSSIAN CAVALRY SCOUTS IN THE CARPATHIANS.
Party of scouts on the snow-clad slopes of the wooded Carpathians. The Russians gained some notable successes in the mountains, and while fighting in the most adverse conditions, again and again pressed back not only the Austrians, but also the German troops which had been sent to "stiffen" them.

Such was actually the position of the Russian armies in Bukovina and Eastern Galicia in the summer of 1916. Only across the old frontier in the northern Kovel sector was there good railway communication with Kiev and Moscow. The principal Russian armies in the south had only one good line running to their bases of supply.

The enemy, on the other hand, had a network of lines behind his front. All the resources of Western Galicia and Poland, Hungary, Austria, Eastern Germany, and Serbia could, if occasion required, be rapidly concentrated against the southern Russian armies. A vast gridiron of railways existed. Tracks ran over the Carpathians at five points; main lines came down Silesia towards Lemberg; and new lines, both light and heavy, had been constructed since 1915 to feed the battle-front with munitions and men.

The Russian railway system had been inadequate to the needs of Southern Russia before the war. It was overstrained and greatly damaged by the unforeseen amount of traffic required in two years of terrific warfare. In the greatest agricultural Empire in the world the urban population almost starved because trains were lacking to carry the crops from the country-side to the towns. In some places mining and iron-making stopped owing to men being called up for the Army, when the Army needed material far more urgently than men. The Russian bureaucracy was slow in adapting itself to the extraordinary needs of an extraordinary war, and what remained of the comparatively small industrial and transport powers of the Empire was tragically insufficient to supply the wants of the fighting forces alone. Though the civil population suffered in the cities in a way that made it look as if Russia was blockaded, the trains, diverted almost entirely to military uses, did not suffice for the Army.

At the beginning of his offensive General Brussiloff had evaded some of his insuperable railway difficulties by accumulating large stores of shell and slowly marching his men up in masses, while supplying them by means of tens of thousands of pony-carts. So long as he continued to move directly forward towards Galicia his slow and primitive cart system and tramping bodies of reinforcements enabled him to maintain the force of his thrust. The Germans used the superior Galician and Hungarian railway systems to their utmost capacity, transporting new armies by the half-million, new guns by hundreds, and shells by tens of millions; yet they continued to give ground on the Zlota Lipa and in the Carpathians. In the end, however, the railway completely triumphed over the pony-cart and the marching power of the Russian soldier.

When the plans of the Rumanian Staff failed and the Rumanian forces withdrew from Transylvania, disaster followed, because there was no Russian railway running lengthwise through Bessarabia. The Russians were stuck. They formed a huge, primitive battering-ram, set in one direction, that could not be moved quickly enough towards a different target. They could not transfer their guns from the Galician front into Western Rumania. They could not throw a force of any great striking power across the Danube towards the Bulgarian frontier. There was no railway by which ordnance and shells, troops and supplies, could be moved. It may be doubted whether, even had the tracks existed, Russia could have found locomotives

Bessarabia an impassable barrier

IN TOUCH WITH THE ENEMY ON THE RUSSIAN FRONT.
Hillside Russian trench with the enemy within range. The officer with field-glasses was evidently directing the fire of the small group of riflemen. To the left a man had been hit, and to the right a stretcher was being taken down for removing him to a dressing-station.

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WINTER IN THE RUSSIAN TRENCHES.

Russian troops endured the rigours of the winter campaigns well. The Austro-Hungarians, badly hammered during 1916, had to be carefully nursed by the German Command to face another winter of hardship.

and rolling-stock by which to transport a modern army, with its great train of siege-guns, rapidly to the assistance of Rumania.

Undoubtedly Russia would have done better had she refused to co-operate with the former Rumanian Commander-in-Chief when he arranged to leave his Bulgarian frontier weak and invade Transylvania. But General Alexeieff, who had shown such remarkable skill during the great Russian retreat in 1915, appears to have miscalculated the situation in Germany. In the middle of August, for instance, the chief organ of the Russian Staff published the extraordinary statement that the lack of free reserves in the Central Empires would quickly lead to enormous changes on the eastern front. Yet at this time Germany, as we all now know, possessed quite a large number of free reserves. She had a new army, perfectly prepared for action, provided by General von Falkenhayn, and waiting only the turn of events in order to make a new drive against the Russian lines, or against Rumania, or to change the situation on the Somme. Therefore, when Hindenburg succeeded Falkenhayn, he inherited a reserved and hidden power of initiative which seems to have been much greater than any of the Allied Staffs calculated.

Hindenburg's hidden reserve forces

Hindenburg would have thrown this new army with its new guns into the furnace of the Somme had he reckoned that his line there was in serious danger of breaking. As a matter of fact, there was more danger of a break, especially on the Bazentin Ridge, than he could at the time foresee. Nevertheless, he accepted this risk, and more by his good luck in weather than by good generalship, succeeded in holding Bapaume, when his free reserves were at last deployed on a new battle-line, under the direction of Falkenhayn, around the passes of the Transylvanian Alps.

After Hindenburg, who was largely influenced in the matter by Falkenhayn, had surmounted the perils of the Somme, the unexpected new army which he railed to the eastern front upset all the calculations of the Russian Commander-in-Chief and his Staff. Had General Alexeieff possessed the means of rapidly manœuvring large forces, he would have probably outplayed Hindenburg and held up first Mackensen and then Falkenhayn. But there was no main Russian railway line near the new critical theatre of war.

Between the Dniester River and the Pruth River there were only two roundabout branch railways, both depending on the utterly overworked Odessa line. In the days before the war Rumania had lived in fear of Russia, and had indeed relied upon Germany and Austria-Hungary to save her from attack. With this view she had constructed five direct lines, running through the mountain valleys into Hungarian territory, and there linking up with two main networks of their new railways. But on her Russian frontier she had connection, near Jassy and Reni, merely with two poor Russian subsidiary lines, which became one track on the Dniester and thence ran as a single-line branch to the Odessa and Galician

INSTRUCTIONS BY TELEPHONE.

Telephone operators attached to a Russian field battery engaged in the Eastern Carpathians taking instructions from the officers who were checking the results attained from the observation-post.

railway. This lack of Russian railways in Bessarabia used to please the Rumanians in the days of peace. They regarded it as their technical security against attack by their old allies. Under King Carol, Rumania had been organised to fight against Russia and receive abundant supplies through Hungary. When, therefore, she returned, under the stress of circumstances, to the natural alliance she had formed in the days of Plevna, her railways were as inadequate to the new conditions as was the Southern Russian railway system.

Had Russia been a great industrial State she might still have saved the situation by the same means as the French saved Verdun. She could have brought up thousands of motor-lorries and used them incessantly while constructing new light railways. In Bessarabia, however, there were few of the fine strong roads that the French had to build and fewer great river bridges. The Danube was so wide that even a light temporary bridge of pontoons taxed the resources of military engineers. In the southern part of Bessarabia there was a strange outlying German settlement wedged between the Slavs and Latins of this frontier

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province. Naturally, all these Germans were not loyal subjects of the Tsar, and their ca' canny methods added to the difficulties of moving a Russian army to the help of Rumania.

In the absence of a huge fleet of motor-lorries, the genius of dead Bismarck vanquished the living minds of General Brussiloff and General Alexeieff. As a direct result of Bismarck's skill in diplomacy, the outlets of Rumania were turned in the wrong direction and she had no strategic links with her proper allies. Under these conditions—as everyone can now see, wise after the event—Rumania might have been of most service to the Entente if she had continued her cautious and subtle policy of benevolent neutrality. The utmost she could have done in military action would have been to entrench on the Transylvanian Alps, and stand there strongly on the defensive, with a fair railway system feeding her troops, while using what striking power she possessed in attacking the Bulgarians across the Danube. This scheme of action would have enabled the slowly-moving Russians gradually to reinforce the main Rumanian front, while imposing on the new army of the Central Empires the difficult task of attacking upon tremendous and entrenched mountain slopes.

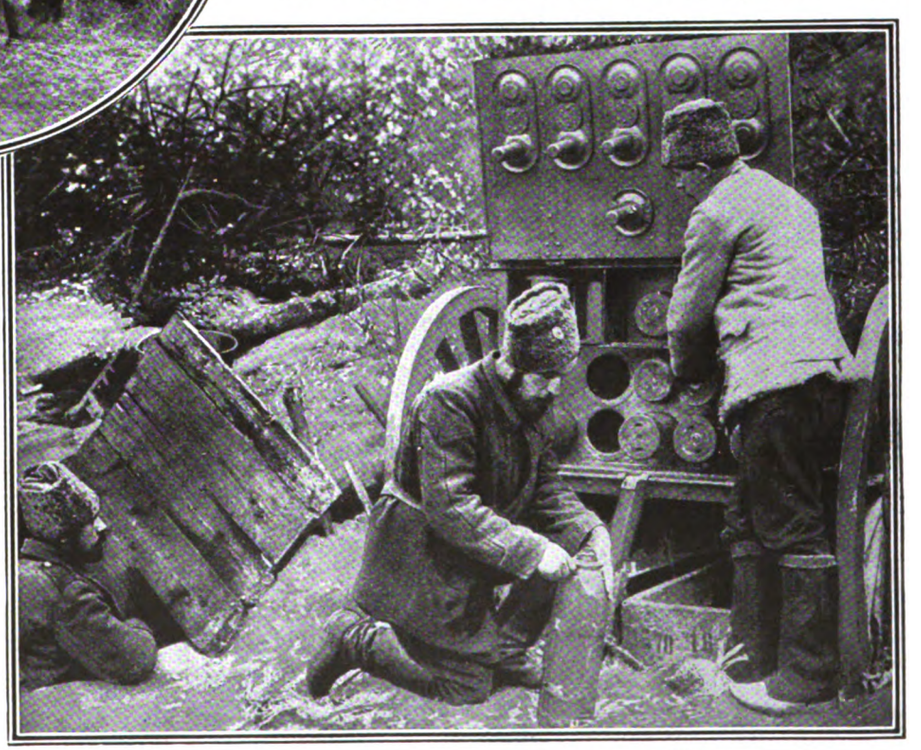
RUSSIAN OBSERVATION-POST.
Careful ingenuity was exercised in hiding these points, vitally necessary to accurate gun fire, from enemy scouting aeroplanes.

General Alexeieff, however, appears to have shared to some extent in the over-confidence of the Rumanian Staff. He calculated that Rumania would scarcely need any assistance, and that the entire reserves of Germany would be soon exhausted in the Transylvanian battles. It was not clear whether the famous Russian Secret Service was at fault in the matter, or whether the element of surprise resided mainly in the unexpected quantity of heavy artillery with which the new German divisions were supplied. Probably the Germans had both a larger reserve than the Russian Staff calculated and stronger artillery than the Rumanian Staff was prepared to meet.

On the Russian front the number of hostile troops was suddenly increased in a remarkable manner. Count Bothmer's army, for example, had consisted in June, 1916, of six Austrian divisions and one German division. When the Austrian forces were half shattered and withdrawn, they were replaced by seven fresh German divisions, a Turkish army corps, and two fresh Austrian army corps. This army thus became, after a great defeat, stronger than it had been when it was attacked. A similar strengthening process went on all along the front General Brussiloff was assailing. The organising skill of the Germans transformed the scattered remnants of the Austro-Hungarian Army into good fighting material. The men were for the first time fed in a regular and sufficient manner. They were treated as a good farmer treats his cattle, and properly prepared as valuable material for slaughtering. No longer were they marched thirty miles a day along the lines where trains were passing with empty cars. As an Austrian private put it: "The Germans looked after us better than our own officers!"

Germany reorganises Austrian army

The consequence was that the spirit of the troops steadily rose with the improvement of their commissariat, transport, and general management. There was good fighting material in the Hapsburg Empire, and the great defeats had been largely due to the lack of business capacity in the matter of food and arrangement of work on the part of the self-conceited and lazily-brutal Austrian upper class. The Germans were quite as brutal as the Austrians, but they did not waste the strength of the manhood of the country like the domineering spendthrifts of the Austrian nobility. When, however, the Germans had rested, fed, and re-equipped the Austrian, Magyar, and Slav races, and brought them under an iron but efficient discipline, they employed them in the most cynical manner. "When an attack begins," said an Austrian, "we are placed in front.



PUTTING THE FINISHING TOUCHES TO A SHELL.
A Russian heavy battery at work in a well-concealed thicket. Before loading the shell in the gun the kneeling artilleryman set the movable time-fuse to agree with the number of seconds it would take to reach the point where it was intended that the shell was to burst.

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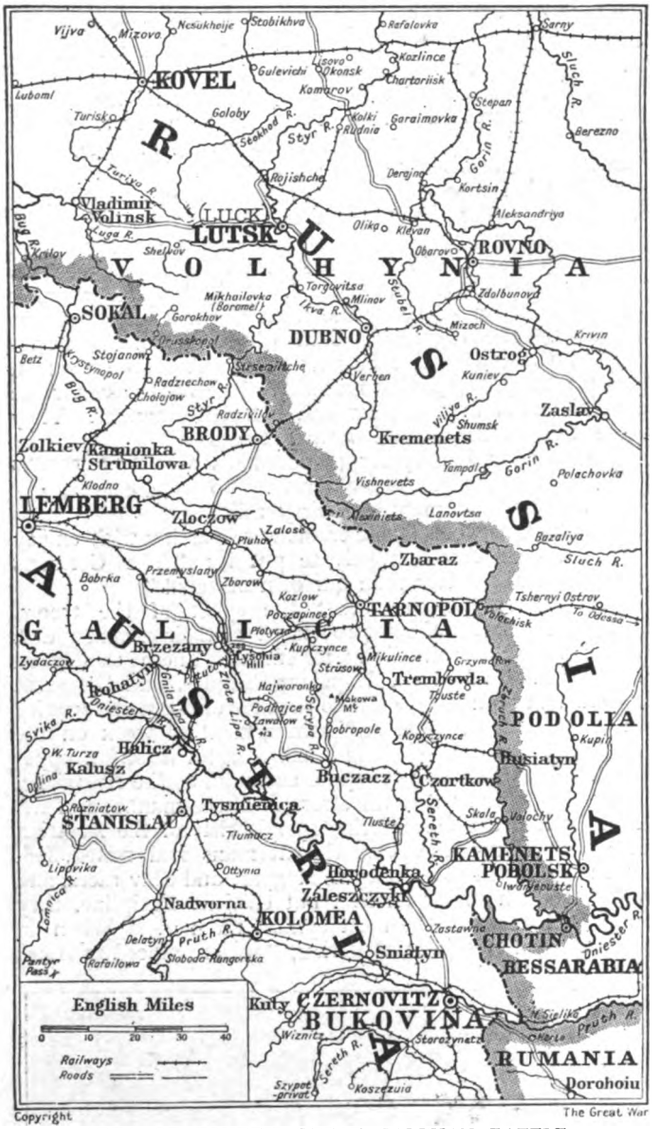

AREA OF FOURTH GREAT GALICIAN BATTLE.
Map to illustrate the operations in Galicia, August-September, 1916, when General Shcherbacheff broke across the Zlota Lipa and the Dniester.

Then, when we have been killed, our bodies make cover for a German advance."

But even the Austrians could not deny that their Machiavellian allies were justified by the results obtained. Victories were won, and though the Austrians in the first line paid the larger price in blood, and the Germans in the second line won most of the laurels, the successes were practically decisive. For the Austrian breakdown in 1916 was remedied in a more brilliant manner than the similar breakdown in 1914. The able Germans used Austria as a grinding-wheel against Russia. They exhausted the strength of their ally even more thoroughly than they weakened the thrusting force of Russia, and thus furthered the political design, underlying their military plan, of making the Hapsburg Empire permanently subject to Prussian control.

Austria subjected to Prussia

After the retreat of Bothmer's army from the Strypa River line in the middle of August, the Russian armies under General Shcherbacheff and General Lechitsky advanced in an enveloping movement south-east of Lemberg. Bothmer took up a new position on the Zlota Lipa River line, with his right wing slanting backward to the town of Halicz on the Dniester. While falling back, Bothmer received as a reinforcement the new Turco-German army already mentioned, the aim of the General Staff being apparently to make the new Bothmer army one of the principal thrusting forces of an intending drive towards Odessa if Rumania remained neutral. Bothmer's forces occupied a front of fifty miles, from Halicz on the Dniester to the village of Pluhov on the Lemberg and Tarnopol branch railway line.

A range of hills stretches from Pluhov to the sources of the Zlota Lipa River, and extends farther southward in a tract of high broken country to the Dniester River. While Bothmer had been making his long stand farther eastward, multitudes of men, under the direction of German engineers, had been fortifying the high wooded hills and the steep grassy valley slopes. In some places extensive wire entanglements were erected, and on the edges of all the high oak forests were screened and deeply-excavated machine-gun positions, which the Russians could only discover by launching infantry against them. By his great stand in Eastern Galicia, Bothmer had gained three months' grace for the engineering work in his rear. Consequently, when he retired he possessed, in addition to a new army, one of the strongest fortified lines on any front.

The Russian generals then needed parks of gigantic ordnance such as Sir Douglas Haig and General Foch were using on the Somme. Yet such guns, which might have been obtained from Japanese, British, and American armament firms, were useless in themselves. Both for mobility in handling and for rapidity of shell supply, monster guns of the new type needed light railways in a network behind the fighting-line, with several main lines of track running towards the Russian bases of supply. But, as we have seen, the Russians had neither the building material nor the rolling-stock to create a vast modern system of railways as an answer to the new fortifications the Germans had constructed. They had to continue to use only such guns of medium calibre as could be slowly hauled about by horse-power and supplied with shells by cartage. It was, therefore, by the concentration of field-artillery very close to the fire-trench that the Russian commanders strove to break the Zlota Lipa line.

The Fourth Galician Battle

They opened the fourth great Galician battle on August 29th, 1916, by an attack on a height covering the town of Zawalow, on the lower course of the Zlota Lipa. At this point Bothmer's wing began to bend back towards Halicz, forming a salient exposed to assault on two sides. But the position had been selected with good judgment. A great height, now famous as Hill 413, covers the river town, and by means of its artillery swept part of the river valley. Yet, climbing up the slopes, with their artillery behind them making lanes through the Teutonic entanglements, the Russian infantry won by hand-power the great hill, which had seemed invincible to any force but the fire of heavy modern guns. Then, with this important key position in their hands, the soldiers of General Shcherbacheff delivered a general assault on the whole length of Bothmer's southern flank, from Zawalow to Mariampol on the Dniester. They broke across the Zlota Lipa some ten miles north of Zawalow, and also penetrated across the Dniester between Mariampol and Halicz.

Day and night the struggle raged from August 30th to September 3rd. When both rivers were forced, the advance lay through successive lines of hills and deep woods, where the German troops fought with splendid courage. In the forests between Zawalow and Halicz the Russians were three times repulsed by the Brandenburgers and Pomeranians. But in the afternoon of September 3rd the right flank of the Germans was turned, after most bitter hand-to-hand fighting, and, after covering four square miles of woodland with their own bodies and hostile corpses, the Russian infantry pierced the German flank and let their cavalry through the gap. Germans, Turks, and Austrians were overwhelmed, four thousand prisoners were

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The Grand Duke Michael, to whom Tsar Nicholas II. abdicated his crown, March, 1917.

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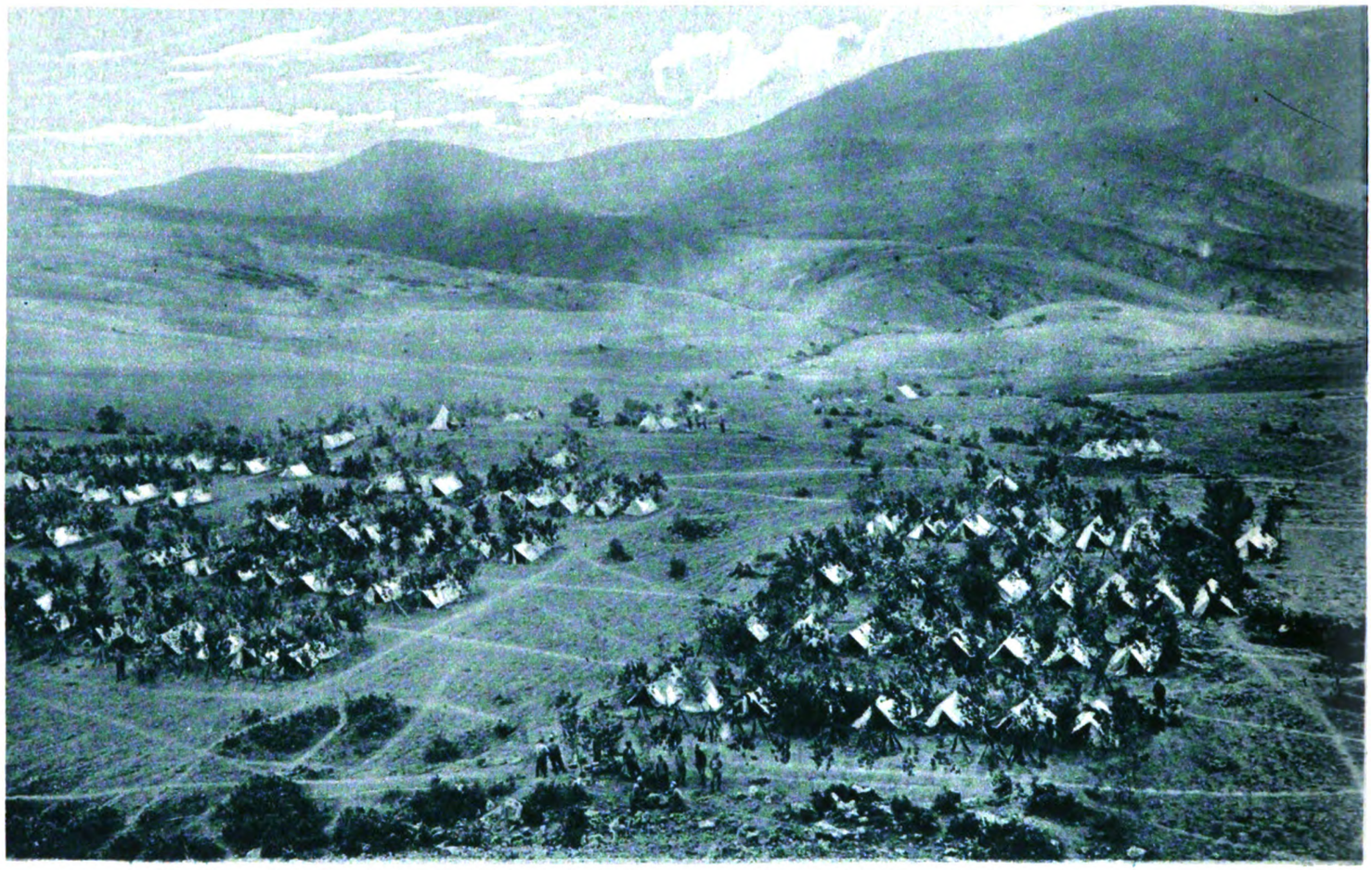

Keeping the Feast of Pentecost in a Russian Camp, Valley of Tchorok, Caucasus.

General Baratoff (wearing a white fez) leading Russian troops into a Persian town.

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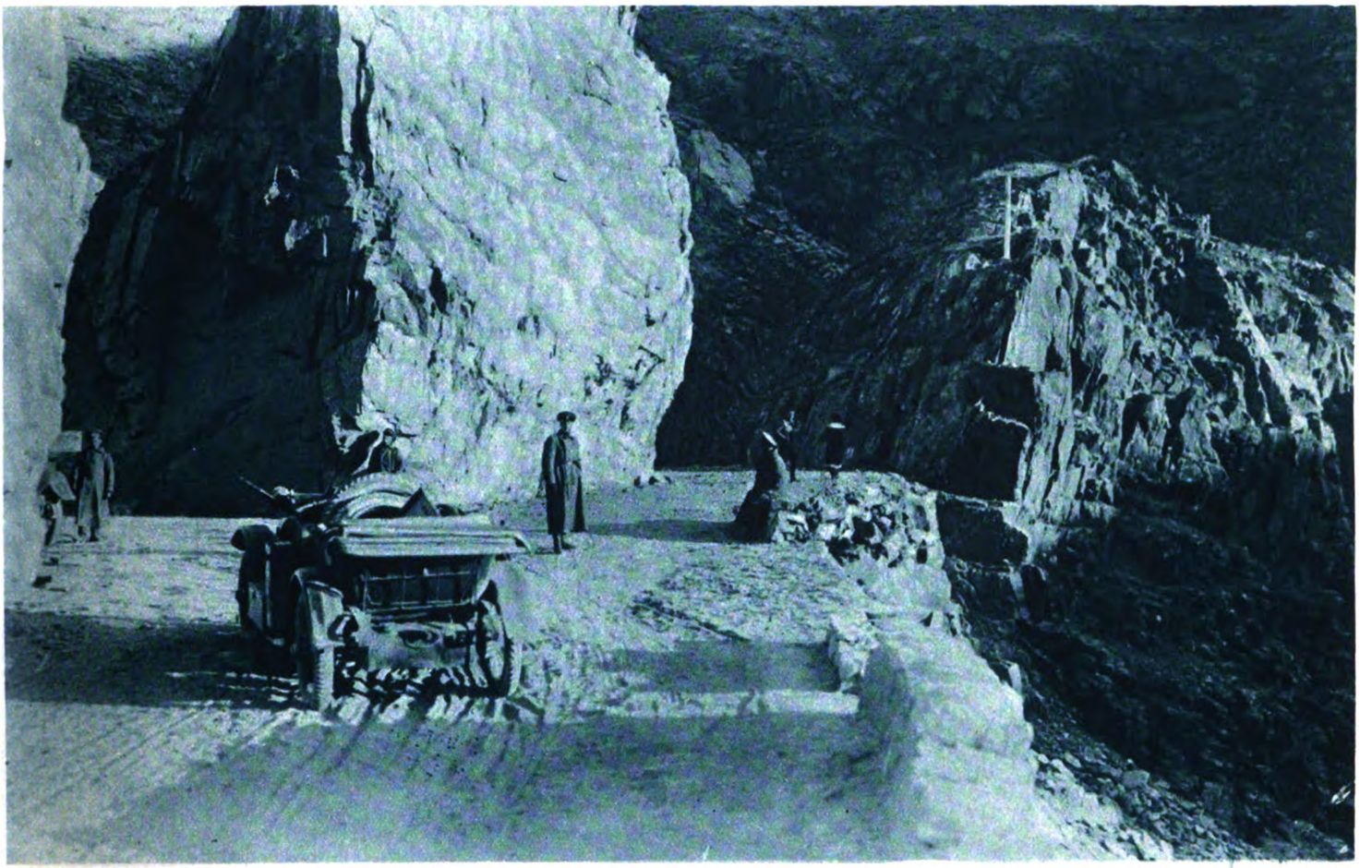

Scene on the route of the Russian advance through Persia towards Bagdad.

The Shah of Persia with his chief officers of State advancing to meet General Baratoff

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When winter held the western front in thrall: Icebound advanced post of the Russian contingent in France.

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taken, and Lemberg again seemed about to fall to General Brussiloff by the same manœuvre as that which he had employed in 1914.

Halicz, which he had captured in September, 1914, was once more enveloped on three sides. The Turks had been broken in the central portions of the Zlota Lipa, south of the town of Brzezany, and the victors stormed westward and arrived within gunshot of the railway feeding Halicz. Thereupon, the line of battle moved from the Zlota Lipa River line to the Gnila Lipa River line. At the same time as the army of General Shcherbacheff pressed back the enemy's south-eastern flank and assailed his front, the army of General Lechitsky, operating on the Dniester line, gained a series of remarkable successes. Lechitsky's men stormed the railway-station of Halicz, and then swerving to the north-west, crossed the Dniester and cleared the corner between the main river and its tributary, the Gnila Lipa. Pursuing their stricken enemy, they also crossed the Gnila Lipa in the night of September 4th, the heralds apparently of one of the grandest victories in Russian history.

Some twenty miles of fortified hills and forests had been stormed in a battle lasting one hundred and fifty hours. The broken enemy wing had withdrawn in remnants northward and westward along the railways connecting with Lemberg. Of the three hostile bastion railway towns on the fifty-mile front, Halicz in the south seemed about to fall, Brzezany in the centre appeared to be tottering, and Pluhov in the north was menaced by the wings of two Russian armies. The forces holding the bending line were, as General Brussiloff stated at the time, "the last living rampart of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy."

Value of Brussiloff's success negatived

It is composed (he continued) of the very last soldiers that Austria-Hungary can still put into the line. Some have been hurriedly withdrawn from the Italian front; then a number of Germans have been brought rom our northern front and from the French front; and, finally, there are some Turks. The hostile army I had in front of me in June is almost destroyed or captured. The more numerous and conglomerate new army is resisting desperately on strong mountain positions, which have to be carried by storm one after the other. Step by step we are advancing—only step by step. Yet we do advance, and the spirit of my men remains very bright and very high. Soon the co-operation of the brave Rumanian Army will make it easier for us to win a decisive result.

It is clear from this statement that the commander of the southern armies of Russia had largely based his new campaign upon the pressure which the Rumanian forces in Transylvania were expected to bring upon the last free reserves of the Central Empires. But owing to General von Falkenhayn's creation of some twenty-three new divisions, equipped with powerful artillery, the enemy's free reserves were capable of throwing back and breaking the forces of Rumania while resisting the weight of the Russian attacks.

General Brussiloff, it is patent, was relying upon information collected by the Staff of his Commander-in-Chief, General Alexeieff, and reckoning confidently that either the Germans would break in front of him, if they went to the assistance of the Austrians in Transylvania, or that the Austrians, left unassisted, would break in front of the Rumanians. But the arrival of General von Falkenhayn, with a new German army on the Transylvanian front, and the appearance of General Mackensen with an unexpected force of artillery on the Danube front, entirely altered the complexion of affairs, and deprived the successes of the Russian armies of much of their value.

Meanwhile, General Brussiloff's campaign, which had opened victoriously, went on for a while in a promising manner. The second great Battle of Halicz began on September 5th, 1916. The Russians strengthened themselves on the Gnila Lipa, in their position behind the town, and the Germans retired from the southern bank of the Dniester River and entrenched on the higher ground across the river. They blew up the forts and the bridge, and removed their stores, while all the civilian population fled excepting the little sect of curious Jews of Tartar strain, the Karites. The Karites refused to leave their street, and going down into the cellars stayed there throughout the battle. The Germans were picked troops, including some of the 3rd Division of the Guard, with the Fusiliers of the Guard and the Pomeranian Grenadiers. They held the river-line of the Narayowka tributary, between the Zlota Lipa and the Gnila Lipa, and along their river-line ran the branch railway linking Halicz with Lemberg. In a fierce first drive the Russians stormed across the river, some twenty-two miles north of Halicz, and constructed an entrenchment on the western bank. They fortified a forest and two mountains on a semicircular front three miles long and two miles deep.

Then with one Finnish and one Russian division operating

THE GRAND DUKE NICHOLAS.

As supreme Commander of all the Russian Armies and later as Commander-in-Chief in the Caucasus, the Grand Duke Nicholas proved himself a great general, but the Provisional Government deemed it wise to supersede him.

in the salient across the river, General Shcherbacheff tried to break the last living rampart of the Hapsburg Empire and obtain a decisive victory.

The Germans had artillery of larger calibre and longer range, and drenched with barrier fire the portion of their river-line taken by the Russians. The Russians had but 6 in. and 7·2 in. guns, for their new 11·2 in. howitzer, firing a new Japanese high explosive, did not come into action for another month, owing to railway difficulties. But despite the enemy's superiority in material, and his concentration of the finest German troops, he was at last thrown back after terrible slaughter and the capture by the Russians of three thousand prisoners. This happened on September 17th, when the struggle in the salient had lasted for ten days.

The German commander, General von Gerok, at once brought up reinforcements and, counter-attacking on both sides of the river, recovered some of the lost ground, and took in turn more than three thousand prisoners. The wood by the village of Svistelniky was the main pivot of

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[British official photograph.

SAPPERS OF A TURKESTAN BATTALION BEING DECORATED FOR DISTINGUISHED SERVICES.

General Prschevalski decorating sappers of the 2nd Turkestan Battalion for their distinguished services on the Russian front. The man-power that formed the great Russian armies was drawn from all parts of the vast dominions that stretch from the Baltic to the Pacific, and these sturdy fighters had travelled from the distant province of Turkestan to take their part and win distinction in the European fighting-line.

this almost decisive clash of Slav and Teuton. The wood changed hands six times a day on some occasions. The German Guardsmen and the Finns and Russians swayed continually to and fro in bayonet and hand-bomb combats between the blasted trees and over the shell-ploughed ground. The Russian armoured cars fought like old-fashioned cavalry in advance of the infantry, steering under shell fire through the German wire entanglements and keeping down the German machine-gunners until their own bayonets arrived. In the end, however, the longer-ranged German guns dominated the battlefield, and though the struggle went on until the first week in October, the opposing forces then remained in much the same positions as those which had been held in the first week of September. General von Gerok, by his great counter-attack of September 19th, had saved Halicz from falling, and while General Brussiloff was preparing in turn to send out new divisions for a final blow from the river salient, the unfortunate turn of events on both frontiers of Rumania compelled him to cease his own thrusting operations.

The Second Battle of Halicz

About twenty miles north-east of the Svistelniky salient there was another prolonged and intense struggle around the northern course of the Zlota Lipa and the railway junction near Brzezany. There, in a diversified region of river marshes, upland forests, and high, bare rock, the left wing of General Shcherbacheff's army tried to crown the operations by breaking the German centre and striking through directly to Lemberg. South-east of the town rises a hill, Lysonia, which overlooks the valleys of the Zlota Lipa and its tributaries and dominates the railway lines and the river fords. On September 2nd the Russian guns began to bombard the Lysonia mass of chalk and rock, and the high explosive broke the stones into murderous splinters that hurtled among the defending troops. Nearly all the German artillery on the height was silenced, when the Russian infantry clambered up from the valley and, in a hand-to-hand combat that went on all day and through the night, carried the Lysonia and the other hills south-east of the town. In the end the bodies were heaped like ramparts; but they were mostly Austrian and Polish corpses. The German commander in this sector, General von Eben, merely used the troops of his ally to wear out the Russians, and kept his own Bavarian regiments in reserve.

When the Russians had carried all the heights and taken 2,700 prisoners, they were counter-attacked before dawn the next day (September 3rd) and driven from the Lysonia height by the fresh Bavarian reserves. Fatigued though the Russians were, they managed to hold one of the main hills in the angle between the rivers, and after another month of terrific fighting, similar to that of the Somme, they captured the important village of Potutory, at the point where two railways crossed below the bastion town. But Brzezany remained—like Halicz near by and like Bapaume far distant—an unbroken tide-mark of the Allies' slow progress in the summer offensive of 1916.

Farther northward, in the neighbourhood of Vladimir Volinsk, in a land of low hills watered by tributaries of the Bug River, there was also heavy fighting. The army of General Kaledin, which had captured Lutsk (Luck) and advanced across the Stokhod towards Kovel, opened another offensive around the village of Shelvov, amid the marshes and forests of the Luga River. This operation was subsidiary to the main southern actions around Lemberg, and was designed to prevent the Germans from reinforcing the critical front. The battle ceased for a while when the principal Russian thrust in the south failed of effect. It was resumed in the latter part of September, and continued until the middle of October. But all the October actions by General Brussiloff's armies were of a defensive nature. They were partly intended to relieve the pressure on the Rumanian Army, and also to veil the withdrawal of the central Russian army under General Sakharoff, as it moved southward to save the upper corner of Rumania from the invaders.

Second Battle of the Carpathians

On the northern Rumanian frontier another fine fighting force of Russians, under General Lechitsky, had originally prepared to break across the Carpathians into the Hungarian Plain. By the middle of August the Tartar Pass, leading to Maramaros Sziget, was stormed and held, and by the end of the same month the Pantyr Pass, farther north, was also occupied. General Lechitsky's southern forces then began a great mountain battle on a front of ninety miles, from the Rumanian frontier to the central Hungarian border. Amid peaks rising to 7,000 feet, the Carpathian Battle, that had been broken off in 1915, was resumed with greater fury. Each side had guns of heavier calibre.

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such as the 6 in. which was hauled behind the light artillery to points of vantage on the great Carpathian slopes. Primeval forests, through which only a few paths were kept, were the scene of machine-gun ambushes and arduous enveloping movements. Around every great mountain the fighting increased in intensity during the first part of September, when the Rumanian advance into Transylvania seemed to promise a great combined Russo-Rumanian success. General Lechitsky's forces were divided into small groups by the peaks and ridges of naked rock. No manœuvring by rapid concentration was possible. Only from the distant Army Headquarters could any large surprise effect be engineered by the slow process of sending up reinforcements, with a new supply train, wearily to tramp to the scene of action.

End of Second Carpathian Battle

The enemy incessantly poured his men and supplies forward, and continually recovered from the defeats inflicted upon him. Nevertheless, the three Russian army corps detached for the mountain operations gradually worked forward. By the middle of September five of the great heights between Mount Pantyr and Dorna Vatra had been captured, each with a considerable remnant of its garrison. Then towards the end of the month, when nearly all the main crests had been occupied and the Russians were fighting their way down some of the eastern ravines towards the Hungarian villages, the general scheme of the offensive was completely checked by the failure of the Rumanian wing to maintain the ground it had won. After the retreat of the old allies of Russia the Second Battle of the Carpathians came to an end, with the Russians still holding on to the ninety miles of crest and forest they had vainly won.

Generally speaking, the great Russian offensive of the summer of 1916 achieved a measure of partial success, similar to that attained in the Franco-British offensive on the Somme. No decision was effected, but debilitating losses were inflicted on the forces of the Central Empires. By far the greater portion of these losses fell upon Austria-Hungary, who was most seriously crippled in man-power thereby. But the Austro-Hungarian munition works

[British official photograph.

TURKS AND TEUTONS TAKEN PRISONER ON THE RUSSIAN FRONTS.

Group of Turkish prisoners with a German officer, to the left, at Erzingan in Armenia. The rough-looking crowd was part of the forces which had been captured by the army of the Grand Duke Nicholas on its triumphant way to the taking of that town. Above: Batch of German prisoners who had been taken by the Russians during the advance of General Kaledin's army on the Lutsk-Kovel road.

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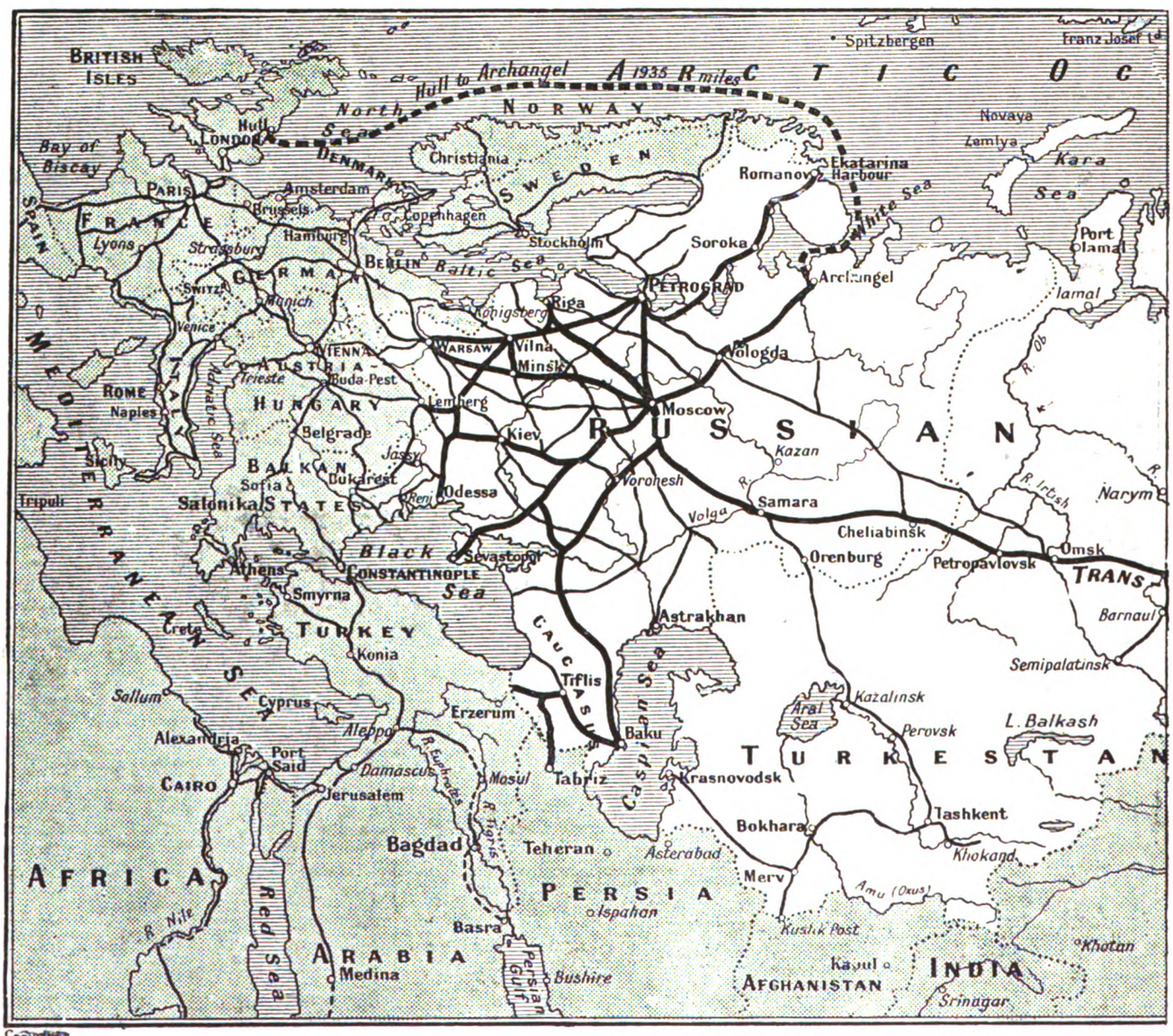
remained in full productiveness, and, under German supervision, were again speeded-up to replace by machinery the million of men that had been lost. The Russian capacity for the production of shells, explosives, and guns fell behind that of Austria-Hungary, owing to the fact that the rich industrial and mining districts of Russian Poland were occupied by the enemy. Russia had lost an army of trained mechanics as well as mines and factories and plant of many kinds. Under the new conditions of warfare she was still able to defeat Austria-Hungary and a part of the forces of Germany, but she could not make her superior man-power tell in a decisive manner because of her much inferior industrial power and political organisation.

Despotism *versus* Mandarin system

Germany remained enormously strong, by reason both of her supremacy in steel-making and of her extraordinarily efficient bureaucratic and military systems. The German Empire was a true despotism, possessing in almost practical perfection the military virtues of a despotism. There was no serious element of weakness in the German organisation. The official class was hard-working and, on the whole, remarkably honest, and the military class was of similar character. Very powerful caste interests, such as those of the large landed estates, were no doubt able to bring influence to bear upon the Government which did not always make for general national strength. Yet even in the case of the agrarian interest there was some attempt to reconcile the needs of the urban populace with the requirements of the producers of food. The farmers were favoured for much the same reason as the troops were fostered. They were recognised, long before the outbreak of hostilities, as a grand, essential element in the strength of the nation for war.

Russia, on the other hand, was not a despotism, though several Tsars had occasionally endeavoured to follow the German example. The Russian system of Government was more of an Oriental than a European type. In its virtues and defects it somewhat resembled the mandarin system of China. The official class was underpaid and yet well-to-do, because it obtained money from persons who had occasion to use the machinery of the State for their private advantage. The corruption, however, was itself of a slack, easy-going nature, the money obtained being regarded rather as the perquisite of office than as blackmail or bribery. Routine was esteemed the master principle in the Russian Civil Service. Any sign of initiative was considered either an unfair attempt to attract attention and secure rapid promotion or an unscrupulous trick to obtain a larger field for money-making.



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MAP SHOWING THE SEA AND RAILWAY COMMUNICATIONS BY WHICH

The position of the Russian armies in Bukovina and Eastern Galicia in the summer of 1916 may be likened to that of the British armies in France, had Kovel sector was there good railway communication with Kiev and Moscow. Our map also

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Under peace conditions this system, which was historically connected with the system established in Russia by Mongol conquerors, more or less met the needs of the Empire, which was still young and rapidly developing. The breeding and colonising power of the race, with its traditions of local co-operation, made strongly for ultimate stability and progress. Russia was growing enormously strong by practically the same means as the races of China were spreading, without a struggle, over the earth. The inefficiency of the Russian bureaucracy was almost a praiseworthy quality, as, unlike the Prussian system of machine-like despotism, it allowed scope for the evolution of a healthy Government.

Under war conditions the loose, careless, and corrupt system of Russian officialism proved disastrously inadequate. The situation in the European War was far more complicated than it had been in the Manchurian campaign. In the war with Japan the strong and efficient German elements in Russia, drawn from the Baltic provinces and from the German settlements in Russian Poland, Volhynia, and the Chersonese, were loyal to the land of their birth and vehement against the Japanese. Indeed, it was the large and powerful German element in Russia that agitated against any peace with Japan, and tried to force a fight to the utter finish. At one time it is reported that nearly eighty out of a hundred officers in the Russian Army were men of Teutonic stock.

In the war with Germany and Austria-Hungary a considerable proportion of the German-Russians remained loyal to the land of their birth. Among the barons of the Baltic provinces, for example, were several leading men who were firmly attached to the cause of the Allies. But, as was to be expected, after years of world-wide intrigue of an intensive nature on the part of the Germans, some of the Teutonic settlers scattered about Russia entered on a campaign of treachery. In military matters operations skilfully planned by the General Staff, which should have issued in victory, ended strangely in defeat, owing to the conduct of some German-Russians occupying positions of authority. After this direct kind of treason on the battlefield had been generally checked, by the removal of suspected commanders and Staff officers and certain persons at Headquarters, the disloyal element in the Russian national life began to work less directly but more perniciously upon the political administration of the Empire.

Treachery of German-Russians

In the Russian Civil Service the methodical, businesslike and hard-working German-Russian was generally the master of the ordinary, easy-going Russian official. He

RUSSIA RECEIVED SUPPLIES FROM HER BRITISH AND JAPANESE ALLIES.
the latter been compelled to fight with only one poor railway line linking them with their sea-base. Only across the old frontier in the northern shows in English miles the distances supplies had to be brought from Great Britain and Japan.

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[British official photograph.

RUSSIAN TRANSPORT IN ASIA MINOR.
The camel was largely utilised for carrying the necessaries for an army pushing far from its bases of supply, in the difficult mountainous country of the Caucasus.

RUSSIANS PREPARING BILLETS IN AN ARMENIAN VILLAGE.
Mud-plastering the flat roof of an Armenian dwelling to be utilised as a winter billet by Russian soldiers. The houses in many Armenian villages were of a very primitive character, consisting of but little more than irregularly-shaped stones roughly piled as walls.

was more practical, more industrious, and more ambitious, though not more honest. In peace-time his loyal aim was to impart to the Russian system the stern and machine-like efficiency of the Prussian system, which he genuinely admired as the highest standard of good government. He despised the Russians because they would not be logical and strict and hard, but wavered between mediæval communism, modern bureaucratism, and essays in democratic institutions. The German of this class often gave up the Russian idea, because he could not understand it, and went over to the clean-cut Prussian idea of a modern caste organisation, because the latter at least satisfied his intellect. The most important men of this type did not commit any overt act of treason towards Russia. They did not wish to see her beaten to the ground and reft of her Baltic and Black Sea provinces. In spite of their intellectual prejudices, they loved the Russian character, and the most they wanted was to see Russia receive such a lesson from Germany as would force her to adopt the Prussian system of social and political organisation, and acquire all the military strength appertaining to a thoroughgoing autocracy. Their principal aim was to detach Russia from the democracies of Western Europe, and bind her to the Central Empires by means of a new Holy Alliance of a strongly anti-democratic nature.

Prussian ideals and Russian character

The unexpected strength which Russia displayed in the summer of 1916, during the operations in Galicia and Volhynia, enabled the Russian-Germans of the bureaucratic school to enter on their negotiations in promising circumstances. The German, Austrian, and Hungarian governing classes had domestic problems of their own, causing them deep anxiety. Their populaces were very discontented, and were looking anxiously forward to peace. In Germany the Government had been compelled to come to an arrangement with some of the leaders of the Social Democratic movement, and promise them a large and permanent share of power, with Ministers responsible to the representatives of the people. In itself this loose and vague offer of Liberal Government meant no more than the offer made by the Prussian governing class to the Prussian people during the Napoleonic Wars, and disregarded when the enemy was completely defeated. It was only a political device for stimulating the last energies of a nation of political serfs by showing them a mirage of democratic freedom that was destined to fade away, if by hard fighting they could ever approach it.

Foresighted wisdom of Bismarck

Nevertheless, the men who revived this old plan of popular deception could foresee that serious trouble would arise when the people found that they had been again cheated. In nineteenth-century Germany the ferment of disappointed hopes had lasted for two generations, until the rise to power of Bismarck; and Bismarck had largely saved his class and stopped the movement towards democracy by relying upon Russia as the main support of reactionary movements. The successors of Bismarck, who had once despised him and abandoned his system of policy through ignorance of its subtle bearing upon German domestic policy, began, in September, 1916, to admit that Bismarck had all along been wiser than they knew. Germany, it appeared, needed a strong reactionary Russia in order to balance the democratic influences of Western Europe, the United States, and the British Commonwealths oversea. Austria and Hungary were too weak to support the German system of caste organisation.

The Austrian and Magyar governing classes were more likely to need German troops to shoot down their revolutionary mobs than to afford any assistance to the German ruling classes.

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Great Britain was apparently regarded with indifference. Her unique amalgamation of democratic forms, plutocratic powers, and aristocratic leadership was too singular a thing to exercise any profound influence upon the Continental populaces. France was the State which was feared, because of her plain and logical middle-class polity and the incessant fertility of political ideas in her working class. French ideas were as contagious as the plague, and often as mortal to the interests with which they conflicted.

Why Germany feared France

Some time before the war the French working men had abandoned the idea of State Socialism because they saw how easily any governing class could use it to their own ends, and had begun to spread throughout Europe new doctrines of guild communism and syndicalism. These new ideas alarmed the industrial magnates of Germany, and largely influenced them to combine with their military class in a plan for the conquest of France. The fact that France was still unconquered, and practically certain, with the help of the British Empire, to remain unconquered, made it more necessary for the German Government to come to some arrangement with Russia.

At the head of the Russian Ministry was M. Boris Stürmer, who had succeeded M. Goremykin in February, 1916. M. Stürmer, a man of Austrian stock, a Court favourite, and a bureaucrat of the reactionary school, was suspected of engineering a movement for peace with the enemy. In his Ministry were men attached to the Black Hundred organisations, who maintained subsidised newspapers which openly attacked Great Britain and France and worked for a friendly settlement with Germany. In any other country than Russia such patent signs of intrigue on the part of one principal section of the administration would have been good evidence of the underlying intention of the Government. But in easy-going Russia, in a condition of disorganisation, the wheels of the official machine often revolved in opposite directions, and merely checked each other without driving the country along any clear path.

Since the great munition crisis of 1915, which made bankrupt the reputation of the bureaucracy, the majority of the nobility had begun a movement with some remote resemblance to the action of the English barons at Runnymede. Without definitely infringing the privileges of the Tsar they took steps to diminish the inefficient power of the bureaucracy by transforming many of the Zemstvos and municipal assemblies into practical instruments of local organisation and government. Alongside the patriotic country gentry, who were thoroughly aroused by the need of national defence, there worked most of the best business men of the towns.

The Duma of Moscow, in particular, became once more the grand focus of the fighting spirit of the Russian race, and showed at times a hostile attitude to M. Stürmer because he was suspected of using the machinery of his administration in the interests of a settlement with Germany and Austria-Hungary on an anti-democratic basis.

Certainly there were "dark forces" then in Russia, working in all kinds of underhand ways, sometimes against the fluctuating mind of the Tsar, and continually against the will of his nobles and his people. Great Britain was bitterly attacked by this sinister conspiracy. As the British Ambassador at Petrograd complained in a speech at Moscow, his country was at first assailed for doing too little in the war and then maligned for doing too much. One of the principal pro-German statesmen, Count de Witte, invented an epigram that ran like fire through all levels of Russian society. "Britain will fight Germany to the last drop of Russian blood" was the first and most telling of the slanders of the great bureaucrat. But in the autumn of 1916, when the military power of Great Britain had at

Movement of the "dark forces"

MISHAP TO SLEDGE TRANSPORT ON THE RUSSIAN FRONT.

Temporary hindrance to transport: A Russian Army sledge which had slipped from the road and overturned on reaching the end of a simple but strong and shapely bridge. The men were compelled to wade into the stream and remove much of the load before they were able to right the sledge and continue their interrupted journey. The sledge is sometimes employed in Russia for ordinary road purposes as well as over snow.

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last been fully displayed on the Somme, the leaders of the "dark forces" entirely changed their ground of attack, and alleged that Great Britain had become so great a military Power as well as so mighty a sea Power that Russia would be helpless in the future unless she made a fighting alliance with Germany.

After the check to General Brussiloff's armies in Galicia and Volhynia, and the defeat of Rumania on both frontiers, the pro-German conspiracy in the bureaucracy and in the entourage of the Court began to increase in scope and power in a formidable manner. Even some Ministers, who were loyal to their race and confident in its great destiny, seemed to lose hope for a while, and think that

DINNER ON THE FIELD OF BATTLE.

This cheery company of Russian soldiers laughed and chatted over their dinner which was served on tables, though on the field where military operations were proceeding, as is shown by the sentry posted beyond them.

Russia would do well to make the best peace she could obtain. The disorganisation of the country was deplorable, and it appeared to them that it would be wisest again to rely upon the Russian outbreeding the Teuton, and wait another generation in order to win Constantinople and collect the Poles into a firm bulwark State against the Germans. Many of the large Russian towns were running short of food, and the native production of munitions of war was still quite inadequate to the needs of the Army, in spite of the help given by Japan, Great Britain, and the United States.

When honest and patriotic Russians began sombrely to incline to this view, it can easily be imagined what were the opinions spread in thousands of channels by the "dark forces" of disloyal and corrupt pro-Germans. The leading men in the Imperial Duma, the town Dumas, and the County Councils did not, however, lose heart. The Tsar seemed determined to pursue the war, and the Grand Duke Nicholas and other Princes of the Blood Royal were far more resolute than the head of their house. It was the administrative machine, as reconstructed by Peter the Great on the German model, which chiefly failed the Empire in military virtue as well as in civil efficiency. As was afterwards seen in the Congress of the Nobility, practically all the descendants of the ancient fighting boyars, who under their Tsars had broken the rule of the Mongols and checked the aggressions of Poles, Swedes, Turks, and Frenchmen, were eager to continue the war, and also resolved to find in the development of representative forms of government an improvement upon the bankrupt system of bureaucracy.

Failure of the administrative machine

The result was that Russia for the time blended the main elements of her domestic crisis with the main elements in her military problems and conflicting foreign policies. In almost every representative group in the Imperial Duma, the municipal assemblies, and the rural councils the controlling majorities were averse to a German peace and desirous of extending the system of representative government, as both a means of victory and an instrument of Russia's soundness and greatness in the period of reconstruction following the war. The leading statesmen of the bureaucratic school, on the other hand, were more alarmed by the signs of growth of free institutions in their country than by the disasters in Rumania and the unexpected strength shown by the enemy in Galicia. Like Chinese mandarins under Manchu rule, some of the Russian reactionists had made money by devious ways during the war and wanted to save their face and their fortune by making a fairly favourable peace with the enemy. Then, if possible, they designed to employ their own Army, after the Red Sunday fashion, in repressing the new spirit of liberty and abolishing the Duma and the smaller local forms of representative government.

It was not known who was the governing mind of the "dark forces" in Russia. Possibly there was no governing mind planning and directing all the details of conspiracy. There may have been only separate agents, more or less in touch with Teutonic influences and acting mainly on the immediate circles around them. But one sinister figure, of a weird, mediæval type, swiftly emerged into the daylight of history. He was Rasputin—a kind of fakir or wizard, such as flourished in all lands of twilight culture before the daybreak of modern science. Such men were known in pagan Rome and in the heathen Orient. In Christendom they continued to appear until the seventeenth century. Indeed Cagliostro was something of a Rasputin, and in Great Britain and the United States there were

JUST TIME FOR A MOUTHFUL.

Russian telephone operators glad of a free minute in which they could lay aside their apparatus and enjoy an alfresco meal and a cigarette outside the wattled shelter in which their work was done.

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hundreds of male and female Rasputins of an inferior and less powerful kind.

Gregory Rasputin was one of the older representatives of that school of magic to which many modern spiritualists, Christian scientists, and practitioners of the "Higher Thought" belong. Starting as a Siberian peasant with some religious instruction but no position as a monastic priest, he developed into a sort of "holy man," wandering about the country-side and professing to cure diseases by hypnotic suggestion of a religious colouring. For some time his position was similar to that of hundreds of other Russian fakirs, but at last he won the favour of a lady at the Russian Court who suffered from the modern disease of nervous debility, and was by her introduced to the Imperial household.

The Tsarevitch was unwell, and Rasputin undertook to endow the heir to the throne with a strong constitution. What sinister means he used are unknown, but as the prince usually became unwell when Rasputin was sent away and recovered if the quack was allowed to return, it was thought that Rasputin had means of slightly poisoning the Royal child when removed from him. The Tsaritza was naturally influenced by the fact that these extraordinary changes in the health of her son seemed to depend entirely upon the presence or absence of Rasputin. The man, therefore, came to enjoy a larger measure of influence, and while conducting himself with all seemliness in the Imperial palace, flaunted outside in the manner of an almighty favourite. Either by some hypnotic power or by downright unscrupulous force he ruined many women of position, overthrew Princes of the Blood Royal, and became a diabolical influence behind the Russian throne. Whether he was actually in the service of Germany was a matter not clearly determined; but he was a creature who would do anything for money, and a poisoner as well as an extraordinary libertine.

The diabolical Gregory Rasputin

He undermined the Russian Church to a very considerable extent by getting men of his own stamp into such important positions as the metropolitanate of Petrograd. To him directly was due the dismissal of the Grand Duke Nicholas from the post of Commander-in-Chief, and the appointment of Boris Stürmer to the position of Prime Minister and of Protopopoff to the position of Minister of the Interior. The fall of M. Sazonoff, the dismissal of General Alexeieff from the supreme command of the armies, and of General Polivanoff from the Ministry of War were also the work of the Court fakir. To a considerable extent Rasputin had the Tsar as well as the Tsaritza under his strange and evil influence. He did more than any man to pervert the liberal ideas of the Russian Emperor and make him as personally autocratic as the Kaiser. It is, however, possible that Rasputin's power for evil would not have effected anything of large importance had it not been that some of the principal bureaucrats began continually to work, directly or indirectly, in the German interests.

In these circumstances, the first great open clash between the bureaucracy and the constitutional party occurred. A rumour went through the country that the Premier, M. Stürmer, who was also acting as Minister for Foreign Affairs, intended to negotiate a separate peace. Thereupon, more than three-fourths of the members of the Imperial Duma gathered together in a solid, patriotic *bloc*, with the declared intention of carrying on the war to a decisive victory. M. Stürmer made an ineffectual effort to alter the date fixed by Imperial order for the meeting of the Duma. But his intrigues were defeated, and on November 14th, 1916, the assembly met. Professor Miliukoff, the leader of the Progressive Party, then made an historic speech charging M. Stürmer with treacherous conduct. The Ministers of State withdrew from the Duma in a pointed manner, and the debate continued in a hush of expectation. Two days after the Premier had been denounced by Miliukoff an even more telling attack was made by M. Shulgin from the Conservative side of the House.

The situation somewhat resembled that in England in the seventeenth century, when the Ministers of the Crown were in conflict with Parliament. There can be little doubt that M. Stürmer meant to close the Duma by military power. But, to the deep relief of all the Russian people, the Minister of War and the Minister of Marine broke away from him and from the reactionary group of irresponsible bureaucrats and openly sided with the progressive *bloc*. In ordinary circumstances, General Shuvaeff and Admiral Grigorevich would have been the two Ministers most independent of Duma influences. Their estimates and demands could not be contested, and only by express permission from the Tsar were they able to attend the National Assembly. The design was that these two Ministers of Imperial Defence should not be in any way restrained by the popular representatives.

Indictment of M. Stürmer

But, by the irony of history, it was these two Ministers who, for the sake of the Army and the Navy, abandoned the bureaucratic system and supported the Duma. Their official act was insignificant in itself. They merely attended the Assembly, when all other Ministers of State had deserted it, and spoke about the increase in the production of munitions, and declared that the war would be carried on to a finish.

But, after their speeches, the two departmental chiefs descended into the body of the House, and General Shuvaeff walked towards M. Miliukoff and stretching out his hand said: "I thank you." Great was the significance of the three commonplace words spoken by the Minister for War. They constituted the briefest and most important speech in the annals of Russia, and directly led to the downfall of M. Stürmer. The Russian Zemstvo Union, the Duma of Moscow, and many other public bodies telegraphed to the Ministers of War and Marine, thanking them for their action in the National Assembly, and the Tsar, shaken for the moment by the defection of his military Minister, also telegraphed to the Council of State reaffirming his decision to continue the war until Russia was victorious.

On November 24th one of the most enterprising of Russian Ministers, M. Trepoff, was appointed Premier.

RUSSIAN MOUNTED TROOPS AND ARTILLERY ON THE WAY TO THE FRONT.

Mounted troops on the march in Russia. Cavalry had for long more opportunity of service on parts of the eastern front than anywhere else on the battlefields of Europe, and the Cavalry, which had always been a famous branch of the Russian Army, distinguished itself anew in many actions, even as it had done in the successes which the Russians had achieved in Galicia in the earlier stages of the war.

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WINTER FIGHTING ON THE MOUNTAIN RANGE OF THE DORNA VATRA.
Russian soldiers storming one of the heights in the mountains of the Dorna Vatra, where Rumania, Bukovina, and Hungary join. In the fight which was put up on this mountainous front to lessen Falkenhayn's attack farther south, great heights were captured by the Russians in the face of fearful difficulties.

As former Controller of Ways and Communications, M. Trepoff was well aware of the internal difficulties of the Empire and of the good work done by all the representative bodies, and he therefore arranged to work with the Duma. But the intrigues of the German party were not completely defeated. Some of the reactionaries tried to throw the Empire into the wildest possible disorder with a view to helping the Teutons. Certain sections of the Russian Secret Service, under the control of persons in the Ministry, were set to work upon men in munition factories and lead them to strike or attempt a Revolution. In Petrograd it was rumoured that Moscow was a scene of riot and slaughter. In Moscow it was whispered that the streets of Petrograd were barricaded and that fierce fighting was going on. Happily, the leaders of the working classes intervened; they posted notices in the war factories revealing the plot, and advising the men to work on steadily and trust in the Duma.

On December 2nd M. Trepoff, the new Premier, made a speech of a promising constitutional character. He declared that it was the desire of his Government to work energetically with the legislative institutions, and he praised the patriotic activities of the town Dumas and provincial councils. Then he revealed that an agreement had been made in 1915 with Great Britain, France, and Italy, establishing the right of Russia to Constantinople and the waterway between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. "It is time," he said, "that the Russian people should know for what they are shedding their blood, and, with the consent of our Allies, I to-day make from this tribune the announcement of the agreement." Wide and deep was the impression made by M. Trepoff's speech. His revelation in regard to Constantinople and the Straits strengthened the bond between Russia and her Allies, and undid, among the Russian people, all the underground intrigues of the German reactionary party.

The Duma, however, was not satisfied with all the members of the new Ministry, and, in particular, one of the most prominent members of the Conservative group attacked the Minister of the Interior, M. Protopopoff. M. Protopopoff had been Vice-President of the Duma, and he was at first looked upon as the agent of the people's representatives in the bureaucratic Ministry. He began, in the first week of November, by trying to establish a new electoral system of an oligarchical kind, by which only persons paying rates to the amount of £100 were to be allowed to vote. Then he tried to requisition all the corn in the country from both peasants and landowners, through the Zemstvos. This seemed to be, from the point of view of the Duma, an unpractical and disorganising measure, subtly calculated to disgust the peasantry with the local representative bodies that had done good work in the war and had supported the principal organ of Russian freedom.

Protopopoff as man of mystery

M. Protopopoff soon became the man of mystery in Russia. On the one hand the majority in the Duma alleged he was working towards the same end as M. Stürmer, but employing more subtlety and power of mind. On the other hand the friends of the Minister of the Interior acclaimed him a dictator of genius, who intended to save the country in his own way, and for the time merely wanted to work on bureaucratic lines because all the representative bodies, local and Imperial, were lacking in experience of departmental work. M. Protopopoff controlled all the domestic government, including the censorship, the police, the political Secret Service, and the governorships. His power was enormous, and his Ministry, having been the centre of reactionary repression, contained many adepts in

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the science of misgovernment. Thus a large part of the machine, which the former champion of liberty handled, was of a corrupt and sinister character, bearing the mould of men who had been notorious reactionaries of the Prussian school. The old Ministry of the Interior had engineered practically every movement against representative institutions, Polish and Catholic organisations, and Jewish and Socialistic groups. It had been concerned of old in the Black Hundred pogroms and the Red Sunday massacre. It had worked for the bureaucratic interests, without labouring to carry on its proper task of domestic organisation. Owing to the corruption of its officials, the people had to rely upon their municipalities and Zemstvos to organise their social activities on a war basis.

The suspicions against M. Protopopoff increased; but he countered the movement against himself by augmenting his ministerial power. He practically silenced the Duma by censoring the speeches that indicted the reactionary school, and incited and aggravated the misery of the people by causing greater disorder in the transport of food and other necessities of life. But by the middle of December, 1916, the Russian nobility broke away from the bureaucracy, and displayed in their old and new assemblies a marked tendency towards Liberal representative Government. In the Council of Empire—the Upper House of the Imperial legislative chambers—a direct movement was made against the maleficent influence of Rasputin. Then, at the annual Congress of the United Nobility of Russia, the oldest institution in the Empire, a resolution was passed against Rasputin and the German party.

WOUNDED RUSSIAN SOLDIERS REWOUNDED FROM THE AIR.

Russian soldiers who had been wounded during the advance by General Lesh to the River Stokhod, in July, 1916, were being taken in pony-cart transport to the rear when they were attacked by German aeroplanes, and a number of them and their Red Cross attendants were hit.

The resolution of the United Nobility, which was passed on December 15th, ran:

> Into the heart of the administration of the Russian State there have penetrated obscure forces, irresponsible and outside the power of the law. These forces are subjecting to their influence the supreme power, and are even making attempts upon the government of the Church.

Doom of Gregory Rasputin

Meanwhile, in the opinion of many of the best men in the Duma and the United Nobility, the Empire was moving, under the control of the reactionary Ministers, towards a hunger-born Revolution that would leave Germany and Austria-Hungary victorious in the eastern theatre of war. Some of the Liberal politicians reckoned that nearly nine-tenths of the inhabitants of Petrograd were slowly famishing, and only living on because of their grim determination that the war must be seen through. M. Protopopoff continued his sinister course as leader of the reactionaries. He prohibited, towards the end of December, the congress of the union of country and town representative bodies, thus openly acting against the declared policy of the new Premier, M. Trepoff.

It appeared that in the bureaucratic Cabinet the Minister of the Interior had become supreme and the Prime Minister a mere figurehead. Thereupon, some leading members of the Royal House saw no other way to save their country but to dispose of the most sinister and notorious figure in Russian history. On Friday night, December 29th, 1916, two young officers drove up in a motor-car to the house in Petrograd occupied by Gregory Rasputin. They carried him off, and after they had called on him to shoot himself as penalty for the crimes with which they reproached him, an affray took place. In this the notorious monk was shot. They thrust the body into a motor-car, made a hole in the ice in the Neva, and pushed the corpse down into the water. Two Grand Dukes took an active part in the drama, which was as significant in Russian history as the affair of the

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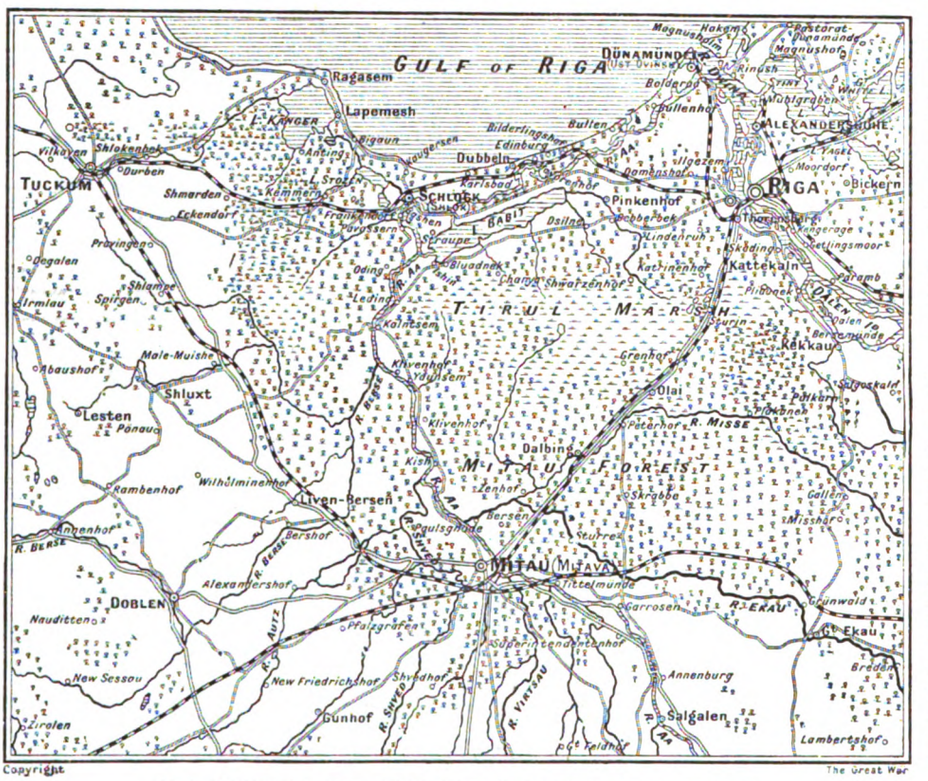
Diamond Necklace had been in French history. The execution of Rasputin indicated that most of the Royal forces of the House of Romanoff were on the side of the Russian people, in addition to the United Nobility and the majority of the Council of Empire.

The immediate result of the disappearance of Rasputin was not promising. The Duma was postponed, nominally on account of the Christmas holidays, and, after much intrigue, its reassembly was delayed until the end of February, 1917. In the meantime the reactionary forces were greatly strengthened. The Moderate Premier, M. Trepoff, was overthrown, and succeeded by a man of the extreme school, Prince Galitsin. The Ministers of War and Marine who had supported the Duma in the movement against M. Stürmer were removed, and M. Protopopoff, who was largely responsible for bringing about all these changes, seemed to become for the time controller of the destinies of Russia.



MAP ILLUSTRATING OPERATIONS IN THE RIGA SECTOR.

In January, 1917, General Dimitrieff, commanding the right wing of the Russian northern army, delivered one of the greatest surprise attacks in the war, breaking through the German front between Tirul Marsh and the River Aa, and threatening the enemy base at Mitau.

Secret agents again attempted to incite the working people against the Duma, and arranged for strikes and street demonstrations against the Imperial legislative chamber. But the leaders of the working classes once more stopped the extraordinary plot, and when the deputies met at Petrograd in the last week of February there was no demonstration of importance. Meanwhile the right wing of the northern army, under the Bulgarian general, Radko Dimitrieff, made an unexpected forward movement in the Riga sector. Little had been heard of General Dimitrieff since his retreat from the Dunajec line in Western Galicia. His failure there was not entirely his fault, and General Russky had given him one of the most important commands in the northern army. He fought the Germans to a standstill round Riga in 1915 and 1916. Then in the first days of January, 1917, he began some outpost fighting across the ice-bound Tirul Marsh. This great barrier to all operations on either side had become passable, and on January 8th General Dimitrieff abruptly struck a great blow and broke through the German front between Tirul Marsh and the River Aa.

Dimitrieff's blow for the Duma

A blizzard of snow was raging at the time, and, screened by the storm, the attacking troops, composed of local levies of Letts and a Siberian corps, carried position after position at the point of the bayonet. The Germans were blinded by the snow and weakened by the heavy frost. Tier after tier of their fortified lines, rising above the flat country, was stormed by the Courlanders and the Siberians. Twenty-one heavy guns and eleven field-guns were captured, and the main German northern base at Mitau was threatened.

Eve of the Revolution

It was one of the greatest surprise attacks in the war. The Russian troops made no artillery preparation and fired no shot, but went forward, as in a scouting adventure, under cover of night and the snowstorm, and pierced the German line, pursuing the enemy to Mitau. Had Mitau fallen, the larger part of Courland would have been at once recovered. The enemy, however, managed to bring up reserves in time to save his base. Yet the happy blow had a most important result, in that it cheered the spirit of the Russian people when they were in a more profound abyss of despair than they had been since the Tartar period.

They had borne the news of the great retreat of 1915 with the same patient confidence as their forefathers had endured the miseries of the Napoleonic invasion. Yet, though their armies had not only held the line reached in 1915, but had made another partial forward movement towards Lemberg, the people had begun to lose confidence because they felt there were traitors in high positions. It was openly alleged that the official mismanagement of the food supplies of large cities was part of a far-reaching German plot to bring about a Revolution in the interests of Germany and Austria-Hungary.

In these circumstances, the unexpected advance of General Dimitrieff's army in the depth of the terrible Russian winter had a strangely inspiriting effect upon the nation. A few days after the victory the new feeling of confidence was again disturbed by the publication of a rescript from the Tsar to Prince Galitsin, the new Prime Minister, in which the local organizations such as the County Councils, which had been threatened with extinction by the repressive measures of M. Protopopoff, were singled out for praise for the invaluable work they had done in both peace and war. But, while praising the County Councils, Nicholas abruptly deprived them of power and placed them under the rule of Protopopoff.

When in February, 1917, Lord Milner went to Russia with a view to strengthening the general cause of the Allies and assisting the British Ambassador, Sir George Buchanan, in his important and delicate work, it was apparent to all the world that Russia was about to transform herself. Neither friend nor foe, however, could then discern whether either of the extremists would prevail and establish a despotism or an anarchy, or whether a well-based, constitutional form of Government would be constructed amid both Revolutionary conflicts and battles with external enemies.

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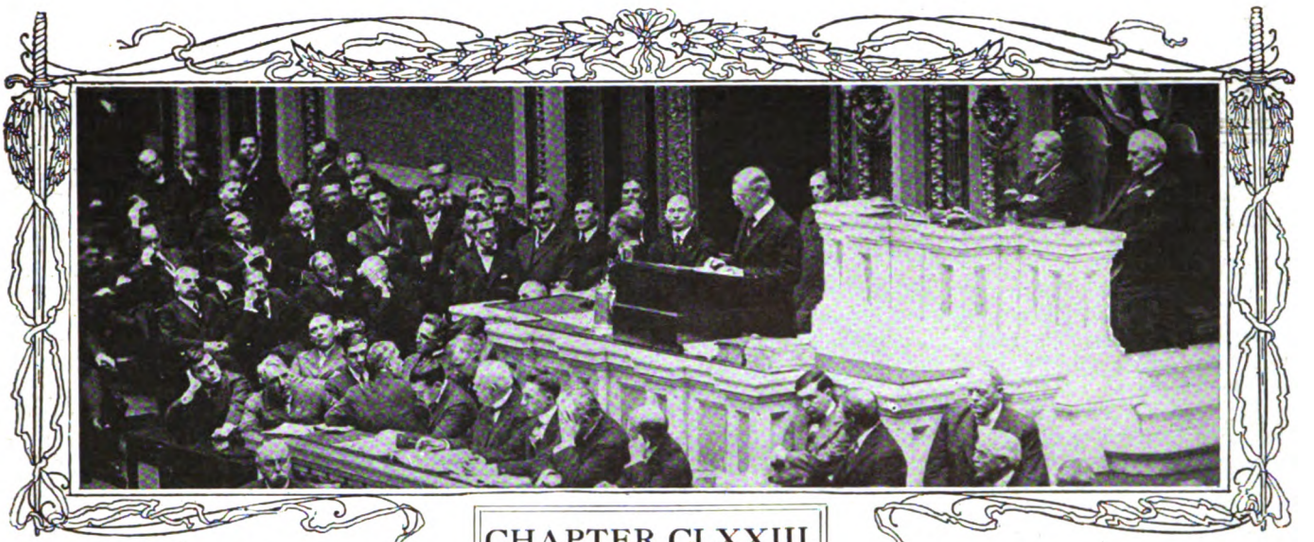

PRESIDENT WILSON ADDRESSING CONGRESS.

CHAPTER CLXXIII.

THE INTERVENTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

By Edward Wright.

Woodrow Wilson's Struggle with Tirpitz—Destruction of the Sussex and Anti-American Plot in Mexico—Wilson Helps Hollweg against Tirpitz—Note to Germany Threatening an Immediate Rupture—Germans Yield to American Demands and Temporarily Restrict Submarine Warfare—Wilson Attempts to Bring About Peace—American People Shrink from War—Clamour and Confusion of Presidential Campaign—Surprising Defeat of Mr. Hughes—The Girl of the Golden West Responds to the Peace Cry—German Plot to Make American Election a Weapon against Allies—Wilson Threatened with Unrestricted Submarine Piracy Appeals for Peace without Victory—Historic Reply by Mr. Arthur Balfour—Discovery of German Plot in Mexico—President Severs Relations with the Enemy—Mr. Gerard Held as Hostage—Filibustering Senators and Measure of Armed Neutrality—Inaugural Address by American President to Congress—Banks Allowed to Finance Allies—Discovery of Submarine Plot in Cuba—Russian Revolution Affects German-American Jewish Finance—American People Fired by Success of Russian Democracy—President Appeals to Congress—Historic Speech against German Government—Hindenburg Jeers while America Arms for the Struggle—Reconciliation of the Two Great English-speaking Nations.

IN Chapter CIII. (Vol. VI., page 85) the history of the difficulties in the relations between the United States of America and the Central Empires was brought down to February 1916. President Woodrow Wilson was then seen to be standing in direct opposition to Grand-Admiral von Tirpitz with regard to the policy of submarine piracy pursued by the Teutonic Powers. Tirpitz was in a desperate mood. His plans and preparations for war had proved inadequate to their special purpose, and his countrymen rightly accused him of having failed to foresee in the submarine the only weapon by which British sea-power could be strongly attacked. The Grand-Admiral was really a defeated and discredited man, striving to palliate the bankruptcy of his naval policy by recklessly involving his country in a struggle with another powerful enemy. According to a German allegation, he was as reckless at home as he was abroad, and doctored the reports of his first submarine campaign in order to induce the Kaiser to permit him to enlarge his scheme of operations against neutral as well as enemy merchant ships.

As a matter of fact, he had no instrument immediately available for a general campaign of piracy. His submarines were of the old type, and needed secret depots or secret store-ships to enable them to operate in the Mediterranean. The new ocean-going submarine had been designed and tested, and was in progress of being manufactured in standardised parts, but more than six months were required to produce and man any considerable flotillas of improved U boats. In the meantime the British Fleet, with its large force of submarine-hunting vessels, was inflicting heavy losses upon Tirpitz's underwater craft and gradually reducing the first German campaign of piracy to a condition of comparative unimportance. Tirpitz became more ruthless as he grew more feeble. He made false claims of success, deceiving the German Emperor and the Council at Headquarters, and in March, 1916, proclaimed to the world that an intensified submarine campaign would be conducted against all shipping trading with the British Isles.

SIR CECIL SPRING-RICE, K.C.M.G., G.C.V.O. Appointed British Ambassador to the United States in 1912, after long diplomatic experience in Sweden, Persia, Petrograd, Constantinople, Tokyo, and Brussels.

This was a direct movement against the legitimate commerce of the United States, and a defiance of the international laws that President Wilson was resolved to maintain. An attempt was made by the party of compromise in Germany, led by Herr Bethmann-Hollweg and Dr. Helfferich, to appease the American people by accusing Great Britain of illegally cutting off neutral trade with Germany. A Note of this nature was presented by Count Bernstorff, the German Ambassador at Washington,

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to Mr. Lansing, the American Secretary of State. Count Bernstorff also set energetically in motion all the Press and political machinery he controlled in the United States with a view to making the people think that German and British methods were each as bad as the other. At the same time the attacks upon both neutral and allied shipping were resumed with spasmodic violence, as related in Chapter CLXXI.

In January and February, 1916, numerous Germans, acting with the revolutionary forces in Mexico, planned a raid into American territory, and induced one of the strongest of the Mexican rebels, Pancho Villa, to attack an American border town. Thereupon, from the German party in the Senate and in the House of Representatives, there was a renewed agitation for a Mexican campaign on a grand scale, which, it was hoped, would gradually absorb a large part of the munitions being manufactured for the Allies.

The pro-Germans were represented in Mr. Wilson's Cabinet, as in all other seats of authority. The result was that, pressed by the Germanic party and the Republican party in the critical year of the Presidential election, Mr. Wilson decided to send an expedition into Mexico to capture Villa. The task of the American Commander - in - Chief, General Funston, was an impossible one. He had fifteen hundred miles of marches to guard by means of feeble patrols, and only a small active force under General Pershing for operations over the frontier. At the end of the first month's operations a detachment of his troops was badly trapped in circumstances which showed that the nominally friendly Mexican leader, General Carranza, with whom the American force was supposed to be co-operating, was as hostile as Pancho Villa.

CAPTAIN VON PAPEN.
Formerly German Military Attaché in the U.S.A. Captain von Papen was recalled by request in December, 1915, as a result of his incrimination in the plot to destroy the Welland Canal.

The attitude of the American people in regard to the Mexican expedition was strange and disturbing. The border States of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona were most concerned in the frontier raids, and apparently most clamant for punitive measures. But when General Funston, after the Parral episode, ordered the militia of these three States to turn out on active service along the border, weeks passed before a single militiaman, out of twelve thousand available, answered the call.

This made it plain that the popular agitation for intervention in Mexico was factitious, even in the border States. The expedition had mainly been engineered, by the bribery of Villa and the working of Teutonic plotters of all kinds in the United States, in preparation for Grand-Admiral von Tirpitz's new submarine campaign. The Germans in both Europe and America reckoned, at the end of March, 1916, that they had securely entangled President Wilson in an exhausting and prolonged action in Mexico. But to make sure that he would have no means of intervening in European affairs, the plotters also stirred up movements in Cuba and disturbances in Haiti and San Domingo, and elsewhere, which were calculated to engross the activities of the small remaining forces of Marines and regular troops that were not required on the Mexican frontier.

Such was the situation created by Count Bernstorff in Washington and Herr von Eckhardt in Mexico City, on the instructions of Tirpitz and the German Naval Staff. Captain von Papen's secretary, Wolfe von Igels, remained in America after his master had been practically deported, and continued to plot outrages while serving Count Bernstorff. The Fenian and Sinn Fein organisations in the United States, vigorously represented in the Senate and the Lower

Dr. Helfferich, German Vice-Chancellor and Minister of Finance, actively associated himself with the policy of unrestricted submarine warfare against all shipping.

Count Bernstorff, German Ambassador to the United States, and master of intrigue, received his passports from President Wilson in February, 1917.

Herr Wolff, head of Wolff Agency, a main instrument for the dissemination of German propaganda in America and of lying accounts of the progress of the war.

PROMINENT GERMANS WHOSE SINISTER ACTIVITIES CONTRIBUTED TO THE GERMAN-AMERICAN RUPTURE.

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LIBERTY IN PARIS.
Replica of Bartholdi's famous statue, presented to France in 1889 by the United States and sited on an island in the Seine. Appropriately one of the American ambulances is seen standing by it.

House, were connected with the Teutonic plotters of murder, revolutions, and frontier wars. President Woodrow Wilson, however, was not turned from his purpose by the far-stretched web of intrigues radiating from the German Embassy at Washington. The American Secret Service men were confident that they held in their hands the larger part of the web, and could break it in a few hours. As afterwards appeared by the confession of the German Foreign Minister in Berlin, his secret means of communication with Count Bernstorff was known to the American Secret Service men, and they had the key to the special cipher in which messages of decisive importance were sent to the German Ambassadors in Washington and Mexico City.

The German Emperor appears at first to have been averse to any compromise with pro-Americans in Germany. He was always a man who lived in the moment. Immediate military considerations outweighed with him all possible plans for the future commercial strength of his Empire. So long as he believed in the power of Tirpitz to starve out Great Britain by means of an unrestrained submarine piracy, he cared nothing about the present and future attitude of the United States. The complexion of affairs, however, abruptly changed when Tirpitz was convicted of having concealed his losses in submarines. In the middle of March the Grand-Admiral, with two of his principal lieutenants, was dismissed from the Marine Office, at a time when his intrigues in Mexico appeared to him to reach a point of success that freed him from all danger of active American intervention. Count Bernstorff, quickly tacking in a new direction on the skirt of the gale that had sunk Tirpitz, turned to his own advantage the overthrow of the man he had been serving, and publicly claimed that he had been mainly responsible for defeating the inventor of submarine atrocities.

LIBERTY ILLUMINATES THE WESTERN WORLD.
Bartholdi's Statue of Liberty in New York Harbour with the great torch illuminated. This colossal statue was presented to America by France in 1886 in commemoration of the centenary of its independence.

After the fall of Tirpitz, President Wilson began to explain his position to the American people. On April 13th, 1916, he spoke at a Democratic banquet at Washington, and asked his audience, in the veiled yet transparent manner peculiar to him, if they were ready to abandon the Mexican expedition and take action in a larger affair where the interests of America were coincident with the interests of humanity. His audience gave him the answer he required. So he set out, in an address to Congress, the substance of the Note to Germany, in which he threatened a rupture over the submarine campaign.

Sinking of the Sussex

He pointed out that the Government of the United States had from the beginning protested that the German submarine policy could not be pursued without gross and palpable violation of the law of nations. In spite of the assurances given by the German Government, there had been no check at all upon the destruction of ships of all kinds. In a speech that afterwards became of world-wide importance President Wilson continued :

> Again and again Germany has given this Government solemn assurances that at least passenger ships will not be thus dealt with, yet she has again and again permitted her undersea commanders to disregard those assurances with entire impunity.
>
> Great liners like the Lusitania and the Arabic, and mere ferry-boats like the Sussex, have been attacked without a moment's warning—sometimes before they were even aware that they were in the presence of an armed vessel of the enemy; and the lives of non-combatants, both passengers and crew, have been sacrificed wholesale in a manner which the Government of the United States cannot but regard as wanton and without the slightest colour of justification. No limit of any kind has, in fact, been set to the indiscriminate pursuit and destruction of merchantmen of all kinds and all nationalities within waters constantly extending in the area where operations are carried on, and the roll of Americans who have lost their lives on ships thus attacked and destroyed has grown month by month until it is ominous—until it has mounted into hundreds.
>
> One of the latest and most shocking instances of this method of warfare was that of the destruction of the French cross-Channel steamer Sussex. It must stand forth, as the sinking of the Lusitania did, so singularly tragical and unjustifiable as to constitute a truly terrible example of the inhumanity of submarine warfare as the commanders of German vessels for the past twelve months have been conducting it. If this instance stood alone, some explanation, some disavowal by the German Government, some evidence of a criminal mistake or of wilful disobedience on the part of the commander of the vessel that fired the torpedo might be sought or entertained; but, unhappily, it does not stand alone. Recent events make the conclusion inevitable that it is only one instance, even though one of the most extreme and most distressing instances, of the spirit and method of warfare which Germany has mistakenly adopted, and which from the first has exposed that Government to the reproach of thrusting all neutral rights aside in the pursuit of its immediate object.
>
> The Government of the United States has been very patient. At every stage of this distressing experience of tragedy after tragedy, in which its own citizens have been involved, it has sought to be restrained from any extreme course of action or protest by thoughtful consideration of the extraordinary circumstances of this unprecedented war, and has been actuated in all it said and did by the sentiments of genuine friendship which the people of the United States have always entertained, and continue to entertain, towards the German nation.

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NOTIFYING NEUTRALITY.
Liner St. Louis as labelled during the period when the United States sought to maintain neutrality despite German provocation.

KEEPING WATCH ON INTERNED GERMAN LINERS.
New York police guarding piers at which interned German liners wer moored. Over a score of such liners were interned at New York, and a close guard was necessary to ensure that none of them put to sea or was damaged as American and German relations neared breaking-point.

It has, of course, accepted the successive explanations and assurances of Germany, as given in entire sincerity and good faith, and has hoped even against hope that it would prove possible for Germany so to order and control the acts of her naval commanders as to square her policy with the principles of humanity as embodied in the law of nations. It has been willing to wait until the significance of the facts became absolutely unmistakable and susceptible of but one interpretation.

That point has now unhappily been reached. The facts are susceptible of but one interpretation. The Imperial German Government has been unable to put any limits or restraint upon its warfare against either freight or passenger ships. Therefore it has become painfully evident that the position which this Government took at the very outset is inevitable—namely, that the use of the submarine for the destruction of the enemy's commerce of necessity, because of the very character of the vessels employed and of the very methods of attack which their employment involves, is incompatible with the principles of humanity, the long-established and incontrovertible rights of neutrals, and the sacred immunities of non-combatants.

President Wilson's threat to Germany

I have deemed it my duty, therefore, to say to the Imperial German Government that if it is still its purpose to prosecute relentless indiscriminate warfare against vessels of commerce by the use of submarines, notwithstanding the now demonstrated impossibility of conducting that warfare in accordance with what the Government of the United States must consider the sacred and indisputable rules of international law and the universally recognised dictates of humanity, the Government of the United States is at last forced to the conclusion that there is but one course it can pursue, and unless the Imperial German Government now immediately declare and effect the abandonment of its present methods of warfare against passenger and freight-carrying vessels, this Government will have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations with the Government of the German Empire altogether.

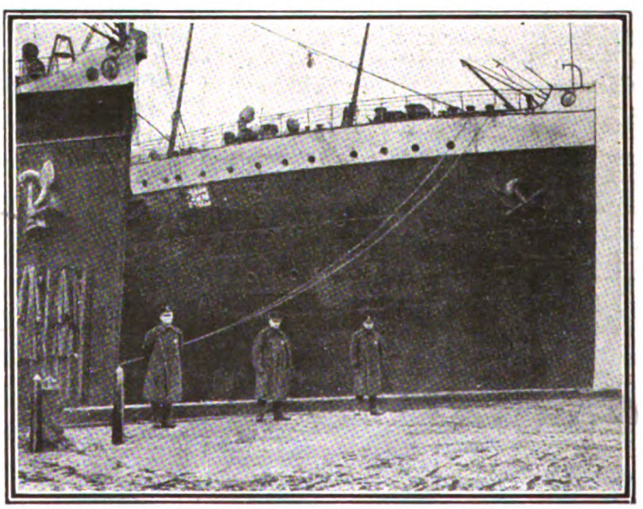
The German Government seemed at first inclined to defy the United States Government. This was probably only a domestic political manœuvre, made with a view to preparing the German people for a partial restriction of the policy of Tirpitz. Discussions went on for some time at Imperial Headquarters, to which Mr. Gerard was invited, with Herr Bethmann-Hollweg and Dr Helfferich. According to a German report, Dr. Helfferich, as Minister of Finance, took a most important part in bearing down all naval and military opposition to a compromise with the United States. In his view the financial and commercial situation was such that peace without victory, but with the friendship of the American people, was necessary to enable the new Middle Europe system to survive and develop in full strength and security.

The lack of sufficient submarines and trained submarine crews finally decided the matter—for the time. On May 4th a Note was handed to Mr. Gerard in Berlin, replying to the American Note of April 20th, and practically yielding to the principal demand made by President Wilson.

There can be little doubt that Germans hoped, as the result of the discussions at German Imperial Headquarters in May, 1916, that the President of the United States would endeavour to promote peace among the belligerent Powers if the submarine attacks on neutral shipping ceased. On May 21st President Wilson made his first speech in North Carolina in favour of negotiated settlement of the affairs of Europe. An apostolic delegate arrived at the White House with a sealed message from Pope Benedict, in which the President was said to have been urged to mediate between the contending nations. In Germany public opinion was at once skilfully prepared for a negotiated peace through the mediation of President Wilson.

In the United States the same public expectation was created by all the means of publicity at the disposal of the Government. Then, on May 27th, at a meeting of the League to Enforce Peace, President Wilson made his first strong and direct attempt to bring about a settlement by compromise.

The idea of a League to Enforce Peace had first been developed by a former President of the United States, Mr. Taft, and had been supported by several eminent leaders of American opinion. It had attracted attention in both Great Britain and Germany, and Lord Grey of Fallodon and other powerful Liberal Ministers were in favour of it. In the land of its origin, however, the scheme remained an academic proposal, in which neither the people nor the main body of politicians took any practical interest.



GERMAN STEAMER HAMBURG IN CHARGE OF N.Y. POLICE.
Police guard mounted over the interned German s.s. Hamburg at New York. Despite the guards that were maintained, and daily inspections on board, the crews of the interned vessels wrought much damage to the machinery in many of the ships when war became inevitable.

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In his speech President Wilson neatly reduced the ideas of the new league into a paragraph. It ran as follows:

We believe in these fundamental things: Firstly, that every people has a right to choose the sovereignty under which it shall live; secondly, that the small States of the world have the right to enjoy the same respect for their sovereignty and their territory and integrity that the great and powerful nations expect and insist upon; and thirdly, that the world has the right to be freed from every disturbance of its peace that has its origin in aggression and disregard of the rights of peoples and nations. So sincerely do we believe these things that I am sure that I speak the mind and wish of the people of America when I say that the United States is willing to become a partner in any feasible association of nations formed in order to realise these objects and make them secure against violation.

He argued that if such an association of nations had existed before the outbreak of the war the struggle would have been averted. He went on to suggest that the belligerents should negotiate among themselves a settlement on lines approved by the United States, and then form a universal association of nations to secure a highway of the seas for the common and unhindered use of all peoples, and to prevent any war being begun either contrary to treaty covenants or without warning and full submission of the causes to the opinion of the world.

The speech failed to effect the desired peace. The American people were, on the whole, indifferent. Of most of them it could truly have been said that with the causes and objects of the war they were not concerned. From the Alleghany Mountains to the Pacific Ocean there was as yet no weight of public opinion behind President Wilson, even in his struggle to save American merchant ships and passenger liners from being torpedoed by German submarines. Only in the Eastern States did intense indignation against the piratical methods of the Central Empires prevail.

The President was well aware that the apathetic majority in the States was inclined to remain prosperously at peace during the struggle, and rely upon increased wealth and industrial power in dealing with the international problems of the future. The campaign for preparedness and an increase in armament had so far not touched the general mind.

U.S. MARINE RECRUITS.
Enrolling men in New York for the Marine Service, an instant increase of 4,000 recruits for which was called for.

NEW YORK HOME DEFENCE LEAGUE.
Men of the Home Defence League of special policemen setting off for duty on Staten Island. As soon as war became inevitable the New York Police Commissioner appointed these special constables to act as guards over public property.

The United States remained pacific at heart. The Navy was not prepared to deal with submarine attack upon American shipping. National pride was flattered by large projects in battleship construction. Capital ships, with 16 in. guns and 35 knot speed, were designed, amid the acclamations of the Press. Small, fast vessels and quick-firing guns in large numbers, however, were most urgently required, in order to protect American commerce against the new German ocean-going submarines.

Senator Root's leading question

The American people visibly shrank from war. Since the days of the Civil War they had been transformed apparently from the most blustering of modern democracies into the most pacific. For nearly two years they had hourly been reading of scenes of extreme carnage and misery in Belgium, Northern France, Poland, Galicia, and Serbia. Everything of this nature that they read made most of them more than naturally anxious to avoid being drawn into the dreadful conflict.

In the Middle and Western States the mere spectacular interest in the clash of the armed nations of the Old World ceased to engage the general attention. Conversation usually turned upon some little local affair. It appeared at times as though the Westerners especially wanted to forget that half the earth was at war. Yet they did not forget. Towards the close of the year they carried Mr. Woodrow Wilson back to White House in expressed gratitude for the success with which he had kept them out of the struggle.

A considerable number of Americans thought that the later medley of races peopling their continent had a weaker fibre of character than the almost purely Northern European strains that had carried on the Civil War. "Have selfish living, factional quarrelling, and easy prosperity obscured the spiritual vision of our country?" asked Senator Root.

SPECIAL GUARD FOR NEW YORK'S WATER SUPPLY.
Patrolman instructing a squad of recruits for the special police raised to guard the great New York aqueduct. The men, clothed in khaki and armed with shot-guns, revolvers, and clubs, relieved the members of the National Guard who had done the work previously.

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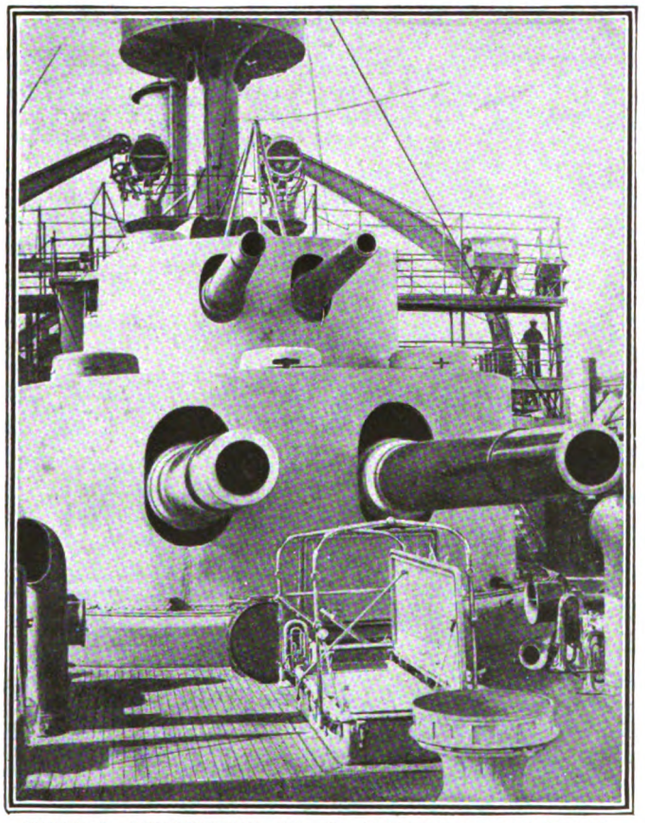
"Has the patriotism of a generation, never summoned to sacrifice, become lifeless? Is our nation one, or a discordant multitude?" Professor J. M. Baldwin, after his voyage in the Sussex, answered: "The name of our country to-day is a synonym for cowardice, commercialism, and hypocrisy." This was really not so. Only the Germans in Germany regarded the people of the United States as timorous and intimidated.

The Americans were still very confident of their strength, and only sobered in the expression of their growing power and quietly thoughtful over the part they might play in shaping civilisation. Their increasing wealth, that changed them suddenly from a debtor nation into a creditor nation, did not lead them into the error of thinking that gold had at last become the master of iron. It was on their enlarged power as munition providers to the Allies, in which they clean outraced the Japanese, their competitors for the



TYPICAL GUN-TURRET OF AN AMERICAN BATTLESHIP.
American initial naval plans provided for the protection and patrolling of home waters, policing the high seas against commerce-destroyers, and helping the fleets of the Allies in European waters.

dominion of the Pacific Ocean, that their confidence chiefly rested.

Their Army was very small, their Navy was inadequate to the defence of their coasts, but their war plant had grown, without any expense to themselves, to enormous capacity. It was indeed their lively sense of their potential strength that made them largely averse to organising a Continental army before it was immediately required for action. Herein they somewhat resembled the British people of the ante-bellum era. In their own view they stood to the militarised and commercially advancing Japanese in much the same relation as the British had stood to the Germans. They continued to watch Japan and her policy in regard to China more intently than they followed the struggle in Europe. The comparative failure of the Panama Canal, through incessant landslides, with the consequent check to the American plans of naval concentration, had more to do with the grand new scheme of battleship construction than had the events and incidents of naval operations in Europe. The United States was really looking very far ahead. In the meantime many Americans wanted to keep out of the war in order to conserve their strength.

One of their parties was moved to urge participation in the European conflict, for the reason that that would organise the country as thoroughly as Japan was organised. The majority of the American people, however, was averse to this policy. They could not be induced to see that their interests were in any way directly engaged in helping the British Empire and defeating the German Empire. They misconceived the British aim and overestimated the British strength. There was a large element of national egotism in their attitude. They regarded the British Fleet as the shield of their Atlantic shores and the eastern defence of their Monroe Doctrine. They felt entirely safe from Teutonic aggression while the British Fleet held the seas, and too lightly they reckoned that British sea-power was so enormously prepotent that it was being exerted without serious strain.

U.S. attitude to the belligerents

Great Britain was commonly regarded as the most successful of the combatants—pursuing business while making war, and with easy effort gathering new colonies and piling up investments among her Allies. France was the only Great Power that excited American sympathy in a struggle which was considered mainly as a duel between British sea-power and German land-power. A few Americans would have liked the war to end by the mutual exhaustion of Great Britain and Germany, leaving the United States the potential leader of civilisation.

Not until the new German campaign of submarine piracy was seen patently to threaten the British Isles with famine and general enfeeblement did American people begin to recognise the fact that Britons were sacrificing themselves equally with the French and Belgians.

The cold, proud, reserved, and academic attempts to explain the British cause to the populace of the United States were largely responsible for the American lack of sympathy. Under the administration of Mr. Asquith, no British statesman of authority acted as Abraham Lincoln had acted in the Civil War and appealed directly to democratic feeling across the Atlantic. The British Government of the old school, though perplexed and distressed by its difficulties, maintained a curious kind of aristocratic reserve with both Allies and friendly neutrals. Certainly, there was something not ignoble in this attitude. Yet, as a matter of practical politics, it was a costly affair. For two years and a half it cost the British nation the sympathy of the generous but unawakened American democracy.

In the meantime President Woodrow Wilson failed to get any response to his peace movement. Becoming at last aware that a great Franco-British offensive was preparing, he prudently postponed his direct attempt at mediation until the result of the new struggle in the west was clear. Diplomatic remonstrances with the British and French Governments in regard to the seizure of mails served to maintain an active neutrality between the belligerent groups. The dispute about the seizure of mails, like the similar dispute over the blacklisting of pro-German firms known to have helped the enemy, was not a very serious matter. At worst it would have led to claims for damages after the war, somewhat after the Alabama precedent. As a matter of fact, the British and French Governments had a good case underlying all these developments of the modern blockade system, and kept up a spirited correspondence with the American Secretary of State.

British Government's reserve

His design was apparently to maintain strict impartiality after the apparent defeat of the Tirpitz party in Germany. The Americans themselves admitted, however, that they were

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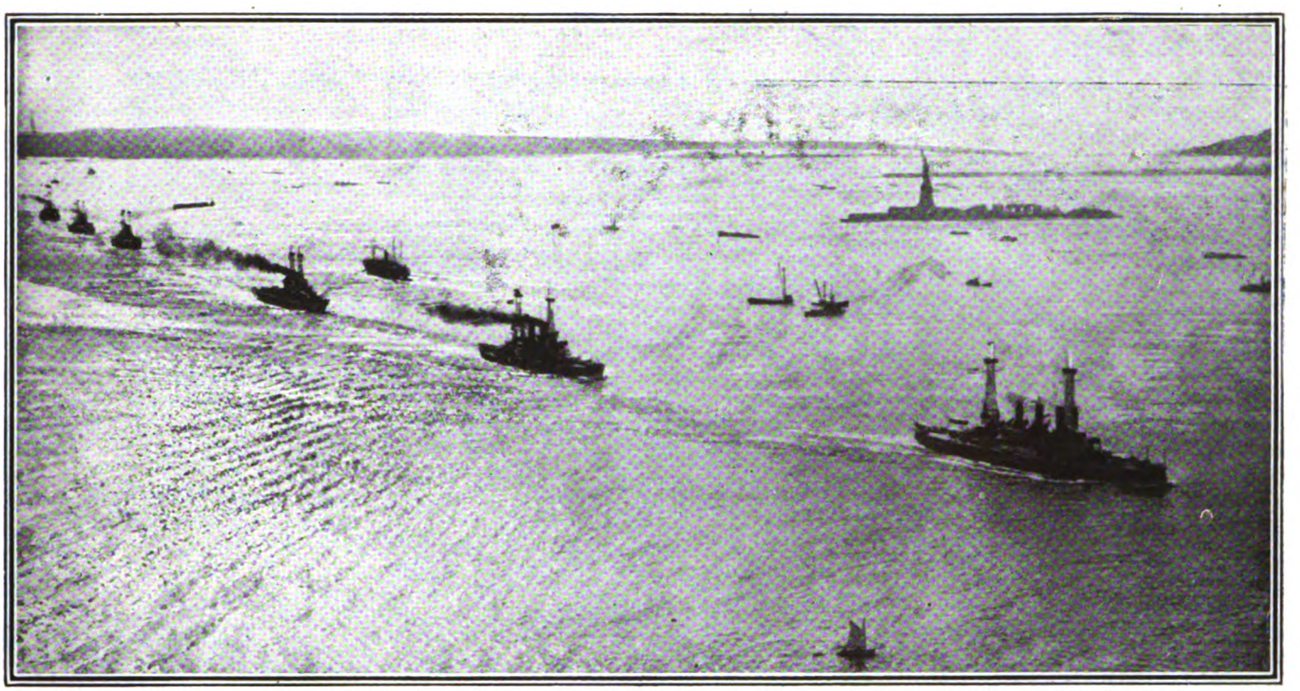
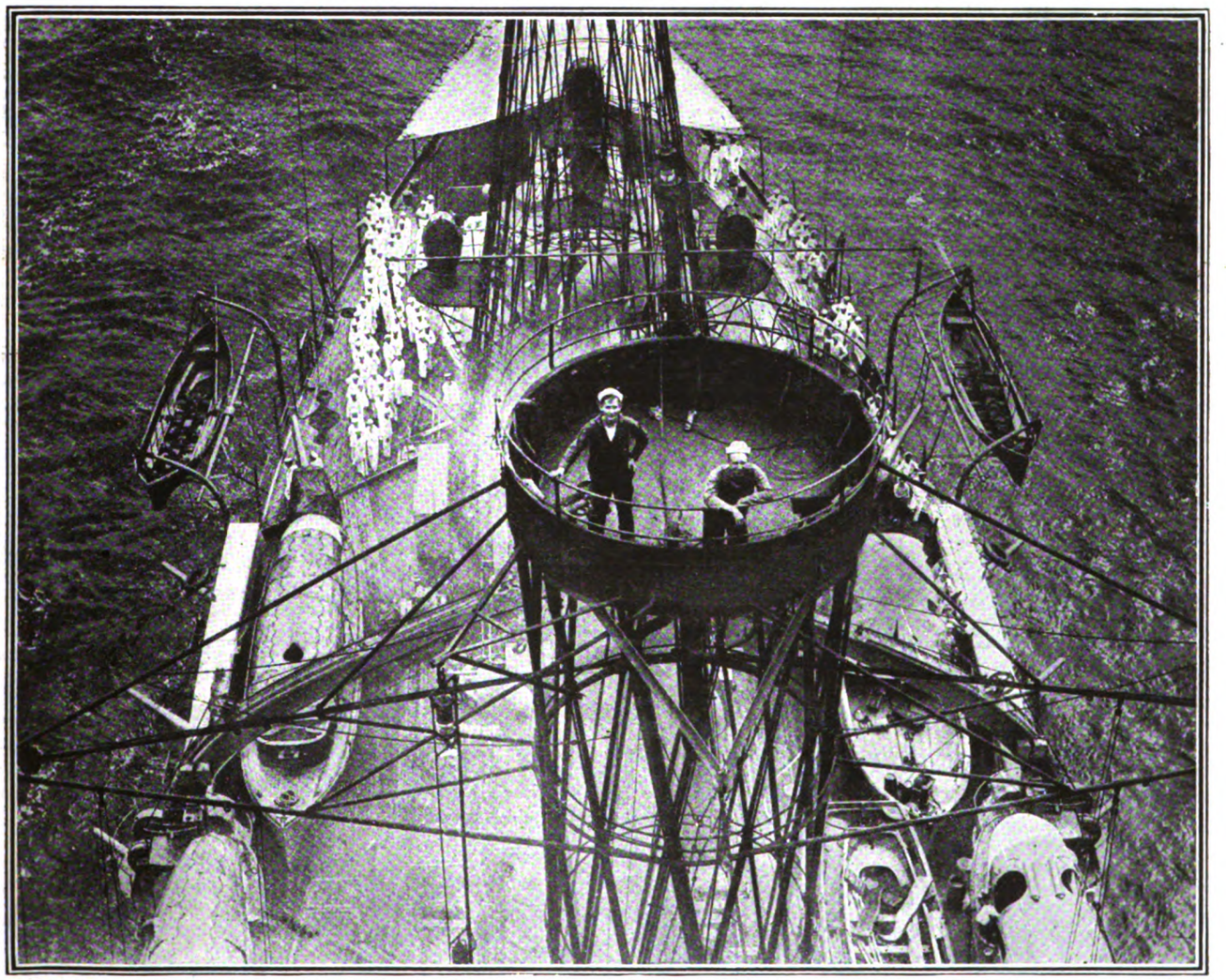


United States Fleet arriving off New York. The ships were passing the colossal Statue of Liberty Enlightening the World, which so finely symbolises all those things that had been placed in jeopardy by the action of the Central Powers of Europe, which the President of the United States pledged his country to uphold. The United States had at the outbreak of the Great War the third largest Navy in the world.



Fighting-tops of the Kentucky, one of the battleships of the United States Navy. The lattice-work system on which these fighting-tops were devised was designed with a view to minimising the extent of the damage likely to result from a hit. The Kentucky, a vessel of 11,520 tons, was laid down in 1896, launched in 1898, and completed in 1900, with an armament of four 13-inch guns besides lesser weapons, and a complement of 726 men.

SHIPS OF THE UNITED STATES NAVY, ONE OF THE GREATEST IN THE WORLD.

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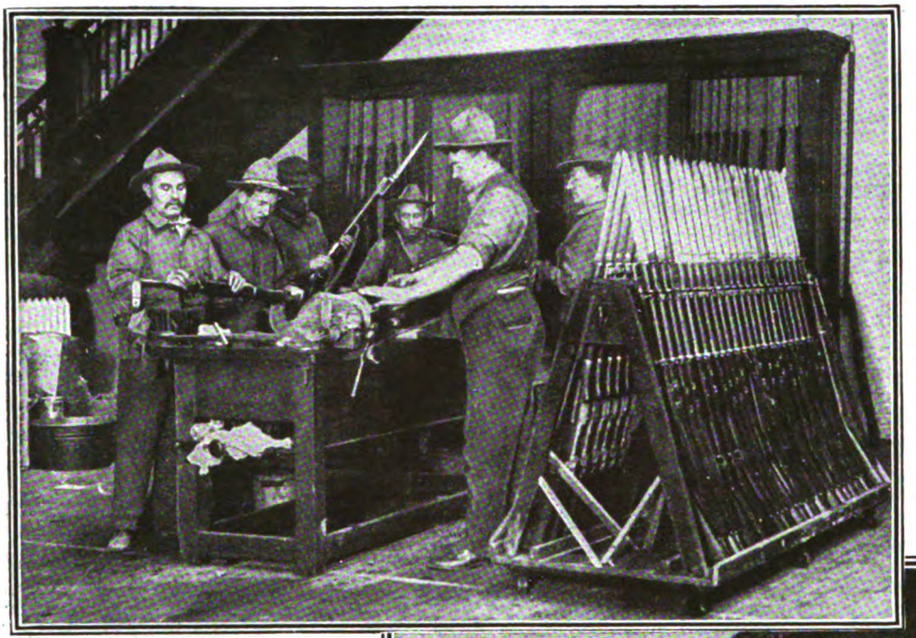

IN NEW YORK ARMOURY.
Cleaning and polishing rifles and bayonets in the New York Armoury, for America's fighting forces.

ENROLLING SPECIAL POLICEMEN IN NEW YORK.
American citizens enrolling as special policemen in the Armoury of the 69th New York Regiment. Following on the declaration of war against Germany, on April 6th, 1917, a force of special police was formed to relieve the soldiers of the National Guard stationed on the Catskill Aqueduct.

prevented, by their own Civil War practices, from seriously interfering with the main lines of the British blockade. Even in regard to the British censorship of mails and despatches, on August 10th, 1916, a remarkable incident was reported from Berlin. Several German-American war correspondents in Germany complained that the British Censor was unreasonably interfering with their work. They approached the American Ambassador in Berlin, and asked him to forward a petition to the American Government. Mr. Gerard forwarded the petition, but with a disconcerting note of his own, stating that he could not endorse the protest against the British Censorship until the German Censorship permitted proper reports to be transmitted from American newspaper correspondents in Berlin.

By this time, however, the clamour and confusion of the Presidential election campaign silenced and overwhelmed everything else in the national life of America. The influence of the war in Europe told upon the political crisis in various indirect ways; but it had no immediate bearing upon the struggle between the Democrats and Republicans. Mr. Woodrow Wilson was opposed by the German-American associations and certain Irish-American associations.

The Presidential election campaign

It was reported that the Republican candidate, Mr. Hughes, would receive the entire German vote, not because he favoured Germany, but because the Central Empires wished to make Mr. Wilson a permanent example of the power they exercised in American politics. Throughout the election campaign Mr. Hughes continued to preserve a diplomatic reticence, but his campaigning lieutenant, Mr. Roosevelt, attacked the Germans in a most vigorous and emphatic manner, and practically made it clear that the Republican Party would, if it carried its candidate to power, be rather less pacific than the Democratic Party had been.

Many of the Republican leaders, and, in particular, Senator Root and Senator Lodge, agreed with the fighting policy of Mr. Roosevelt. Their known enthusiasm for the cause of the Allies was not to be destroyed by the bribe of the German vote. The German Government, however, miscalculated the spirit of the American people and the strength of judgment of character of the American leaders. They considered that the pacifism of the Middle West and Western States was based on timidity, and that this timidity could be worked upon with a view to increasing the effect of the German vote. Therefore, on July 9th, 1916, when the political campaign was proceeding and skirmishes were taking place on the Mexican frontier, the German ocean-going submarine Deutschland arrived at Norfolk, on the Virginian coast, with a cargo of costly merchandise, as already chronicled in Chapter CLXXI. (Vol. IX., page 17). The threat was very gently and subtly made. The Deutschland was unarmed, being a new type of underwater craft intended to be used as a depot of supplies in the forthcoming intensification of piracy. She was sent to the United States in order to indicate to the American people that the arm of German piracy now extended to their shores. Then in October 1916, when the struggle between Mr. Wilson and Mr. Hughes was at its height, the hint given by the Deutschland was abruptly and most unexpectedly driven home by the depredations of the ocean-going submarine U53, off the New England coast, on October 7th, as described in Chapter CLXXI.

No doubt the German Government reckoned that President Wilson would be unable to make any serious attempt to break off relations with the Central Empires. In the second week of October it seemed very uncertain whether Mr. Wilson would continue in power. The Republican candidate, Mr. Hughes, appeared then to be increasing his hold upon the country. When, however, the election results were gradually disclosed, there was a

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succession of surprises for everybody. Most of the Eastern States, with a large industrial population to which Mr. Wilson had appealed by establishing an eight-hour working day law for railways, with a promised extension to other fields, turned against the new Liberalism of the Democratic Party and voted for Mr. Hughes. Practically all the old President-making States swung over to Mr. Hughes, until in both America and Europe the election of a Republican President was regarded as a definite fact. The Germans began to claim the defeat of Mr. Wilson as a magnificent and decisive illustration of their Transatlantic power. But while European countries were disputing whether

YOUNG AMERICA IN TRAINING.
Definitely committed to entrance into the arena of war Young America began to train for the struggle.

FOUNDATION WORK IN THE MAKING OF A SOLDIER.
At the Stevens Institute of Hoboken, New Jersey, courses of physical training were provided on a system which the Canadian authorities had found highly successful for developing the muscles and hardening the physique of recruits.

the apparent Republican victory indicated a more warlike temper in the people or a success for Teutonic intrigues, the women voters of the Western States entirely changed the issue of the election, and carried Mr. Wilson back to White House.

There was then no doubt of the double significance of the President's victory. On the one hand, he completely defeated the organisers of the German vote and maintained the integrity of American nationality. Many German-Americans refused to follow their leaders, and voted for either candidate according to their old party predilections, or for other reasons, just as other men did. Where they answered to disloyal leadership, they happily did it so ostentatiously as to arouse the passion of ordinary Americans, who thereupon swamped the German vote and swung the State round to Wilson. The Irish-Americans appeared, in some important places, to have been a more effective Germanic force than were the Germans, Austrians, and Hungarians. Yet, though they turned the vote against Mr. Wilson in New York and New Jersey, the entire German-American plot failed, by reason of a strange and surprising movement in the Middle West and the West.

The cry: "He kept us out of the war!" rang from Kansas to California, and, taken up by the women, it ensured the continuance of power of the President. Where the women had not won the suffrage, they yet managed practically to exercise it by their influence on the vote of their husbands.

In those States where the women had voting power the hand that rocked the cradle swung the election. As the Americans themselves put it: "The girl of the Golden West carried the day for Wilson!" Of the twelve suffrage States ten voted for the man who had kept them out of the war; and, in the final close and critical count, the women voters of California changed the verdict of the Eastern States and thus upset all the traditions of American politics. Nevertheless, the woman vote was divided like the German vote, though perhaps not in the same measure. From Montana there came, in the handsome person of Miss Jeannette Rankin, the first Congresswoman in history. She sat as a Republican for her State in the House of Representatives. Important Republican masses went over to the Democratic Party and won all the frontier States menaced by Villa and Carranza for the President who had prudently refrained from launching a great punitive expedition in Mexico.

Bernstorff's fresh intrigue

Count Bernstorff was not disconcerted by the failure of his political plot against the President. On the contrary, he skilfully seized upon the successful pacifist movement, to which Mr. Wilson's re-election was largely due, and made it the groundwork of a new and more promising intrigue. He convinced the German Emperor, Herr Bethmann-Hollweg, and Dr. Helfferich that the American peace movement could be transformed into an instrument against the Entente Powers. It was known, from the declaration of Mr. Lloyd George, that Great Britain intended a fight to the finish. France, especially after her victory at Douaumont, was also strongly averse to a negotiated peace. Russia, too, had rejected a private offer to negotiate; while Italy, having enormously increased her output of

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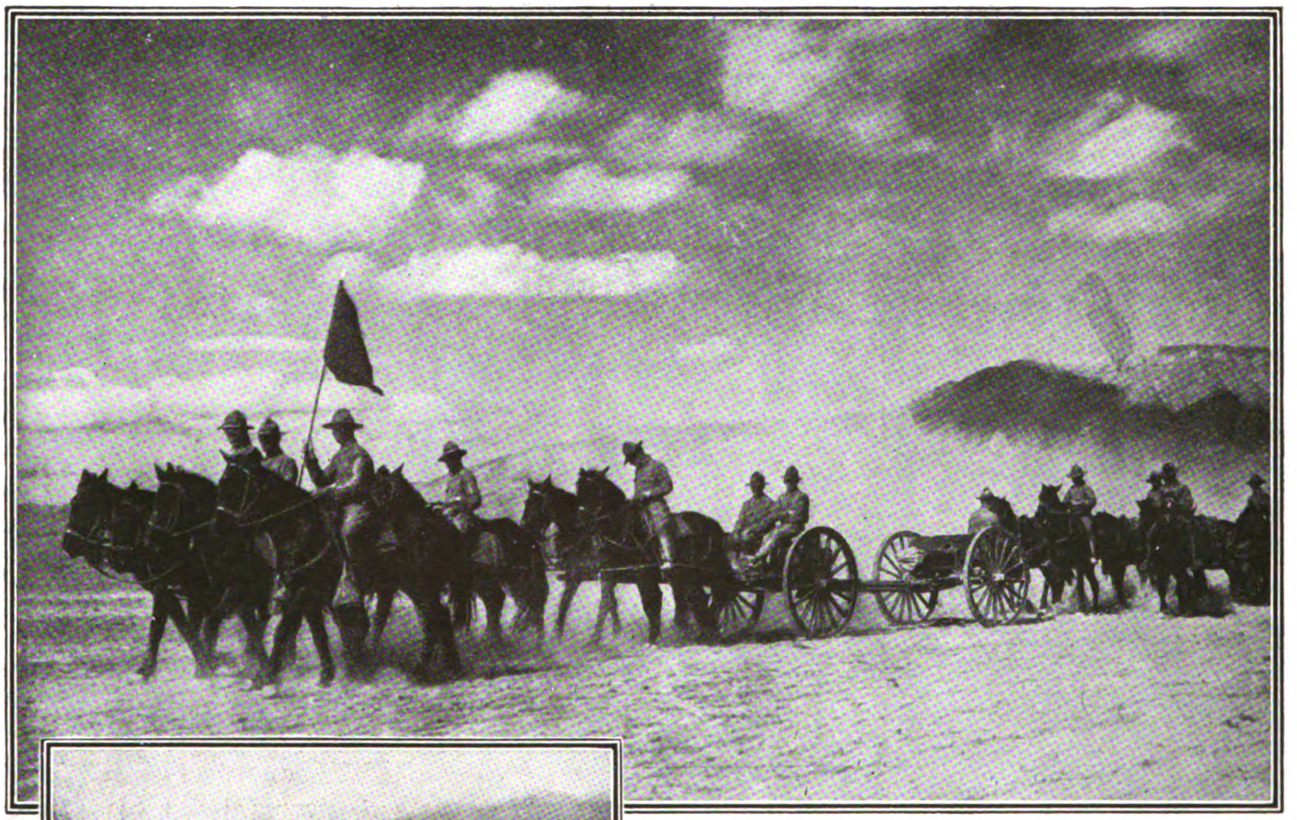

ARTILLERY MANŒUVRES AT FOX BLISS, TEXAS.
The possibility of war between Mexico and the United States, insidiously engineered by German agents, required the presence of considerable American forces on the Mexican border.

NATIONAL GUARD AT MANŒUVRES.
Rushing up ammunition. On June 30th, 1915, the United States National Guard, or organised Militia, comprised 8,705 officers and 120,693 men of whom three-fourths could actually be put in the field.

munitions and arrayed large reserves of men, was resolute to increase the advantage she had won at Gorizia and slowly grind forward to Trieste and all her unredeemed territory.

In these circumstances it seemed to Count Bernstorff that there was a great opportunity for entering into sincere friendly relations with the United States President. The design was to employ him, with the pacifist vote behind him, to bring the Allies to negotiate for a settlement. The Central Powers were in a difficult position. They had a shortage in food. Their railway material was wearing badly from over use, and their army on the western front was, for the time, dispirited by a year of terrific punishment at Verdun and on the Somme. Hindenburg could not promise a grand decision by military means, and, like former captains of Continental warfare perplexed by the amphibious power of Great Britain, he inclined at last to look for some naval means of obtaining a short cut to a victorious peace. In the new ocean-going submarines that Tirpitz had ordered in large numbers before his fall he had an instrument. In order to use these new submarines with complete effect, the promise given to the United States must be repudiated, and an utterly unrestricted campaign of ruthless piracy started against all neutral as well as belligerent vessels trading to the British Isles, France, Northern Russia, Italy, Egypt, and Northern Africa.

Perhaps, if the American people had elected a President in a warlike temper after the act of piracy committed by the German submarine near the Nantucket Lighthouse, Hindenburg would at once have proceeded to involve the whole world in war in the hope of starving out the people of the British Isles. This measure was avoided, for the time at least, by the talent for diplomacy displayed by Count Bernstorff. At his suggestion Mr. Gerard, the American Ambassador in Berlin, was approached by the Imperial authorities and informed that the mediation of the United States could alone save the world from complete and general disaster. No direct threat appeared to be employed. That would have been too clumsy a method in such delicate circumstances. The Teutons displayed an unusual degree of adroitness. Under Government impetus a violent and widespread political campaign was opened for the restoration to power of Grand-Admiral Tirpitz, who was loudly commended for the position of Imperial Chancellor, in place of Herr Bethmann-Hollweg.

German submarine threats

It is just possible that Herr Bethmann-Hollweg secretly helped in this campaign against himself. He was accused of being too weak, too considerate, and too humane, when, as a matter of fact, he really combined an extreme of pitiless ferocity with as much cunning as a Prussian could develop. During this attack upon himself the Imperial Chancellor, with Dr. Helfferich and other nominal pro-Americans, pretended to seek for help from Mr. Gerard and President Wilson. They implored the United States authorities to assist them in the peace movement and prevent Tirpitz and the apostles of ruthlessness from winning complete power and outraging humanity. It it is not probable that the directors of the policy of the United States were deceived by Herr Bethmann Hollweg and by the German Emperor, who was acting through his Chancellor. In any case, it is clear that the threat of

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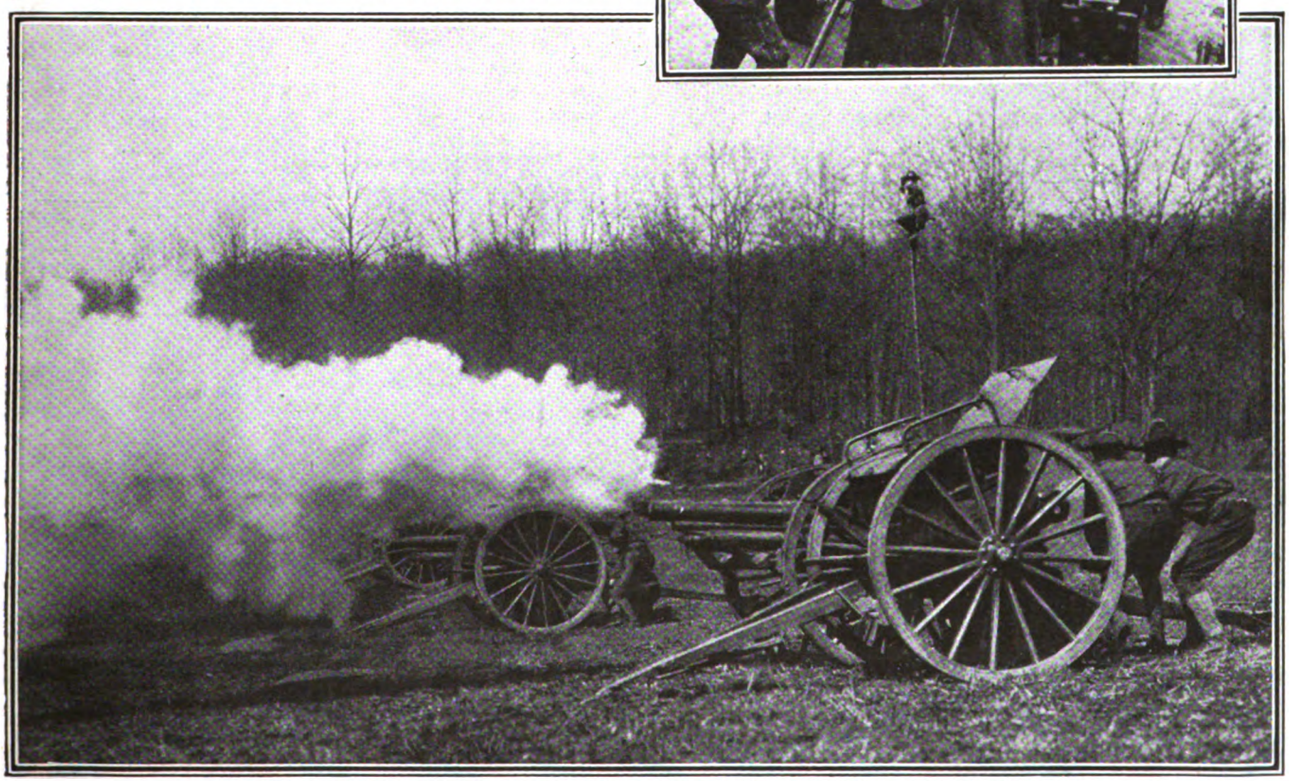
intensified submarine piracy was aimed at President Wilson, in the design to spur him to offer to mediate between the contending Powers. Either he did not act quickly enough, or the German Emperor thought he would win advantage by making a peace proposal first in his peculiar and histrionic manner. So the President of the United States was anticipated by the impossible peace speech delivered by Herr Bethmann-Hollweg under theatrical circumstances in Berlin on December 12th, 1916. The rise of Mr. Lloyd George to a position of dominant authority in the War Council of Great Britain, perhaps, induced the Germans to propose negotiations for peace before Mr. Wilson took any definite action in the matter.

This created considerable embarrassment for the American President. Nevertheless, he found himself drawn so near the verge of war that he opened his movement for peace on December 20th, 1916, a week after the report of the speech of the German Chancellor had been received and the German offer to negotiate had been transmitted to the Grand Alliance. In a Note to all the belligerents Mr. Wilson asked each nation at war to state the terms upon which it would make peace, and indicate what arrangements it would consider satisfactory in providing against any similar conflict in the future. Two paragraphs in the American peace Note that attracted special attention ran as follows:

President Wilson's proposal

> The President takes the liberty of calling attention to the fact that the objects which the statesmen of the belligerents on both sides have in mind in this war are virtually the same, as stated in general terms to their own people and to the world. Each side desires to make the rights and privileges of weak peoples and small States as secure against aggression or denial in the future as the rights and privileges of the great and powerful States now at war. Each wishes itself to be made secure in the future, along with all other nations and peoples, against the recurrence of wars like this, and against aggression or selfish interference of any kind. Each would be jealous of the formation of any more rival leagues to preserve an uncertain balance of power amidst multiplying suspicions; but each is ready to consider the formation of a league of nations to ensure peace and justice throughout the world. Before that final step can be taken, however, each deems it necessary first to settle the issues of the present war upon terms which will certainly safeguard the independence, the territorial integrity, and the political and commercial freedom of the nations involved.
>
> In the measures to be taken to secure the future peace of the world, the people and the Government of the United States are as vitally and as directly interested as the Governments now at war. Their interest, moreover, in the means to be adopted to relieve the smaller and weaker peoples of the world of the peril of wrong and violence is as quick and ardent as that of any other people or Government. They stand ready, and even eager, to co-operate in the accomplishment of these ends when the war is over with every influence and resource at their command. But the war must first be concluded. The terms upon which it is to be concluded they are not at liberty to suggest; but the President does feel that it is his right and his duty to point out their intimate interest in its conclusion, lest it should presently be too late to accomplish the greater things which lie beyond its conclusion, lest the situation of neutral nations, now exceedingly hard to endure, be rendered altogether intolerable, and lest, more than all, an injury be done civilisation itself which can never be atoned or repaired.

The first paragraph was resented by some of the Allies, as they mistakenly thought it implied that their aims in the war were virtually the same as those of Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria. All that the President said, however, was that each belligerent Government



ARTILLERY PRACTICE OF THE NEW YORK NATIONAL GUARD AT MANŒUVRES.

Battery practice of the New York National Guard. The artillery observation officer, it will be noticed, was perched on a high pole so that he could look from above the denser part of the smoke emitted from the guns. Above: Unloading a projectile from the magazine to the truck for conveyance to the gun during the testing of the American coast defences at Fort Totten, protecting New York Harbour.

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AT A LOOK-OUT POINT OVER NEW YORK HARBOUR.
In the observation-tower at Fort Totten. After the fateful decision of April 6th, 1917, a close watch had to be kept for German submarines near N.Y. Harbour, one approach to which is protected by Fort Totten.

had, in general terms, professed somewhat similar objects. President Wilson did not really believe in all these professions. It was for this reason he asked for more particular statements of terms. Moreover, the alarm he expressed in the second paragraph was genuine, and his Secretary of War caused a panic in the American markets by frankly explaining that the underlying situation was bringing the United States very close to an outbreak of hostilities. One of the aims of the Note was to test the sincerity of all the combatants, and especially to discover, if possible, whether Germany would make any large concessions and avoid breaking her pledge in regard to U boat warfare.

Allies indicate their terms

The effect of the American Note upon the German Government was such as to gratify the Allied Powers. Under direct invitation to make good his rhetoric about peace, and to substantiate the offer to negotiate made under his direction, the German Emperor became confused and disconcerted.

Through his Ministers he rejected the request to state his terms, and vainly tried to shuffle away from the issue by proposing a conference at which his unexplained demands could be examined by the Allies. The Allies, on the other hand, consulted together in accordance with the desire of President Wilson, and boldly outlined their terms of peace, in a Note presented on January 10th, 1917, by the Premier of France to the American Ambassador in Paris.

It was impossible, stated the Allied Governments, to obtain at the moment such a peace as would not only secure to them reparation, restitution, and guarantees, but enable the European nations of the future to be established on a sure foundation. The Allies challenged the analogy drawn between the two groups of belligerents in the American Note, and suggested that President Woodrow Wilson could not himself have thought that the aims of the Central Powers were virtually the same as those of the Allied Powers. They alluded to the horrors of the invasions of Belgium and Serbia, to the massacres in Armenia and Syria, the barbarities of airship raids on open towns, submarine piracy, and the deportation and enslavement of civil populations. Then, without formulating in detail their terms of peace, the Allied Governments gave the following indications of their demands and intentions:

The evacuation of the invaded territories in France, Russia, and Rumania, with fitting reparation;

The reorganisation of Europe, guaranteed by a stable settlement, based alike upon the principle of nationalities, on the right which all peoples, whether small or great, have to the enjoyment of full security and free economic development, and also upon territorial agreements and international arrangements so framed as to guarantee land and sea frontiers against unjust attacks;

Mr. Balfour's great letter

The restitution of provinces or territories formerly torn from the Allies by force or contrary to the wishes of their inhabitants;

The liberation of Italians, Slavs, Rumanians, Czechs, and Slovaks from foreign domination;

The liberation of the peoples who now lie beneath the murderous tyranny of the Turks; and the expulsion from Europe of the Ottoman Empire, which has proved itself so radically alien to Western civilisation.

The allied Note was sent to the British Ambassador in Washington with a covering despatch from the new Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Arthur J. Balfour.

As a document of diplomacy the letter of Mr. Balfour was a masterpiece. The impression it made upon American opinion constituted a moral victory for the allied cause. For more than two years the people of the United States had been waiting for an appeal to their instincts of liberty and justice, similar to the appeal that Abraham Lincoln made to the British people at a time when the issues of the Civil War were obscured in the European Press. Mr. Balfour had for years seemed to be almost an extinct force in British politics. As he had not distinguished himself as First Lord of the Admiralty in the last Asquith administration his appointment to the position vacated by Viscount Grey was thought at the time to be a mistake. In his address to the American people, however, the old brilliant Foreign Minister, who in his younger days attended the Berlin Congress, recovered the genius of his prime, and stated the case for the Allies in passages of lucid and telling power. What the British official propaganda had been unable to accomplish in thirty months Mr. Balfour achieved in one day. Owing to its historic importance, and its value for future reference, we print in full this famous despatch:

Sir,—In sending you a translation of the allied Note, I desire to make the following observations, which you should bring to the notice of the United States Government.

I gather from the general tenor of the President's Note that while he is animated by an intense desire that peace should come soon, and that when it comes it should be lasting, he does not, for the moment at least, concern himself with the terms on which it should be arranged.

His Majesty's Government entirely share the President's ideals; but they feel strongly that the durability of the peace must largely depend on its character, and that no stable system of international relations can be built on foundations which are essentially and hopelessly defective.

This becomes clearly apparent if we consider the main conditions which rendered possible the calamities from which the world is now suffering. These were the existence of a Great Power consumed with the lust of domination, in the midst of a community of nations ill-prepared for defence, plentifully supplied indeed with international laws, but with no machinery for enforcing them, and weakened by the fact that neither the boundaries of the various States nor their internal constitution harmonised with the aspirations of their constituent races, or secured to them just and equal treatment.

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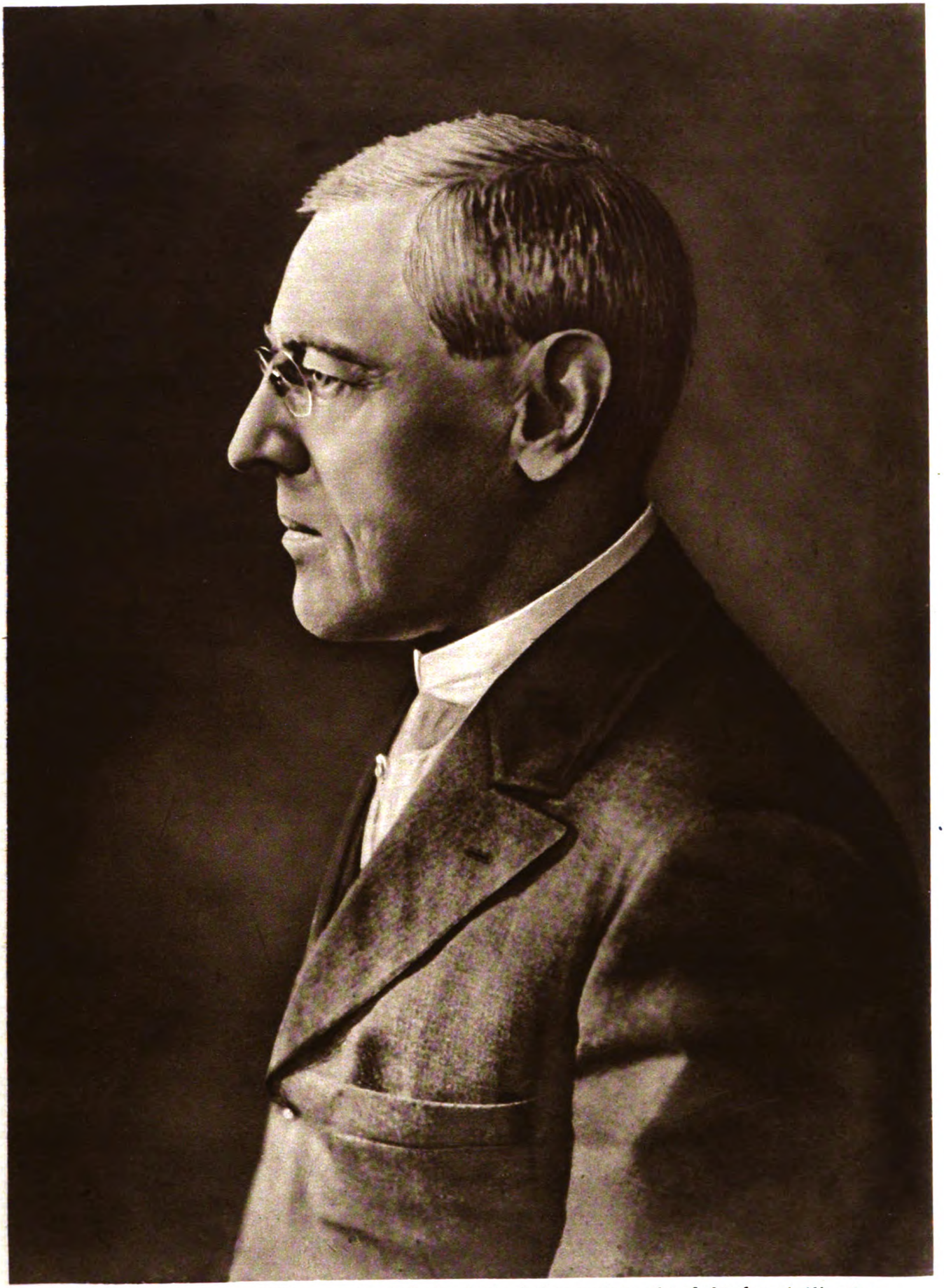

President Woodrow Wilson, who led the United States into the fight for civilisation.

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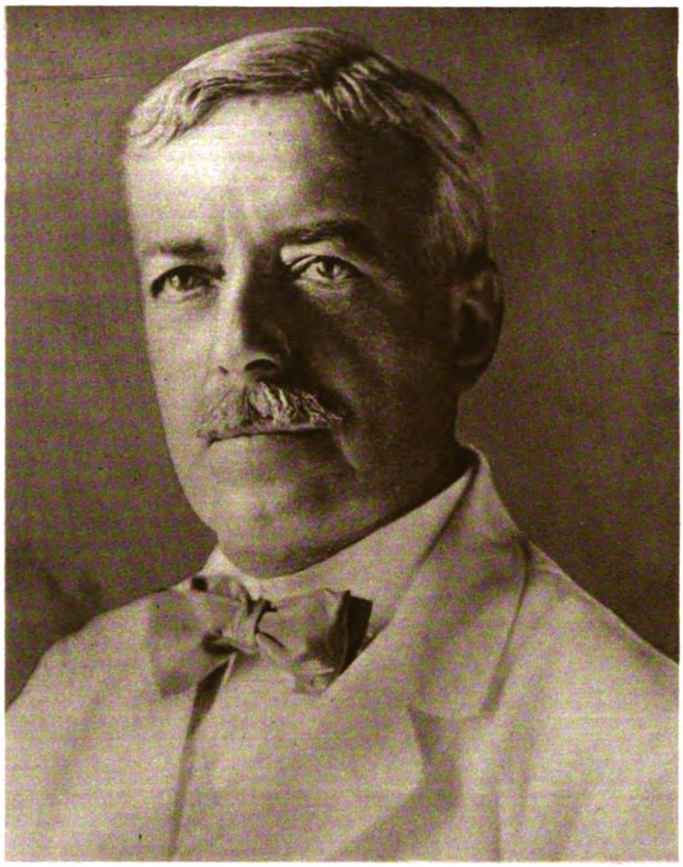

HON. ROBERT LANSING.
SECRETARY OF STATE.

HON. NEWTON D. BAKER.
SECRETARY OF WAR.

GENERAL LEONARD WOOD.
COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE ARMY.

MR. JAMES W. GERARD.
EX-AMBASSADOR TO GERMANY.

Leaders of American opinion: Ministerial Secretaries, Ambassadors, and Army

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HON. JOSEPHUS DANIELS.
SECRETARY OF THE NAVY.

COL. THEODORE ROOSEVELT.
PRESIDENT OF THE U.S.A., 1901-8.

DR. WALTER H. PAGE.
AMBASSADOR TO GREAT BRITAIN.

ADMIRAL HENRY T. MAYO.
COMMANDING THE ATLANTIC FLEET.

Navy Chiefs when the United States declared war on Germany, April 6th, 1917.

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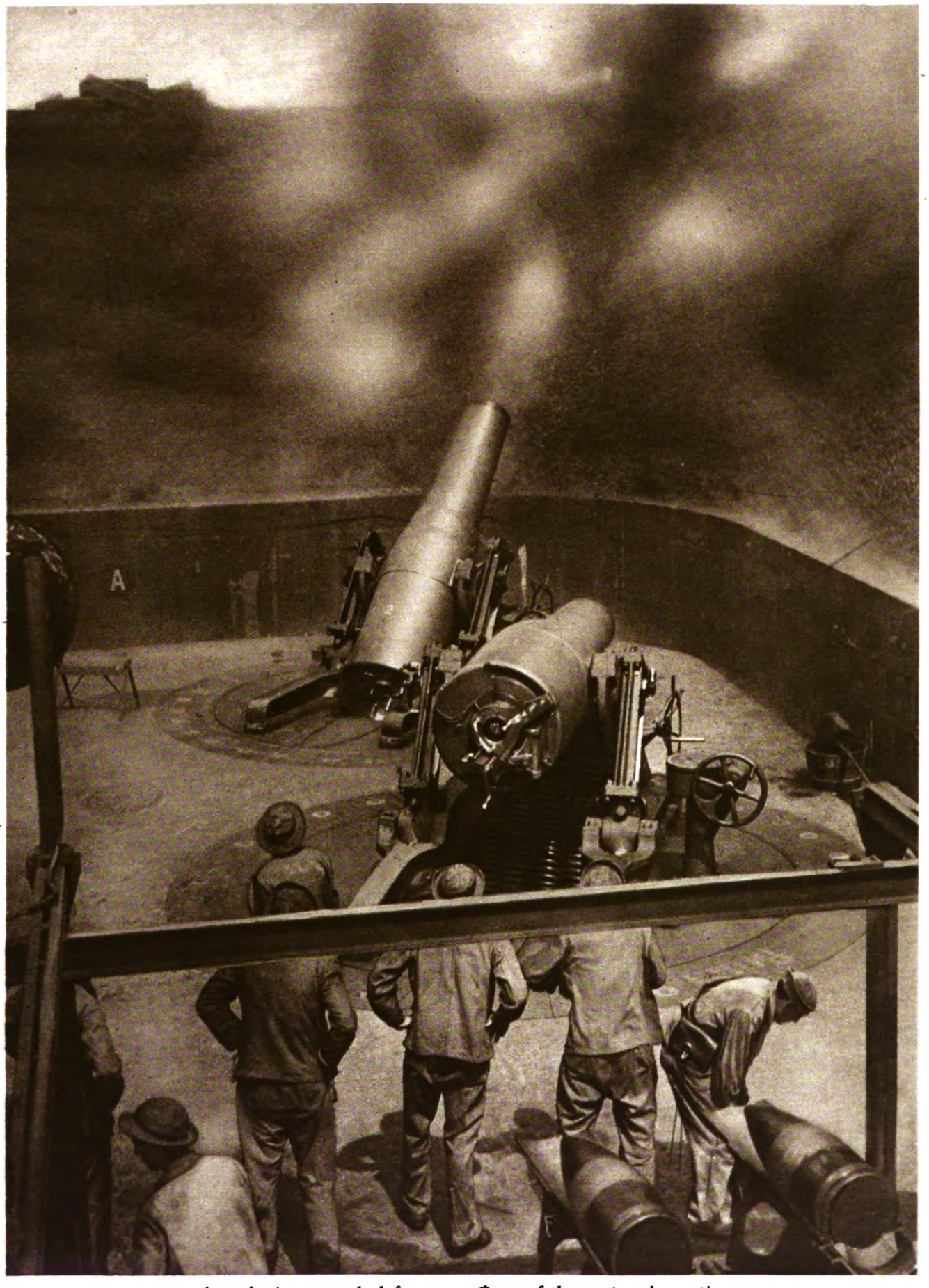

America's coastal defences: Powerful mortar in action.

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That this last evil would be greatly mitigated if the Allies secured the changes in the map of Europe outlined in their joint Note is manifest, and I need not labour the point.

It has been argued, indeed, that the expulsion of the Turks from Europe forms no proper or logical part of this general scheme. The maintenance of the Turkish Empire was during many generations regarded by statesmen of world-wide authority as essential to the maintenance of European peace. Why, it is asked, should the cause of peace be now associated with a complete reversal of this traditional policy?

The answer is that circumstances have completely changed. It is unnecessary to consider now whether the creation of a reformed Turkey mediating between hostile races in the Near East was a scheme which, had the Sultan been sincere and the Powers united, could ever have been realised. It certainly cannot be realised now. The Turkey of "Union and Progress" is at least as barbarous and is far more aggressive than the Turkey of Sultan Abdul Hamid. In the hands of Germany it has ceased even in appearance to be a bulwark of peace, and is openly used as an instrument of conquest.

Changed conditions in Europe

Under German officers, Turkish soldiers are now fighting in lands from which they had long been expelled, and a Turkish Government, controlled, subsidised, and supported by Germany, has been guilty of massacres in Armenia and Syria more horrible than any recorded in the history even of those unhappy countries. Evidently the interests of peace and the claims of nationality alike require that Turkish rule over alien races shall, if possible, be brought to an end; and we may hope that the expulsion of Turkey from Europe will contribute as much to the cause of peace as the restoration of Alsace-Lorraine to France, of Italia Irredenta to Italy, or any of the other territorial changes indicated in the allied Note.

Evidently, however, such territorial rearrangements, though they may diminish the occasions of war, provide no sufficient security against its recurrence. If Germany, or rather those in Germany who mould its opinions and control its destinies, again set out to dominate the world, they may find that by the new order of things the adventure is made more difficult, but hardly that it is made impossible. They may still have ready to their hand a political system organised through and through on a military basis; they may still accumulate vast stores of military equipment; they may still perfect their methods of attack, so that their more pacific neighbours will be struck down before they can prepare themselves for defence. If so, Europe, when the war is over, will be far poorer in men, in money, and in mutual goodwill than it was when the war began, but it will not be safer; and the hopes for the future of the world entertained by the President will be as far as ever from fulfilment.

There are those who think that, for this disease, international treaties and international laws may provide a sufficient cure. But such persons have ill-learned the lessons so clearly taught by recent history.

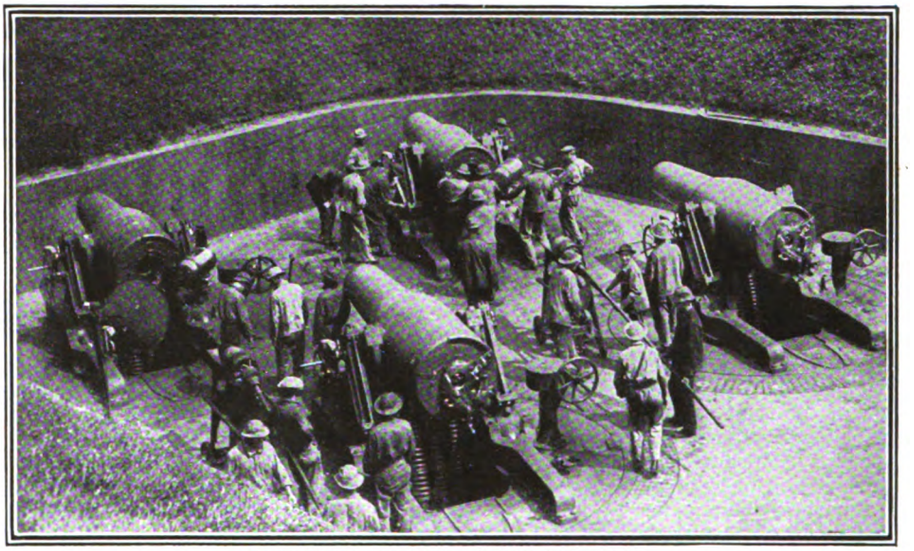
While other nations, notably the United States of America and Britain, were striving by treaties of arbitration to make sure that no chance quarrel should mar the peace they desired to make perpetual, Germany stood aloof. Her historians and philosophers preached the splendours of war; power was proclaimed as the true end of the State; the General Staff forged with untiring industry the weapons by which, at the appointed moment, power might be achieved. These facts proved clearly enough that treaty arrangements for maintaining peace were not likely to find much favour at Berlin; they did not prove that such treaties, once made, would be utterly ineffectual. This became evident only when war had broken out; though the demonstration, when it came, was overwhelming. So long as Germany remains the Germany which, without a shadow of justification, overran and barbarously ill-treated a country it was pledged to defend, *no State can regard its rights as secure if they have no better protection than a solemn treaty.*

The case is made worse by the reflection that these methods of calculated brutality were designed by the Central Powers not merely to crush to the dust those with whom they were at war, but to intimidate those with whom they were still at peace. Belgium was not only a victim, it was an example. Neutrals were intended to note the outrages which accompanied its conquest, the reign of terror which followed on its occupation, the deportation of a portion of its population, the cruel oppression of the remainder. And lest nations happily protected, either by British fleets or their own, from German armies, should suppose themselves safe from German methods, the submarine has (within its limits) assiduously imitated the barbaric practices of the sister service. The War Staffs of the Central Powers are well content to horrify the world if at the same time they can terrorise it.

If, then, the Central Powers succeed, it will be to methods like these that they will owe their success. How can any form of international relations be based on a peace thus obtained? Such a peace would represent the triumph of all the forces which make war certain and make it brutal. It would advertise the futility of all the methods on which civilisation relies to eliminate the occasions of international dispute and to mitigate their ferocity. Germany and Austria made the present war inevitable by attacking the rights of one small State, and they gained their initial triumphs by violating the treaty-guarded territories of another.

Are small States going to find in them their future protectors, or in treaties made by them a bulwark against aggression? Terrorism by land and sea will have proved itself the instrument of victory. Are the victors likely to abandon it on the appeal of the neutrals? If existing treaties are no more than scraps of paper, can fresh treaties help us? If the violation of the most fundamental canons of international law be crowned with success, will it not be in vain that the assembled nations labour to improve their code? None will profit by their rules but the criminals who break them. It is those who keep them that will suffer.

Though, therefore, the people of this country share to the full the desire of the President for peace, they do not believe that peace can be durable if it be not based on the success of the allied cause. For a durable peace can hardly be expected unless three conditions are fulfilled:



DEFENCES OF NEW YORK HARBOUR.

View of Fort Totten, which is situated at Willett's Point, opposite Fort Schuyler at the entrance to Long Island Sound. The gun crews are seen at battle practice, the photograph having been taken at the moment when one of the huge mortars was about to be fired.

The first is that the existing causes of international unrest should be as far as possible removed or weakened.

The second is that the aggressive aims and the unscrupulous methods of the Central Powers should fall into disrepute among their own peoples.

The third is that behind international law, and behind all treaty arrangements for preventing or limiting hostilities, some form of international sanction should be devised which would give pause to the hardiest aggressor.

These conditions may be difficult of fulfilment. But we believe them to be in general harmony with the President's ideals, and we are confident that none of them can be satisfied, even imperfectly, unless peace be secured on the general lines indicated (so far as Europe is concerned) in the joint Note. Therefore, it is that this country has made, is making, and is prepared to make, sacrifices of blood and treasure unparalleled in its history.

Conditions of durable peace

It bears these heavy burdens not merely that it may thus fulfil its treaty obligations, nor yet that it may secure a barren triumph of one group of nations over another. It bears them because it firmly believes that on the success of the Allies depend the prospects of peaceful civilisation, and of those international reforms which the best thinkers of the New World, as of the Old, dare to hope may follow on the cessation of our present calamities.

I am, with great truth and respect, Sir, your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,

ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR.

Many Americans admitted that the ideas expressed

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by Mr. Balfour were in the tradition that the American people had inherited from Abraham Lincoln. The only dissonant note of importance came from Mr. Bertrand Russell, who smuggled through a letter to President Wilson demanding peace without victory. The President was informed that :

> However the war may be prolonged, negotiations will ultimately have to take place on the basis of what will be substantially the present balance of gains and losses, and will result in terms not very different from those which might be obtained now. The Allied Governments have not had the courage to acknowledge publicly what they cannot deny in private, that the hope of a sweeping victory is one which cannot now be obtained. Such acquiescence as there is in continued hostilities is due entirely to fear. The harm done by a peace, done by what we do not desire, is as nothing in comparison to the harm done by the continuance of the fighting.

This false and unpatriotic letter, published by the notorious anti-British newspaper owner, Mr. W. R. Hearst, in the "American" of New York, might quickly have been forgotten, as being merely a singular expression of opinion by one of those friends of every country except his own, who have been clamant in England in all great crises of modern times. On January 22nd, 1917, however, President Wilson made a speech to the Senate in which there were curiously disturbing indications of theinfluence of Mr. Bertrand Russell. He said : "There must be a peace without victory. A peace forced upon the loser would leave a bitter memory — leave only a quicksand for the security of the world to rest on." Among the terms of peace that President Wilson advocated was a direct outlet to the great highways of the sea for every great people. By this he apparently meant the neutralisation of territory in a part of Turkey for the benefit of the Black Sea commerce of Russia, a similar neutralisation of Trieste for the benefit of Austro-Hungarian commerce, and possibly some direct access to the sea for an independent and autonomous Poland.

DR. CHARLES W. ELIOT.
Ex-President of Harvard University. One of the chief leaders of the U.S. pro-Ally movement.

DR. CHARLES PARSONS.
Distinguished American chemist. Appointed on the outbreak of war chief chemist to the War Department.

MR. CHARLES M. SCHWAB.
Successively President of the Carnegie Steel Company and of the United States Steel Corporation.

In order to induce the Allied Powers to accept peace without victory, President Wilson again brought forward the American idea of a League to Enforce Peace, with limitation of armaments and co-operation of navies. With wonderful daring he held out the expectation that the people and Government of the United States would join the other civilised nations of the world in guaranteeing the permanency of peace and applying the Monroe Doctrine to all Continents. The Americans themselves, however, immediately replied that their chief magistrate was exceeding his powers in holding out the expectation that the United States would enter the proposed league. The necessary treaties would need the sanction of Congress, and it was at the time most unlikely that the nation and its legislators would mortgage the destinies of the country in the manner suggested by the President.

The offer made by Mr. Wilson was not designed as a snare. Still, the fact remained that, in order to tempt the Allies to consent to a peace without victory, the President offered them a guarantee against future wars, which guarantee he was absolutely incapable of fulfilling. He might vainly have spent the rest of his life in a political campaign to engage the forces and diplomacy of the United States in establishing the Monroe Doctrine for all the world. His offer may have had an educating influence upon American opinion, causing millions of men immersed in local affairs to ponder what great international policy their country might have to adopt in the changed and changing conditions of the modern era of instant transoceanic speech and accelerated transport of great masses of men, material, and armament. As, however, the American people had recently re-elected Mr. Wilson on the ground that he had kept them out of war, there seemed to be, to the majority of their observers, little reason for expecting they would follow their President in his strangely new and revolutionary policy in foreign affairs.

Mr. Bonar Law made an immediate reply to the proposal :

> What President Wilson is longing for (he said) we are fighting for, our sons and brothers are dying for, and we mean to secure it. The hearts of the people of this country are longing for peace—a peace which will bring back in safety those who are dear to us, but a peace which will mean that those who will never come back shall not have laid down their lives in vain.

Meanwhile, there was no response in the United States to the proposal laid before the Senate. The idea of a League to Enforce Peace was generally condemned as a thing that might lead to disastrous intrigues and unnecessary wars.

The United States, when this proposal was made, was, as Mr. Lansing had said, on the verge of war. Germany was entering upon her intensified submarine campaign against both neutral and allied shipping, and the pledge given to President Wilson in May, 1916, was openly and most cynically about to be broken.

Three days before the President went to the Senate his Secret Service had accomplished one of the most dramatic coups in the history of diplomacy. Herr Zimmermann, the German Foreign Secretary, forwarded to the German Ambassador in Mexico, Herr von Eckhardt, instructions to plot against the United States. The instructions were sent in a special secret code by a devious secret channel.

Yet the brilliant American Secret Service men were able to lay before their President the following authentic instructions from Herr Zimmermann to Herr Eckhardt :

HERR ZIMMERMANN.
German Foreign Secretary. November, 1916. Plotted to make Mexico attack the U.S.

> January 19th, 1917.
>
> On February 1st we intend to begin unrestricted warfare. In spite of this it is our endeavour to keep the United States neutral. If this attempt is not successful we propose an alliance with Mexico on the following basis :
>
> That we shall make war together, and together make peace. We shall give general financial support, and it is understood that

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GUNNERS OF THE U.S. FIELD ARTILLERY.

E Battery, 5th U.S. Field Artillery, with one of its 4·7 in. guns. It formed part of the forces sent to the Mexican border in 1916 when German intrigue was fomenting trouble between Mexico and the U.S.

Mexico is to reconquer her lost territory in New Mexico, Texas, and Arizona.

Details are left to you for settlement.

You are instructed to inform the President of Mexico, or myself, in greatest confidence, as soon as it is certain there will be an outbreak of war with the United States, and suggest that the President of Mexico, on his own initiative, should communicate with Japan, suggesting adherence at once to this plan, and, at the same time, offer to mediate between Germany and Japan.

Please call the attention of the President of Mexico to the fact that the employment of ruthless submarine warfare now promises to compel Great Britain to make peace in a few months.—(Signed) ZIMMERMANN.

About the same time the American Secret Service also tapped a secret code message to Count Bernstorff, directing him to damage the engines and machinery of all German and Austrian vessels in American ports, and thereby prevent them being used on the outbreak of war. It is thus clear that President Wilson's suggestion to arrange a League to Enforce Peace was little more than an impossible attempt to keep the United States out of the war.

Germany withdraws pledge to U.S.

Though in making the offer the President exceeded his constitutional powers, he at least served his people to the extreme limit of diplomatic action. The Germans, however, acted like men bent on self-destruction. As an American put it: "Again let us thank God for that when He made the Prussian He made a fool." On January 31st, 1917, the German authorities formally withdrew their pledge to President Wilson and proclaimed a new campaign of unlimited submarine piracy. But, as though intentionally to add insult to injury, Herr Zimmermann informed the American Secretary of State that one American passenger steamer would be allowed to enter Falmouth once a week, on the farcical condition that the vessel was painted with vertical stripes, three yards wide, alternating white and red, with a red-and-white checkered flag showing on each mast.

On the same day as Herr Zimmermann's Note was dispatched, Herr Bethmann-Hollweg made in the Reichstag a speech containing a blunder as disastrous to his country as the "scrap of paper" conversation by which he sought to keep Great Britain from helping Belgium. His aim in this new case was to prevent the United States from fighting for her old, sound, international sea rights. But far from attempting to placate the Americans, he went out of his way, with cynical stupidity, to inform them that he had been deceiving them.

NAVAL GUNNERS OF A U.S. BATTLESHIP.

The scheme of naval construction authorised in August, 1916, aimed at making the United States Navy the second largest in the world in every unit essential to a powerful fighting force.

President Wilson then had a difficult domestic problem. He could have brought his nation at once into the war by going to Congress and revealing Zimmermann's despatch about Mexico, and instantly deepening the impression upon the American mind made by Herr Bethmann-Hollweg's speech. Such a storm of indignation would have swept the States that war would have been declared almost within a day. For various reasons, political as well as military, the President, however, decided to act in a gradual manner. Proceeding nominally only upon the open declarations of the German authorities, he severed relations with Germany by sending away Count Bernstorff and recalling Mr. Gerard. The Senate ratified his action by seventy-eight votes against five. But there was no agitation for immediate hostilities, and the possibility of war was generally regarded with a kind of regretful patience. The President stated that, if American ships were destroyed, he would again come before Congress—meaning, of course, that he would then ask for military powers.

U.S. breaks relations with Germany

Meanwhile, he clearly succeeded in carrying the country with him as far as he cared to go. This he did without revealing the German threat against the Southern and Western States. It must be remembered that only the Eastern States had ever displayed a resolute temper. These States were of Republican colour, and unrepresented in all the intimate councils of the President's own party. His power and his political organisation were founded upon the Southern, Middle, and Western States, and the

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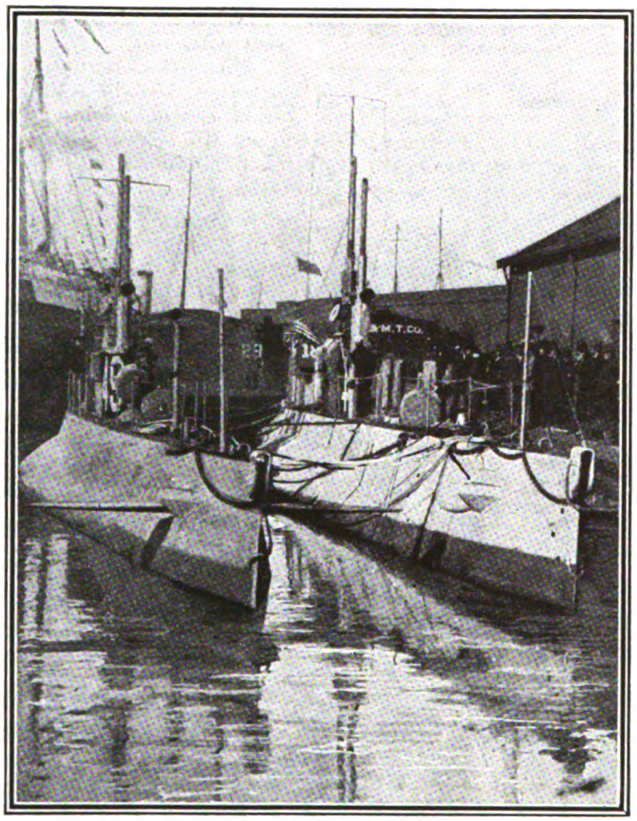


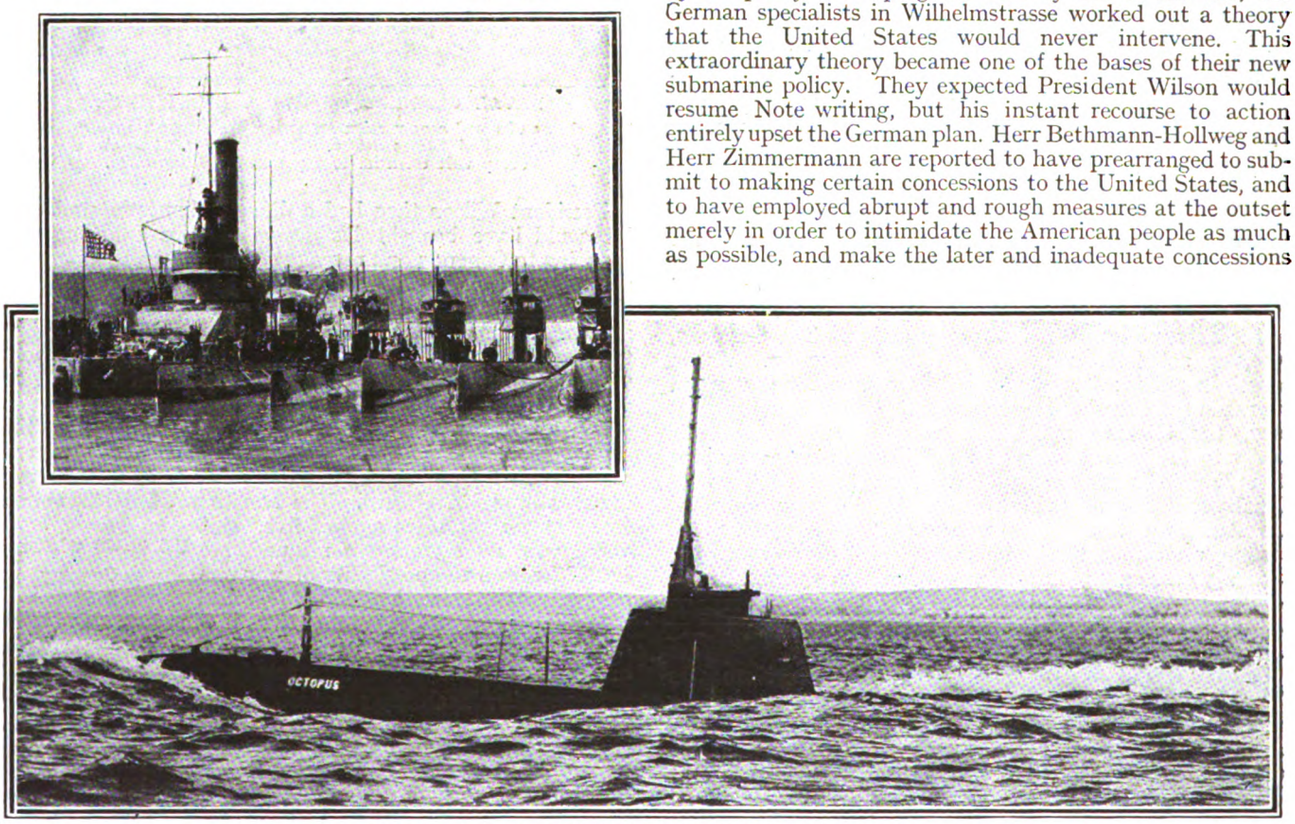
DETAILED TO JOIN THE ATLANTIC FLEET.
L2 and L9, two of the United States submarines completed in 1915, lying in dock at Norfolk, Virginia. Submarines of this and the later classes carried 3 in. guns and had large cruising range.

pacific feeling in these States was alone fully and continually expressed in all Democratic Party meetings. Naturally, therefore, the mind of the President was influenced by the views of the Senators, representatives, governors, and numerous officers of the States on which both his personal and his party power were based. When at last he was himself convinced that the employment of armed force was necessary for the honour and safety of the nation, he had still to educate the larger part of the electorate into a lively appreciation of the dangerous situation.

The United States had been called the melting-pot of the world. But in the hour of crisis its chief magistrate did not seem assured that all the main elements of the coming American race had thoroughly amalgamated into one solid new human alloy. His governing design was to prepare the future solidity of the medley of old and new settlers by gradually inducing all the sound, strong, and larger Germanic element to see the absolute need for armed and bitter conflict with the land from which they or their fathers had sprung. He knew that he could have swept most of the German-Americans abruptly into the war by revealing Herr Zimmerman's despatch to Herr Eckhardt. He did not, however, want a straw fire of indignation under the melting-pot, but a slow, steady, enduring flame of patriotism, coming from the inmost conscience and heart of the Germanic and all other elements.

Berlin's calculations upset

The German authorities in Berlin appear to have been staggered by the abruptness with which President Wilson severed relations. They fell into the same error with regard to the United States in 1917 as they did in regard to Great Britain in 1914. The American department of the Foreign Office in Berlin had laboriously and learnedly studied the American temperament. Going by the Presidential election and by the successes won by Mr. Wilson by his policy of keeping the country out of the war, the German specialists in Wilhelmstrasse worked out a theory that the United States would never intervene. This extraordinary theory became one of the bases of their new submarine policy. They expected President Wilson would resume Note writing, but his instant recourse to action entirely upset the German plan. Herr Bethmann-Hollweg and Herr Zimmermann are reported to have prearranged to submit to making certain concessions to the United States, and to have employed abrupt and rough measures at the outset merely in order to intimidate the American people as much as possible, and make the later and inadequate concessions



UNITS OF A RAPIDLY-GROWING SUBMARINE FLEET.
The submarine Octopus, partly submerged, and (above) a flotilla of submarines of the United States Navy. In October, 1916, the United States had fifty submarines completed and a further twenty-four in the course of construction, while the revised programme provided for an addition of sixty-eight, of which fifty-eight were to be coast submarines, nine Fleet submarines, and one on the Neff system.

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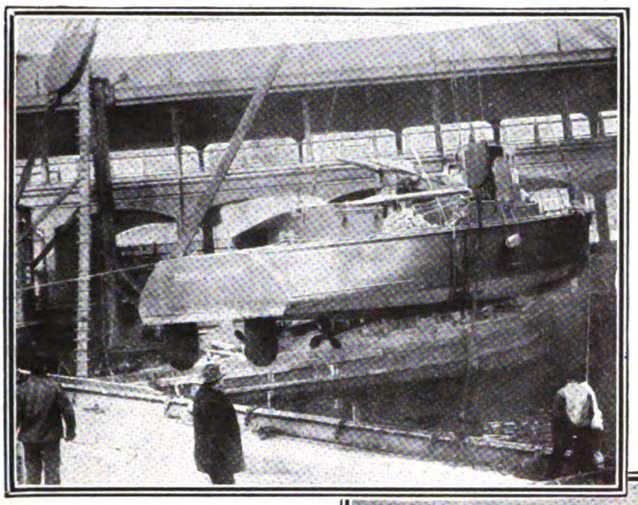


ARMED SUBMARINE CHASER.
New type of motor-boat, sixty feet long and with a speed of forty knots, privately built and offered to the United States Government as a "submarine chaser" in the spring of 1917.

appear more valuable by relieving the tension deliberately created. But in Berlin they were not aware that the details of their plot with Mexico were fully known to President Wilson, and that he was also well acquainted with every secret message of importance sent to Count Bernstorff. To use a cant phrase, Mr. Wilson had "called the bluff" of the German Foreign Office. He was in the happy position of knowing all the cards in his opponents' hands, and of possessing in Herr Zimmermann's despatch the "straight flush."

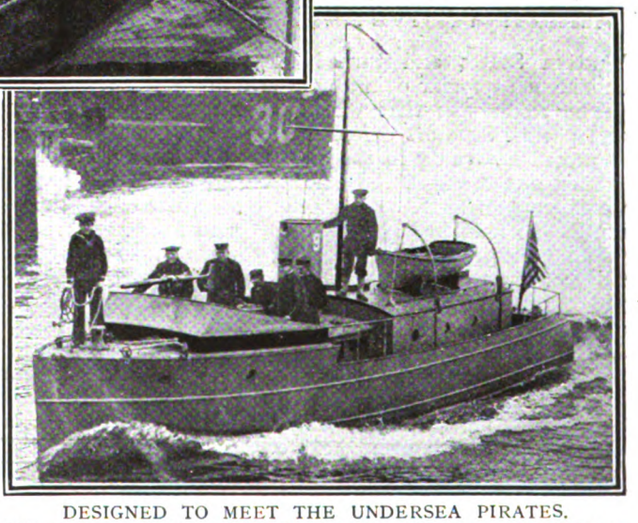
Being ignorant of this, Count Montegelas, the chief of the American department in Wilhelmstrasse, crowned all the indignities and injuries inflicted upon the United States by an amazing treatment of the American Ambassador, Mr. Gerard. There was an ancient treaty between Prussia and the United States, in which each country agreed, in case of war, to allow the merchants and other nationals of the opposing nation to trade and reside for some nine months in its territory, and freely to depart without hindrance. This treaty had not been renewed on the foundation of the German Empire. So, at the last moment, the German Government endeavoured by violence to compel Mr. Gerard to sign a new agreement, securing large commercial advantages to the Germans in the United States, protecting German boats from seizure, and all German patents, contracts, and businesses from forfeiture. Mr. Gerard was held as hostage, and refused means of communicating with his Government. Count Montegelas further threatened to imprison all Americans in Germany if Mr. Gerard would not sign the treaty. "I can't be sand-bagged in this way," said Mr. Gerard. After a detention lasting several days he was allowed to leave Germany, and many Americans went with him.

U BOAT CHASER LYNX.
Another form of "submarine chaser" named the Lynx. This was also the outcome of private American enterprise under the impetus provided by Prussian piracy.

Even this barbaric treatment of their Ambassador did not rouse the American people to action. In the middle of February, 1917, the administration leaders, in both the Senate and the House of Representatives, warned the President that if he went to Congress to obtain a declaration of war against Germany the declaration probably would not be given. Even if a resolution were carried, the discussion, it was calculated, would reveal so strong an opposition as would have encouraged the enemy, and perhaps provoked outbursts of Teutonic rebellion. Large forces of pacifists, under Mr. W. J. Bryan, were acting more or less loosely with the German organisations, and spending money abundantly in the leading newspapers and other directions. Amid the somewhat sinister resurgence and extension of all the forces of pacifism that occurred at the time when German reservists in the United States were crowding into Mexico, Germany tried to reopen negotiations for means of assuring the safety of American shipping To the proposal, which was made through the Swiss Minister, President Wilson replied that he could not resume negotiations unless the German Government restored the pledge they had given in May, 1916.

U.S. public opinion apathetic

About this time two American ships, the Housatonic and the Lyman M. Law, were sunk by Teutonic submarines. Then, on February 25th, 1917, the Cunard liner Laconia was sunk off the Irish coast with the loss of the lives of two American citizens. These were clearly overt acts of hostility, and on February 26th President Wilson returned to Congress and asked for powers to protect the shipping of the country. He met with strong



DESIGNED TO MEET THE UNDERSEA PIRATES.
Side view of the Lynx. This little vessel, of which it was estimated large numbers of sister-vessels could be turned out very rapidly by American shipyards, had a length of about thirty-nine feet.

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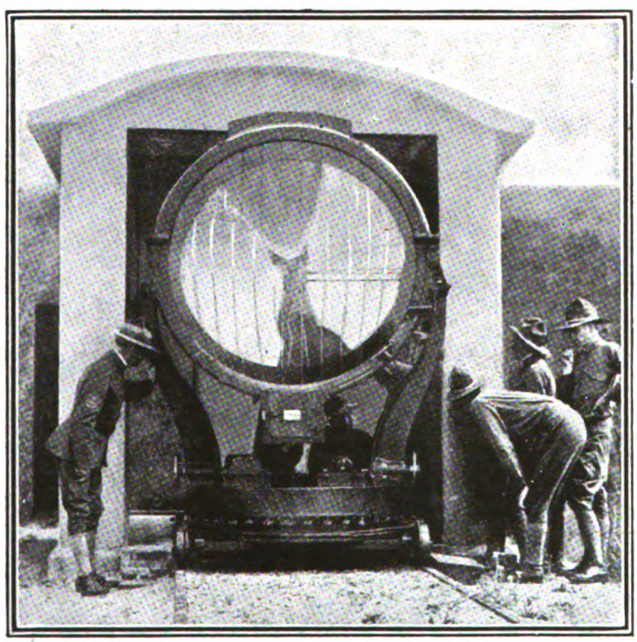
opposition. Strongly then he countered both the pacifists and the disloyalists by publishing the despatch sent on January 19th by the German Foreign Minister to the German Ambassador in Mexico City. The effect of the disclosures was to unite the Eastern, Middle, Southern, and Western States in earnest preparation for war. Had Herr Zimmermann been a traitor to his own country, he could not have done more to injure Germany and to benefit the United States than he accomplished by his idle and senseless attempt at a Mexican-Japanese plot. Had he kept to the bare possibility of the situation and arranged to subsidise an insignificant Mexican invasion of American territory, he would not greatly have disturbed the popular mind. But all along the Pacific coast there had for years been a certain fear of Japanese action. It was because Japan was leagued with the Allied Powers that a majority of the people of the Pacific States looked coldly upon the cause of the Allies and partly inclined to hope for something like a German victory. In wildly and foolishly proposing that Japan should be detached from the Grand Alliance by Mexico, the German Foreign Minister made himself ridiculous, and yet alarmed the



MONSTER SEARCHLIGHT OF THE AMERICAN ARMY.
Huge travelling searchlight which could be moved about on rails. America was able to boast the possession of the largest searchlight in the world. The lens shown above was between five and six feet in diameter.

Western States and turned there the current of unenlightened popular opinion violently against Germany.

The result was that when a remnant of pro-German and pacifist Senators defeated President Wilson's measure of armed neutrality in the Senate, by the sorry device of talking out the Bill, the educative process in the nation was completed. "A little group of wilful men, representing no opinion but their own," said President Wilson in an unwonted mood of anger, "have made the great Government of the United States helpless and contemptible." More than five hundred out of the five hundred and thirty-one members of the two Houses were ready and anxious to take action against the Central Empires. Means, therefore, were quickly devised to restore to the overwhelming majority of legislators their usurped rights. The Senate passed, by seventy-six votes to three, a new closure rule which completely crippled the power of the small band of malignants. American vessels were armed with guns, provided with picket-boats for launching against submarines when approaching the danger zone, and sent out to encounter German and Austrian submarines.

With intense yet quiet energy the most powerful industrial and financial State in the world, with a population of a hundred million, organised itself for war against the piratical Central Empires. No declaration of war was at first made, but the work of practical co-operation with the Allied Powers was rapidly carried on. The Allies were in no immediate need of military help, and the American people was not in a position to afford such help. Great Britain, France, and Italy were sufficiently strong on land and on the surface of the seas. What they needed was food, metal, and general supplies of military material. To some extent they also needed financial aid, and this the United States could lavishly provide. It seemed as though the American nation had only to maintain a large and regular Transatlantic traffic, in despite of the enemy's submarine operations, in order powerfully to assist in the ultimate defeat of the anarchists of Central Europe and Asia Minor. The intervention of the United States appeared to mark a turning-point in the history of civilisation. It was pregnant with noble possibilities of development in the international problems of the future, and it promised to prove finally decisive of the issue of the war, provided in the meantime that the British Navy and the British people succeeded in defeating the methods of submarine piracy by which the enemy sought to starve the Allies into submission.

United States prepares for war

The inaugural address of President Wilson on March 5th, 1917, had that quality of strange quietness and soberness with which the race, usually the loudest in the world, turns to some heavy and grim task. "We are provincials no longer," said the President. "The tragical events of thirty months of vital turmoil through which we have just passed have made us citizens of the world." In this reticent way the chief magistrate of the United States burst through the political traditions held from the age of Washington and prepared to make common cause with the Entente Powers.

The Federal Reserve Board which, as late as November, 1916, had prohibited American banks from investing in foreign loans, withdrew the restriction, and thus enabled the Allies to obtain vast financial aid. Then, largely under American influence, the Chinese Government severed diplomatic relations with Germany and began to seize German ships. The Cuban Government likewise proceeded towards a working alliance against the Teutons. For it was revealed about the middle of March that the Cuban rising under the former President, Gomez, had been engineered by Germany, partly in the general design to embarrass the American Government, and with the more particular aim of establishing submarine bases near the American coast. One point, a hundred and fifty miles from Florida, had especially been chosen by the Teuton plotters as a centre of operations against American commerce. Just as this revelation added the last flames of anger to the fire of indignation caused by the exposure of the Mexican plot, and quickened the war feeling in the Southern States, whose sea-borne traffic would have been seriously menaced by secret German submarine bases in Cuba, news of the Russian Revolution removed all cause of hesitation from the mind of the American democracy.

Attitude of the Jews

From the outbreak of war the powerful and tentacular influence of German-American Jewish finance had told heavily against the Allies. Many Russian Jewish settlers in America, who sympathised more or less with the aims of the Entente, were bent into a show of pro-Germanism by pressure from their stronger brethren in the synagogues, who were working with the masterful Hebrews of Germany. Memories of Russian pogroms and Russian oppressions weighed indeed upon all Hebrews. Even in Great Britain some of the most brilliant of Jews continued to protest against such enlightened and tolerant people as the British and French leaguing themselves with the "dark forces"

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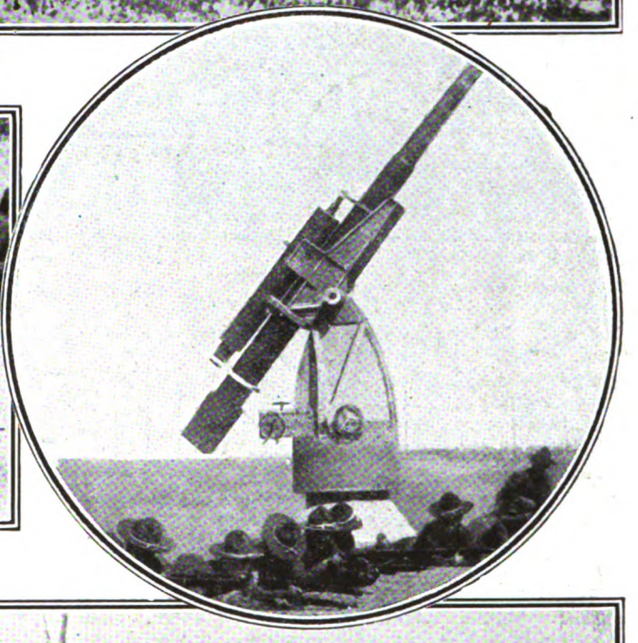
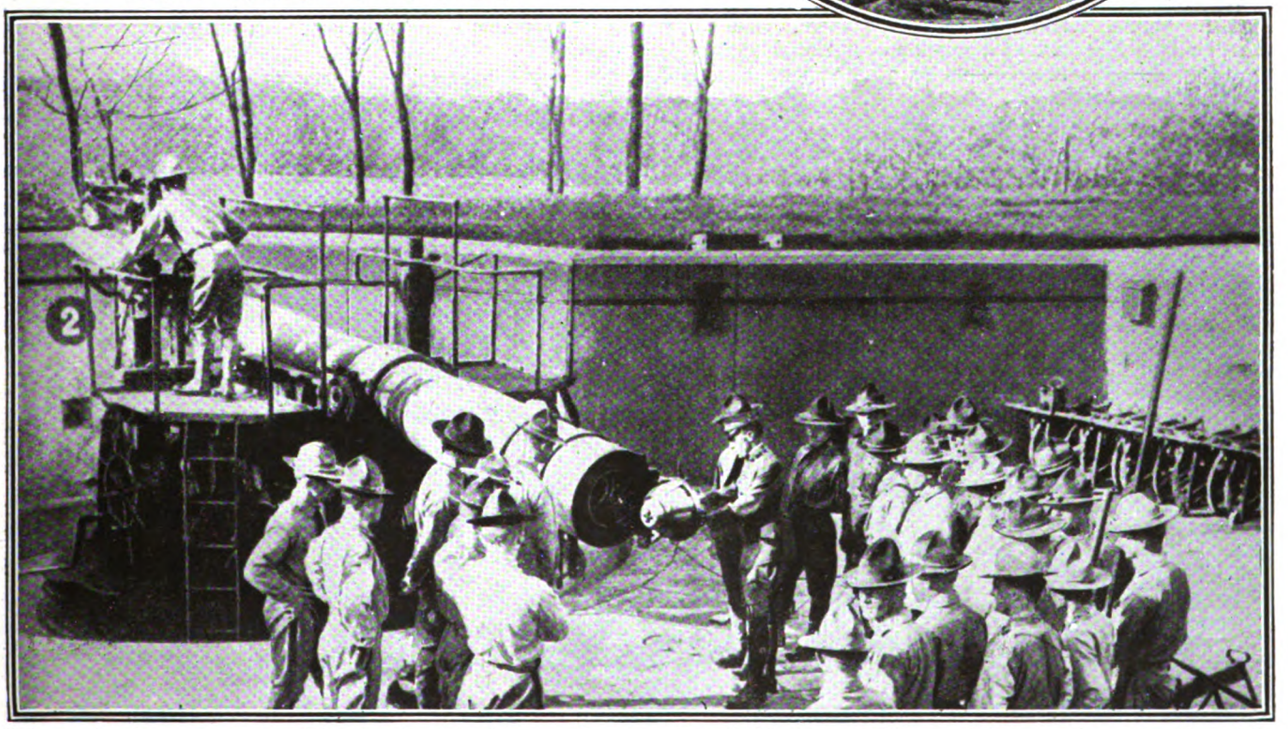
President Wilson reviewing some of the State troops of New Jersey during the United States Army manœuvres. When a state of war with Germany was declared the President was emphatic in calling for a conscript army.

Machine-gun detachment of the United States Army at practice. Boxes, it will be seen, were carried which served the purpose of gun-rests when firing from a prone position in open country.





Cadets undergoing a course of training to take their places as officers of the United States Army. They were receiving instruction in the use of the 10 in. disappearing gun which was employed by the artillery entrusted with the coast defences of America. In circle: Men of the United States infantry at drill beside one of the powerful anti-aircraft guns with which the American Army was provided.

MEN OF THE UNITED STATES ARMY IN PREPARATION FOR ACTIVE SERVICE.

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U.S. COUNCIL OF NATIONAL DEFENCE AND ADVISORY COMMITTEE.
Seated (from left): David F. Houston, Secretary of Agriculture; Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy; Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War; Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior; William B. Wilson, Secretary of Labour. Standing (from left): Grosvenor B. Clarke, Secretary of the Council; Julius Rosenwald, Chairman of Committee on Supplies; Bernard M. Baruch, Raw Materials; Daniel Willard, Transportation; Dr. F. H. Matlin, Medicine and Sanitation; Dr. Hollis Godfrey, Science and Research; Howard Coffin, Munitions; and W. S. Gifford, Director of the Council.

of Russia. The sudden liberation of the Russian people, with the complete enfranchisement of the Russian Hebrews, fired the imagination of the American Jews. They began to direct their contempt and anger towards the military caste of Germany, which still kept all save the most highly-placed Hebrews in a social ghetto, while professing that only the Russian bureaucracy was so sunk in mediæval barbarism as to refuse full rights of civilisation to men of all religions. The German governing class had merely been more skilful and more tactful than the reactionaries of Russia. While refraining from massacre, and using German-Jewish finance as a weapon of national aggression, they had retained the Jew under a system of ostracism. The treacherous Kaiser had patronised a few very successful German Jews, such as Ballin, Rathenau, Dernburg, and Bleichröder, because he recognised they were among the main instruments of Teutonic power. Nevertheless, he maintained the general system of keeping the majority of his Hebrew subjects beyond the high social pale and refusing them the privileges of gentlemen.

The contrast between the instant magnanimity of free Russia and the subtle exclusiveness of autocratic Germany produced a profound change of opinion among the leaders of the American Jews. Powerful financial houses, such as Kühn, Loeb & Company, at once proclaimed themselves allies of the European democracies. In the previous month there had been some dangerous food riots in New York, where there was a large Jewish population, and it was known that the most active rioters and some of the principal food speculators had worked under Germanic influence. The design was to induce Congress to place an embargo on the exportation of foodstuffs, and thereby aid the murderous campaign of German submarines and increase the difficulty of rationing Great Britain, France, and Italy. Even in the second week of March there had been thousands of clamorous Germanic agents in New York who openly continued the plot against President Wilson, and accused him of starving his own people in order to feed the armies of the Allies. There was some natural stringency in breadstuffs and vegetables, owing to bad weather and bad harvests; but the partial failure of crops had been transformed into an artificial instrument of economic attack against Great Britain, France, and Italy. When the success of the Russian Revolution was announced the food riots almost ceased. A still more formidable general railway strike, which would have stopped the export of munitions and other supplies, was also prevented. The American people were excited to an ecstasy of political fervour by the abrupt and inspiring birth of an immense new democracy. They dreamt noble dreams and saw glorious visions of a universal confraternity of democracies being wrought into practical and lasting shape in their own lifetime.

Failure of the plotters

SENATOR ROOT.
Who declared that no nation had a greater stake in the success of the Allies than had the United States.

SENATOR LODGE.
Well-known Republican leader, who warmly advocated the fighting policy of the United States.

MR. W. H. TAFT.
Who immediately preceded President Wilson as President of the United States, occupying the position 1909-1913.

EMINENT REPUBLICAN LEADERS WHO SUPPORTED PRESIDENT WILSON'S WAR POLICY.

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President Wilson was deeply stirred by the unexpected Russian miracle. He at once shortened, by two weeks, the date for the convening of Congress and the declaration of war against Germany. On April 2nd he asked Congress to declare that a state of war existed between the United States and Germany. In an address that ranked with the most famous declarations of Lincoln he carried the country with him in a crusade against all the forces of Prussianism that had perverted the soul of the Germanic race. Abandoning the policy of armed neutrality which he had advocated on February 26th, 1917, he preached full and strenuous war against the enemies of mankind. He said:

PRESIDENT WOODROW WILSON AND HIS CABINET.
Back row (left to right): President Wilson; William G. McAdoo, Secretary of the Treasury; Thomas W. Gregory, Attorney-General; Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy; David F. Houston, Secretary of Agriculture; William B. Wilson, Secretary of Labour. Front row (left to right): Robert Lansing, Secretary of State; Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War; Albert S. Burlson, Postmaster-General; Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior; William C. Redfield, Secretary of Commerce.

> There is one choice we cannot make and are incapable of making. We will not choose the path of submission and suffer the most sacred rights of our nation and our people to be ignored and violated. The wrongs against which we now array ourselves are not common wrongs; they cut to the very root of human life.
>
> With a profound sense of the solemn event and the tragical character of the step I am taking, and of the grave responsibilities which it involves, but in unhesitating obedience to what I deem my constitutional duty, I advise that Congress declare that the recent course of the Imperial German Government to be in fact nothing less than war against the Government and people of the United States, that it formally accepts the status of a belligerent which is thus thrust upon it, and that it take immediate steps, not only to put the country in a more thorough state of defence, but also to exert all its power and to employ its resources to bring the Government of the German Empire to terms and end the war.

President Wilson's historic address

> We are at the beginning of an age in which it will be insisted that the same standards of conduct and responsibility for wrong done shall be observed among nations and their Governments that are observed among individual citizens of civilised States. We have not quarrelled with the German people. We have no feeling towards them but one of sympathy and friendship. It was not upon their impulse that their Government acted in entering this war. It was not with their previous knowledge or approval.
>
> It was a war determined upon as wars used to be determined upon in the old unhappy days when people were nowhere consulted by their rulers, and wars were provoked and waged in the interest of dynasties, or little groups of ambitious men, who were accustomed to use their fellow-men as pawns and tools. Self-governed nations do not fill their neighbour States with spies, or set in course an intrigue to bring about some critical posture of affairs which would give them an opportunity to strike and make a conquest. Such designs can be successfully worked only under cover, where no one has a right to ask questions. Cunningly contrived plans of deception or impression, carried, it may be, from generation to generation, can be worked out and kept from light only within the privacy of Courts or behind the carefully-guarded confidences of a narrow, privileged class. They are happily impossible where public opinion commands and insists upon full information concerning all the nation's affairs.
>
> A steadfast concert for peace can never be maintained except by the partnership of democratic nations. No autocratic Government could be trusted to keep faith within it or observe its covenants. There must be a league of honour and partnership of opinion. Intrigue would eat its vitals away. Plottings by inner circles, who would plan what they would and render an account to no one, would be corruption seated at its very heart. Only free peoples can hold their purpose and their honour steady to the common end, and prefer the interests of mankind to the narrow interests of their own.
>
> Does not every American feel that assurance has been added to

MR. JOSEPH H. CHOATE.
U.S. Ambassador to Great Britain, 1899-1905. He represented the United States at the Second Hague Conference.

COLONEL HOUSE.
An intimate friend of President Wilson, who sent him as a private emissary to Germany and Great Britain in 1916.

WILLIAM G. McADOO.
Secretary of the United States Treasury in President Wilson's Cabinet, who introduced the first War Budget in 1917.

THREE REPRESENTATIVE AMERICAN CITIZENS WHO STOOD HIGH IN BRITISH ESTIMATION.

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MR. G. W. GOETHALS.
Appointed to direct the construction of 1,000 wooden merchantmen for the United States.

ADMIRAL SIMS.
Special Envoy from the United States to confer with the British Naval Board on naval co-operation.

our hope for the future peace of the world by the wonderful heartening things that have been happening within the last few weeks in Russia? Russia was known by those who knew her best to have been always in fact democratic at heart in all vital habits, in her thought, and in all intimate relations of her people that spoke of their natural instinct and their habitual attitude towards life. The autocracy that crowned the summit of her political structure, long as it had stood and terrible as it was in the reality of its power, was not in fact Russian in origin, character, or purpose, and now it has been shaken, and the great, generous Russian people have been added in all their native majesty and might to the forces that are fighting for freedom in the world, for justice, and for peace. Here is a fit partner for a league of honour.

It will be easier for us to conduct ourselves as belligerents in a high spirit of right and fairness because we act without animus, not in enmity towards a people, or with a desire to bring any injury or disadvantage upon them, but only in armed opposition to an irresponsible Government, which has thrown aside all considerations of humanity and right, and is running amok.

Friends of the German people

We are, let me say again, sincere friends of the German people, and shall desire nothing so much as an early re-establishment of intimate relations to our mutual advantage.

However hard it may be for them for the time being to believe this, it is spoken from our hearts. We have borne with their present Government through all these bitter months, because of that friendship, exercising patience and forbearance which otherwise would have been impossible. We shall happily still have an opportunity to prove that friendship in our daily attitude and actions towards millions of men and women of German birth and native sympathy who live amongst us and share our life, and we shall be proud to prove it towards all who in fact are loyal to their neighbours and to the Government in the hour of test. They are most of them as true and loyal Americans as if they had never known any other fealty or allegiance. They will be prompt to stand with us in rebuking and restraining the few who may be of different mind and purpose. If there should be disloyalty it will be dealt with with the firm hand of stern repression, but, if it lifts its head at all, it will lift it only here and there, and without countenance, except from the lawless and malignant few.

It is a distressing and oppressive duty, gentlemen of Congress, which I have performed in thus addressing you. There are, it may be, many months of fiery trial and sacrifice ahead of us. It is a fearful thing to lead this great and peaceful people into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars. Civilisation itself seems to be in the balance, but right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts, for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for the universal domination of right by such a concert of free peoples as will bring peace and safety to all nations, and make the world itself at last free.

To such a task we can dedicate our lives, our fortunes, everything we are, everything we have, with the pride of those who know the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and might for the principles that gave her birth and the happiness and peace which she has treasured. God helping her, she can do no other.

The distinction which President Wilson made in his address between the autocratic German Government and the unfree German people was a stroke of policy of the highest skill. It was directly intended for the large, hesitant, and powerful body of German-Americans who were either descended from immigrants rebellious to Prussian rule or were themselves men and women who had left the Central Empires in search of more freedom,

REAR-ADMIRAL GRANT.
Commanding the Submarine Division of the United States Navy.

ADMIRAL GLEAVES.
Commanding the Destroyer Division of the United States Navy.

BRIG.-GENERAL CLARENCE EDWARDS.
Commanding the North-Eastern Department of the New England States.

ADMIRAL BENSON.
Chief of Staff of the United States Navy.

ADMIRAL FLETCHER.
Commander of the Second Atlantic Squadron of the United States Navy.

SOME PROMINENT FIGURES IN THE UNITED STATES SERVICES AT THE OUTBREAK OF WAR.

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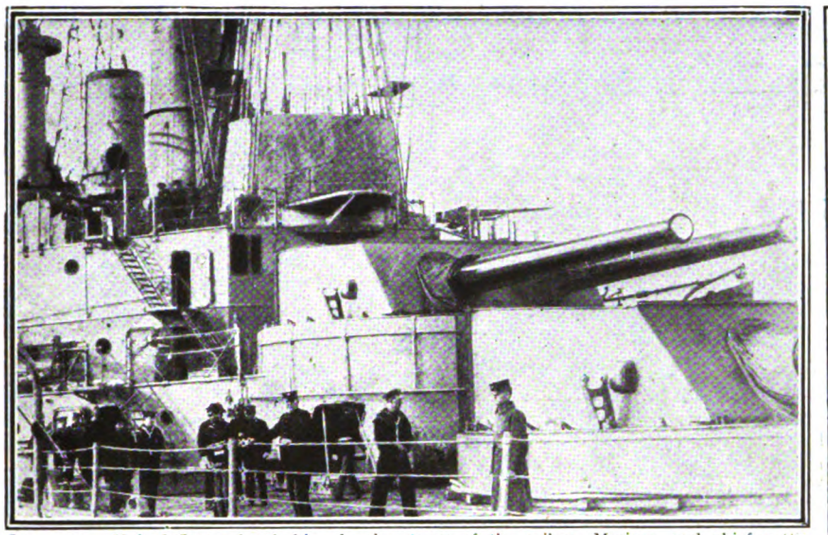
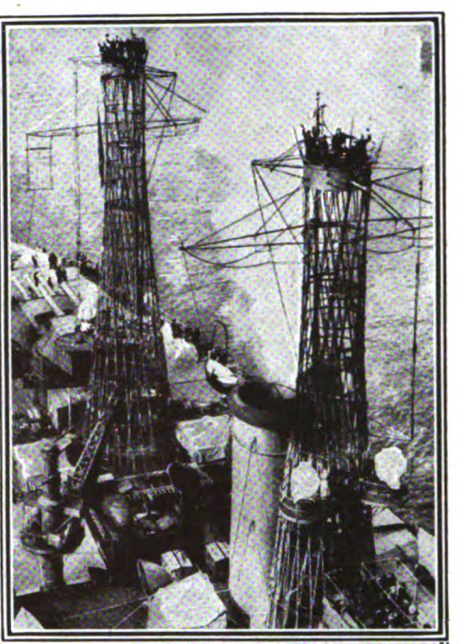
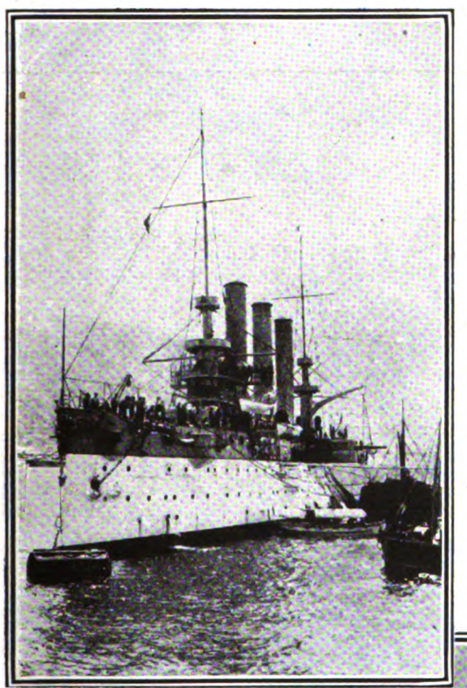
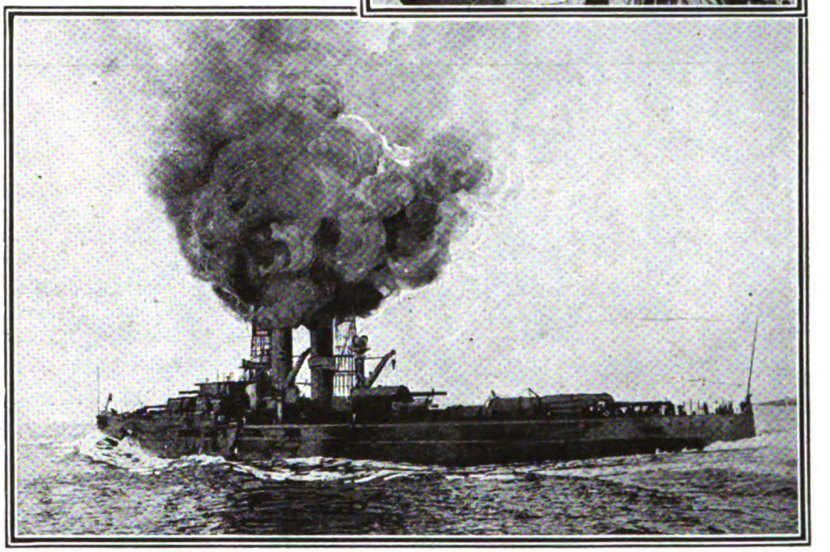


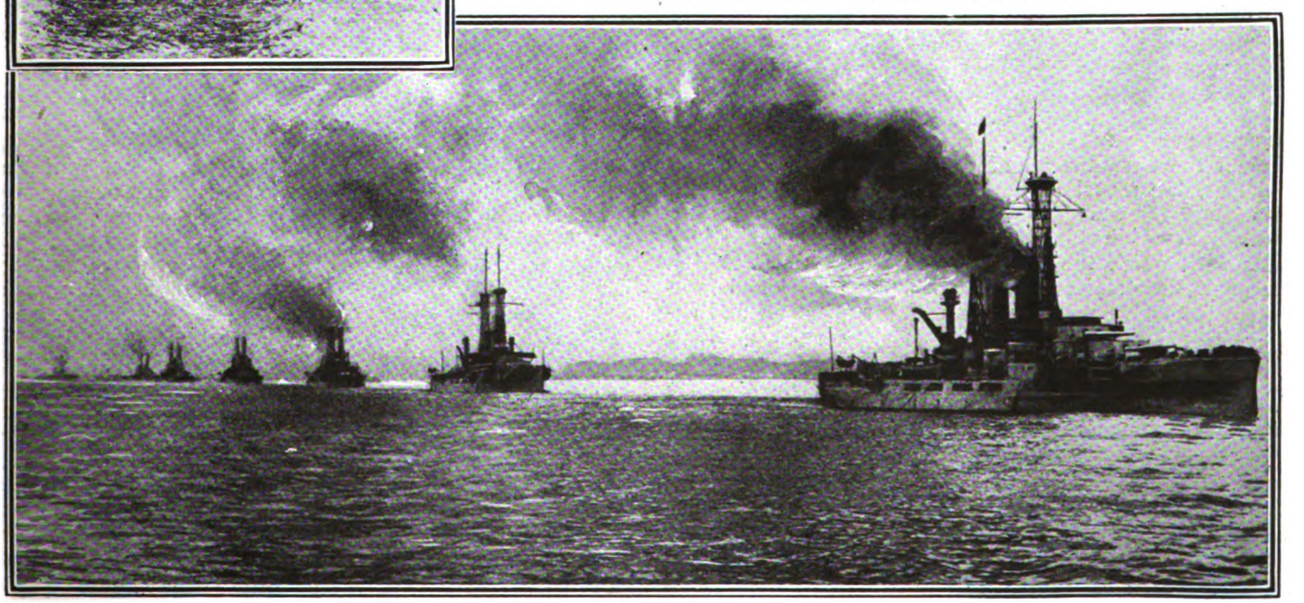


Scene on a United States battleship, showing types of the sailors, Marines, and chief petty-officers. The United States Navy is manned by voluntary enlistment, and the total number of enlisted men in the Navy and Marines at the end of 1916 was 67,644. On the right: Looking down on the after-deck and fighting-tops of the Nevada, a Dreadnought completed in January, 1915.





The Dreadnought Utah going at full speed with oil fuel. The designed horse-power of the Utah, launched in 1911, was 28,000, equivalent to a speed of 20·75 knots. Left: The Brooklyn, a first-class armoured cruiser launched in 1895.



United States battleships in line formation. In October, 1916, America's strength in battleships was thirty-seven, with five building and four included in the new programme. The projected battleships were to have a displacement of 32,600 tons, a speed of 21 knots, an armament of eight 16 in. guns, eighteen 5 in. guns, and four 3 in. anti-aircraft guns, and an exceptionally large cruising range.

SOME DREADNOUGHTS AND BATTLE-CRUISERS OF THE UNITED STATES NAVY.

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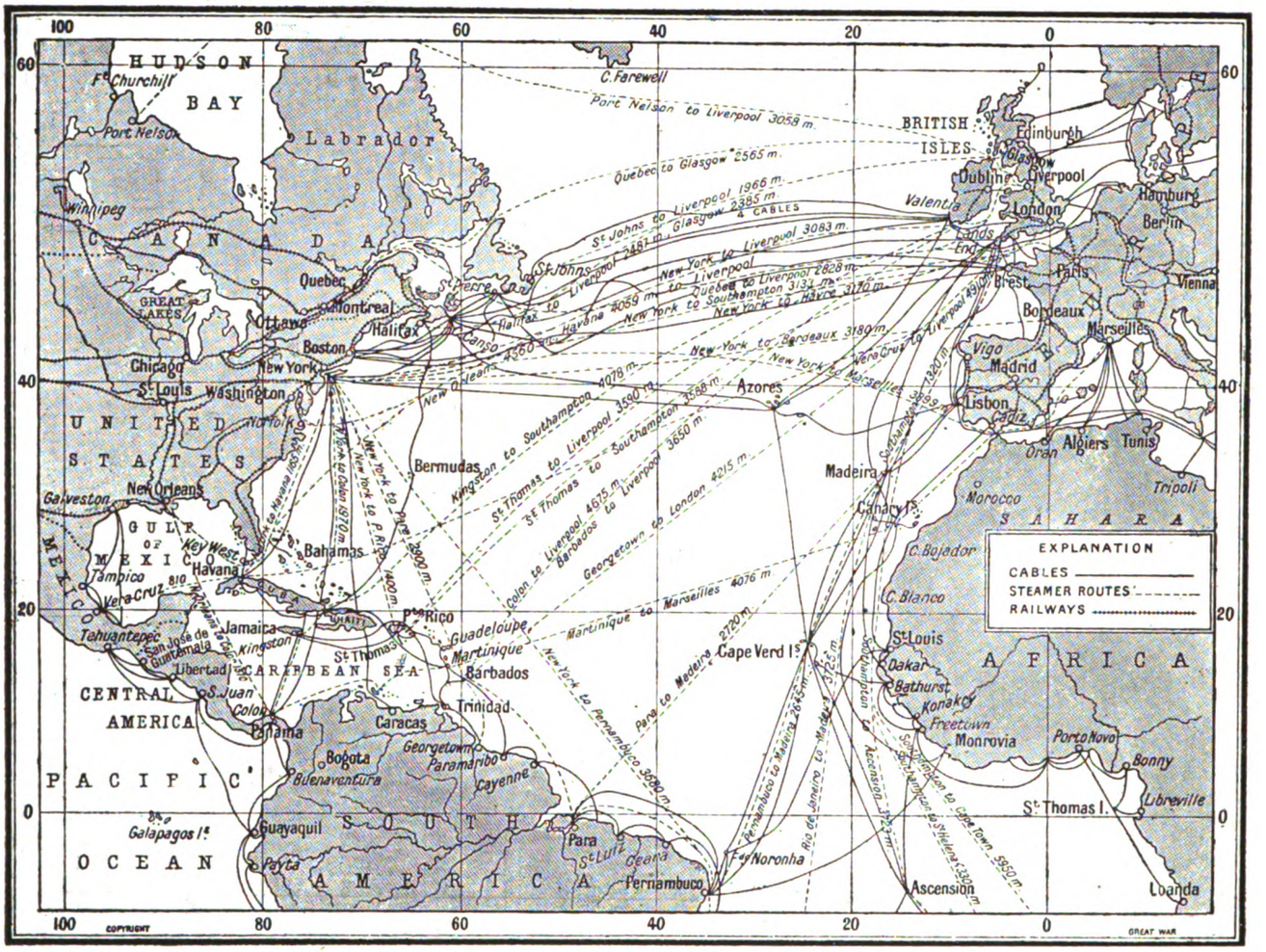

MAP SHOWING THE COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN AMERICA AND EUROPE.

On this map may be seen the principal steamer routes and distances from Europe to the United States and South American ports, and also the cable lines.

Upon both of these classes President Wilson's policy told with considerable effect, as they were well aware of the fact that the spirit of the German military caste, displayed at Zabern before the war, remained throughout the struggle the ruling factor in the Fatherland.

In addition to the direct intention of the President's policy, there was an indirect appeal to the German people to bring the war to an end by following the example of the Russians and establishing a democracy. The bitter violence with which the Government-controlled German Press vituperated the President of the United States seemed to show that the shaft he aimed had gone home. Though the Germans remained far more docile than the Russians, the moral effect of the great address was felt throughout the world. To the Allies it was a refreshment and a renewed inspiration, confirming them in the high ideas with which they had entered the war. At last all the great democracies of the earth stood solid and four-square against the restrictive and degrading principles of government of the Central Empires, the Ottoman Empire, and Bulgaria. The pro-German governing class of Sweden was shaken with a double wind of liberty blowing from Russia and the United States. Most of the strong commonwealths of South America, which had been continually recalcitrant to the leadership of the United States, began to feel the influence of President Wilson's fine mind, and Brazil, on April 9th, being strongly attached to the Republic of Portugal, broke off diplomatic relations with the outlaws of civilisation.

Solidarity of the democracies

In the meantime, Congress, by overwhelming majorities in both Houses, voted for military operations. National guards were called out to defend Government and munition works, railways and military depots; plans were pushed forward for an immense loan and the financing of the Allies; the output of merchant ships was speeded up, and flotillas of submarine chasers were devised to assist the British and French Navies. A large army on the Continental scale was planned, and the great munition works of the United States were further extended. Everything that could possibly be done to quicken the organisation of the striking power of the country was done by the enemy. The German Press, German agents, and Hindenburg himself jeered at the American effort, and foretold it would come too late to determine the issue of the war. The destruction of American steamers increased, and the first blow against an American liner occurred in the first week of April, 1917. In these circumstances the great federal State accelerated her preparations for war, throwing her entire strength into the contest and breaking with Austria-Hungary while arming for battle with Germany.

Effect on the enemy

The German jeers at the intervention of the United States were really an expression of profound nervousness. Like Figaro in Beaumarchais' play, the enemy laughed to prevent himself from weeping. He knew that his grand stake in the world was lost, and that an overwhelming tide of all the democratic forces of mankind was sweeping against him. The instant effect of the decision of the American Government was to clarify the atmosphere of battle and make it clear to every nation that the struggle was a final, era-marking conflict between autocracy and democracy. The peoples of France, Belgium, Great Britain, and Italy had long known the true character of the contest; yet they had sometimes been hard put to it to make plain the absolute purity of their motives.

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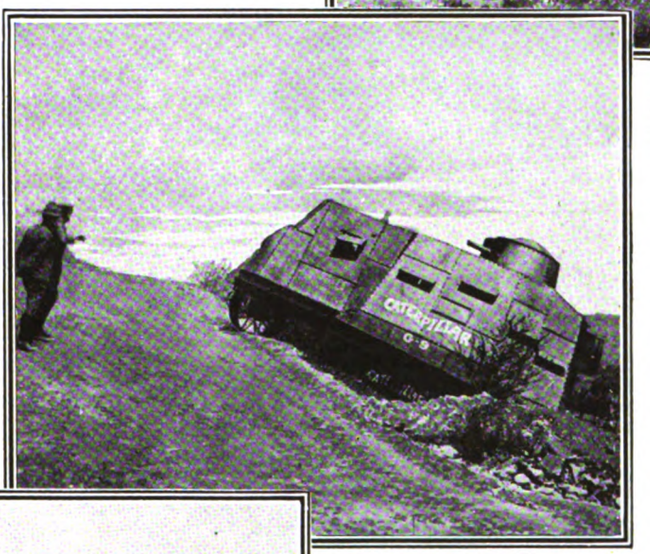
Their alliance with the Russian autocracy, notorious for political and religious persecution, had tended to obscure the democratic nature of the struggle, so that Socialist organisations in the principal neutral States and in some of the Entente countries had been able, subtly and somewhat treacherously, to confuse the large and righteous issue of the war.

The Revolution in Russia and the conversion of the American people made everything plain. From Brazil and Bolivia, and from other South American States, as well as from the populace of parts of neutral Europe, there came, in deep waves of fighting democratic sentiment, an increasing strengthening of the cause of the Allies. The Allies themselves were then much in need of help of both spiritual and material kind. The armies of free Russia were enfeebled by the disorganisation of anarchistic and traitorous agitators. There was danger that the massed might of the Central Empires would be almost entirely directed against Italy, France, and Great Britain. The peoples of these countries were beginning to suffer from shortage of food, and though their moral power remained high and firm, the strain was growing very severe. France had no great store of men in reserve; Italy expected a terrific attack by Germans as well as Austrians; Great Britain was seriously menaced by submarine operations, and in extreme need of more shipping.

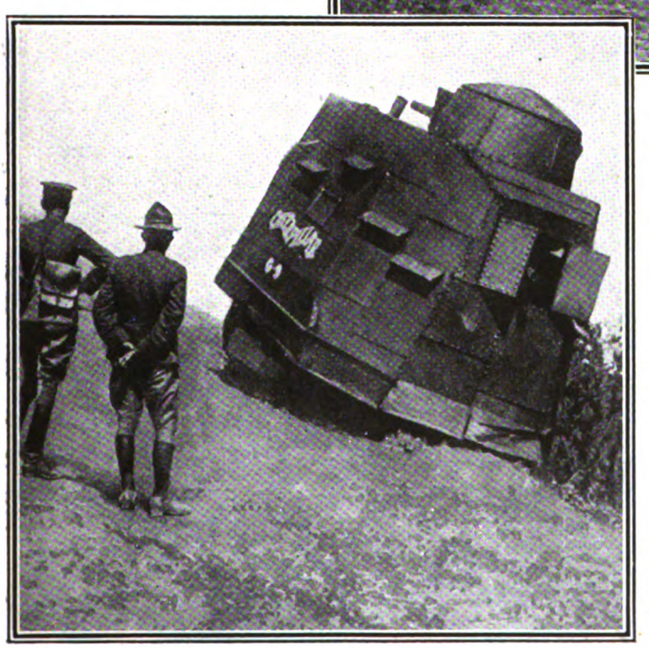
Moral effect of U.S. action

In these circumstances the action of President Wilson, and the magnificent support he received from both Congress and country, proved a blessing and a confirmation to the struggling democracies of Europe. It nerved them for the grand battles of the third year of war, and while producing at the time little direct change in the military situation, afforded immediate relief in other directions. In the first place, the problem of financing the war to a victorious conclusion was definitely solved. The British people were lightened of their heaviest burden, just at the time when the strain of their money and money-making resources was becoming grave. The national income of the United States had reached the enormous figure of ten thousand million pounds a year, which was five times the annual income of Germany. The annual balance of trade was more than six hundred million pounds. Such was the glut of gold that the banks were in a position to make a loan of fourteen hundred million pounds sterling, on the basis of their gold reserves, by putting out notes without any further authorisation or legislation. The American Government, therefore, was at once enabled to make arrangements for a loan of this enormous size, and provide the Allies with a separate sum of six hundred million pounds at the remarkably low interest of 3½ per cent.

TESTING A "CATERPILLAR." Armoured "caterpillar" car, made by a private American firm, undergoing practical tests before its adoption for military purposes.



TAKING A STIFF BANK. On its demonstration trials the "caterpillar" had to prove its fitness for going over rough ground and diverse obstacles.



EXPERIMENTAL TRIALS OF AN AMERICAN "TANK" RECRUIT. This "caterpillar" tractor—suggested by such tractors as had been employed in logging camps—was armoured and adapted for military purposes by a private American firm. Inventors and capitalists were given full scope in adapting such ideas to war-time needs.

Consequently, all the available material resources of the mighty Commonwealth were unlocked, at reduced prices, for Britain, France, Italy, and Russia. Not only was the export of gold made unnecessary, but more labour in many exporting industries in the Entente countries was set free for recruiting and other military purposes. There was no longer any immediate vital need for Great Britain to check the progress of her armies through lack of reinforcements, as occurred in the Somme campaign, in order to maintain an unparalleled outflow of manufactures wherewith to purchase American materials of war for herself and for her Allies. When Sir William Robertson called for another

Immediate material gains

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half a million men to sustain and increase the force with which Sir Douglas Haig was battering the Hindenburg line, it was at last possible to diminish the manufacturing output of his country and organise its man-power, in the French fashion, entirely for direct war needs. The United States became the new Atlas of finance, that sustained on broad, strong shoulders the Allies' power of universal import.

In the second place, the United States, while ensuring the ultimate economic defeat of the Teutons, was able to give equally important help in overcoming the effects of the enemy's campaign of submarine piracy. As Mr. Lloyd George stated in the fine speech in which he welcomed the new ally, shipping had become the chief instrument of victory. Great Britain then knew she had made tragic mistakes in wasting her merchant ships in aimless adventures, while reducing her construction of tonnage from 1,200,000 net tons in 1913 to 410,000 tons in 1915. Upon the sum of this series of perilous errors the enemy had built his hopes of starving out the Western Allies and impoverishing their fighting forces. The entrance of America into the war promised to relieve the tension in shipping, and eventually to retrieve the errors of the old British War Cabinet.

RECONCILIATION!

On April 19th, 1917, on the occasion of the Anglo-American service at St. Paul's Cathedral, the Union Jack and the Stars and Stripes flew together over the Houses of Parliament at Westminster. Speaking in 1887, John Bright declared that an alliance between America and Great Britain would be one of the greatest factors for peace the world had ever known.

In the ports of the United States were interned about one hundred and five German and Austrian vessels, totalling 622,513 tons. Then in the ports of Brazil, which was following the northern Republic into the war, were another forty-nine enemy vessels, aggregating 250,000 tons. Few of these ships were ready for service. Some of them had been damaged by the crews; others had been crippled by the removal of vital parts of the machinery; the rest were temporarily injured by long detention in harbour and lack of care. Among them, however, were some of the largest liners of the Norddeutscher-Lloyd and the Hamburg-Amerikan Line, forming magnificent transports or hospital ships, and capable of being fitted for sea in a few months by American repairing yards.

In addition to their vast haul of hostile shipping the American people possessed 3,300,000 tons of Atlantic and Pacific shipping. Furthermore, they had very large fleets of steamers on the Great Lakes, including many vessels serviceable in good weather for Transatlantic traffic. The resources of American shipyards and engine-rooms had been greatly developed during the war, and were again speeded-up for the production of steel-built freighters. No doubt all this had been foreseen by Hindenburg and Ludendorff and their Staff when they decided that the cost of provoking American hostility would be well repaid by the immediate chances of starving out Great Britain, France, and Italy. The German commanders, however, did not allow for the inventiveness of the American mind. As soon as the Americans saw that they were about to be drawn into the struggle, they attacked, in a surprising manner, the fundamental shipping problem which underlay all the troubles of the Western Allies. The problem was to get the surplus harvest of Northern America to Great Britain, France, and Italy early in the autumn of 1917, when all Europe would be hungering for corn. The enemy reckoned that his submarine operations would so seriously reduce all shipping as to hold up the bulk of American foodstuffs. The Federal Shipping Board, however, accepted a striking proposal made by a New York mining engineer, and engaged Colonel Goethals, the builder of the Panama Canal, to organise the new scheme for countering the results of Teutonic piracy. The scheme consisted in reviving the American industry of timber-built ships, and making use of all the apparently antiquated clipper-building yards, in order to obtain, from September, 1917, a monthly output of 200,000 tons of wooden ships. These ships were to be engined with oil-driven motors and armed for defence. Unlike iron or steel cargo-ships, which were big tin cans that sank when holed, the wooden freighters were designed to float, by the natural buoyancy of their timber-work, even when they had sustained considerable damage. Thus they promised to prove difficult opponents for any enemy submarines that attacked by means of gun fire, as their primitive material made the sinking of them an expensive task. One thousand ships of this kind were planned, under technical conditions enabling rapid

Inventiveness of American genius

HOSTS AND GUESTS AT AN ANGLO-AMERICAN GATHERING.

On April 12th, 1917, the Americans in London gave a luncheon to the Prime Minister, Mr. Lloyd George, at the Savoy Hotel. From left: The Italian Ambassador (Marquis Imperiali di Francavilla), Mr. Lloyd George, the United States Ambassador (Dr. Walter H. Page), Colonel H. W. Thornton, of the Engineer and Railway Staff Corps, and Director of Inland Waterways, who came from America in 1914 to be manager of the Great Eastern Railway.

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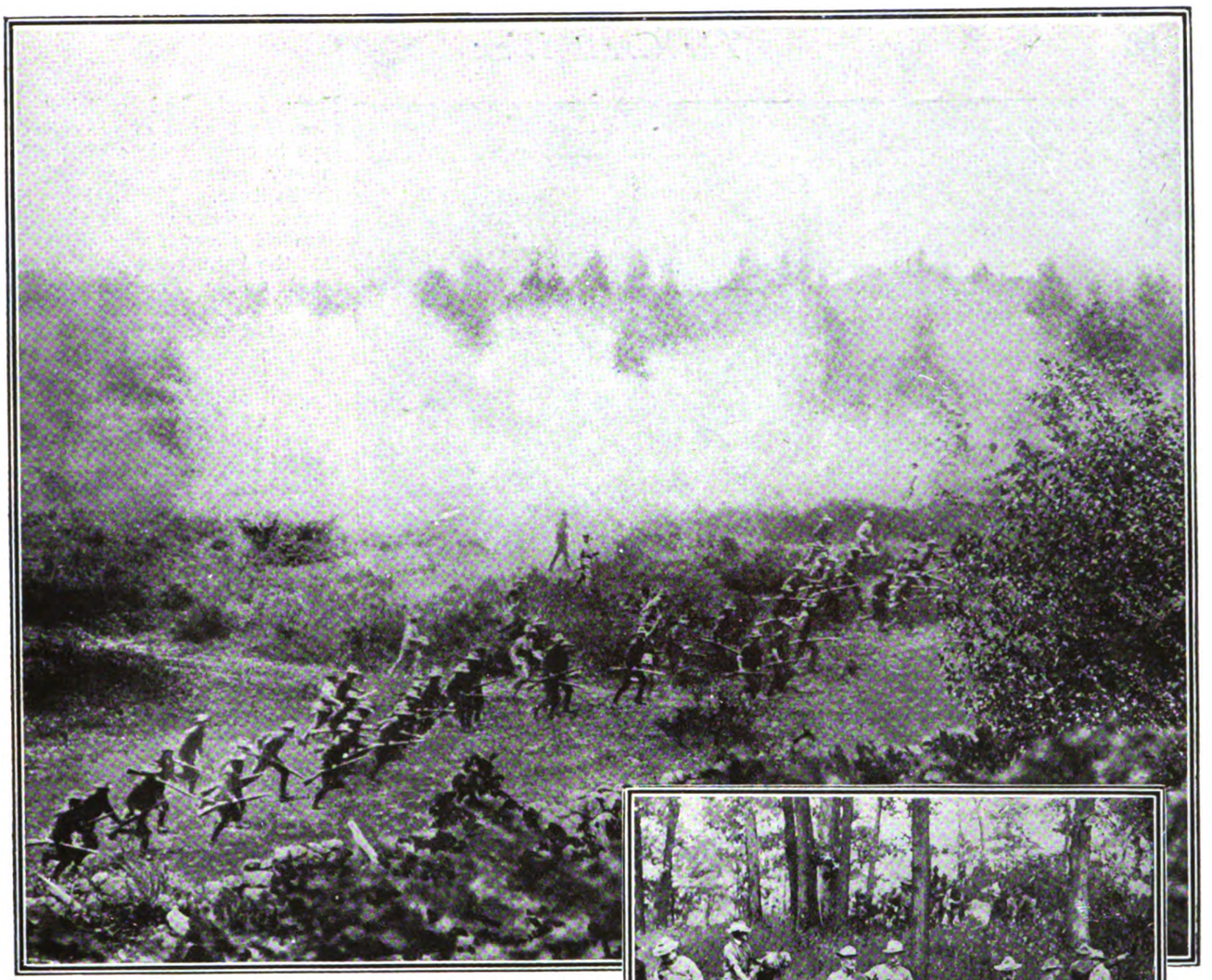

Fight on a hillside. "Blue" infantry making for the cover of a wall, the "Red" enemy holding a commanding position on the edge of a thicket. Right: Officers engaged in placing skirmishers.

Advancing in rushes towards an enemy position in heavily-timbered ground—a thrilling moment even in peace manœuvres. The conditions under which troops performed this perilous operation in the Great War, heavily cumbered and through devastating artillery fire, rendered the progress slow.

MILITARY MANŒUVRES IN THE UNITED STATES: BATTLE BETWEEN THE "REDS" AND "BLUES."

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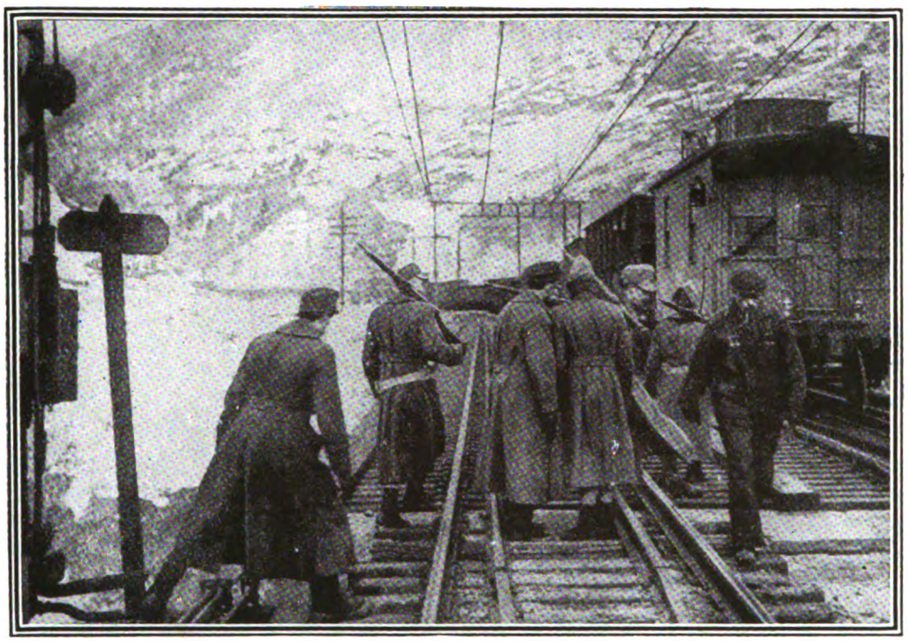

WATCH AND WARD OVER THE HOOSAC TUNNEL.
U.S. soldiers searched all trains before allowing them to enter the Hoosac tunnel on the Boston and Maine Railway, in case any German agents should attempt the destruction of that great engineering work. The tunnel, which has a length of four miles and three-quarters, is the largest in New England

use to be made of both the United States and Canadian forests

This surprising modernisation of the wooden ship had the additional merit of conserving the enormous steel production of the United States for other useful purposes. Among these was the creation of an improved type of submarine chaser, of which scores were ordered. As we have already seen, the intervention of the U.S.A. Navy did not immediately add any decisive factor to the critical anti-submarine campaign of the Allies. The American Fleet had developed battleship strength somewhat out of proportion to fast light-cruiser and destroyer strength. In the new anti-submarine warfare warships of a light and quick class were the principal weapons of the offensive-defensive necessary to save the mercantile marine of the world. The U.S.A. Navy barely had sufficient of these light craft of the newest type to cover their capital ships in any general action near a hostile base. Happily, the American shore was far removed from all German war ports, so that the harm enemy submarines could do in American waters seemed to be limited. U boats could not remain more than a few days on the other side of the Atlantic, unless they possessed secret local bases or secret relief-ships. Off the ports of the United States they could be fought by nets, mines, and patrols and a few quick-firing guns.

Fighting quality of the U.S. Navy

It was expected that some ocean-going German submarines would be used to alarm the American population, and induce them to press for naval material to be wasted on purely defensive schemes. The U.S.A. admirals, however, were stern and scientific fighters. Though their politicians had not fully provided them with the light craft especially needed in the latest kind of warfare, they began to invent and improvise naval surprises for the enemy of mankind. Co-operation with the Allies was seen to be essential to success, and Admiral Sims, a brilliant American strategist, visited London early in April to consult with Sir John Jellicoe. Arrangements were made for the United States Navy to patrol the waters from Nova Scotia to the Caribbean Sea, to act with allied vessels in policing the Atlantic against commerce-destroyers, and to assist the allied fleets in European waters. In any naval engagement between the forces of barbarism and civilisation the addition of the United States Navy made assured success surer.

In fighting strength the American Fleet was the third in the world. It ranked somewhat below that of the German Fleet in material, and had the further disadvantage of lacking the battle experience of Admiral von Scheer's personnel; but the men were inspired by the true sea spirit, and their officers, inheriting the glorious tradition of Farragut, were keen and resourceful. When the American Fleet was proposed for employment as one of the main branches of the naval forces of the democracies of Europe

OFF INLAND OUT OF HARM'S WAY.
Crews of German raiders were at first interned at League Island, Navy Yard, Philadelphia; but, warned by plots menacing the naval station, the U.S.A. authorities removed them to Fort McPherson, Atlanta, Georgia.

GERMAN RAIDERS ARRIVING AT FORT McPHERSON.
Captain Thierfelder, of the Kronprinz Wilhelm (with hand in pocket) and his aide, with Major Wise, who conducted the Germans to Fort McPherson —the first internment camp in the United States.

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the general strength of strangling sea-power arrayed against the Central Empires became for the time immense beyond public calculation. For, as the forces of the Grand Fleet of Great Britain were unknown in a general way, no estimate could be given of the comparative value of the additional capital ships, cruisers, and destroyers which the great Republic added to the common strength available for fleet action.

With regard to the fourth chief means by which the United States could assist the Allies, her available resources were insignificant and yet tremendous. As a military State the Republic was actually weak and potentially strong. She possessed only another "contemptible little army," which, however, could gradually be developed into a host of five million and more fighting men. She had at first to act as Great Britain had acted between the retreat from Mons and the advance on the Somme, and afford her Allies great help in finance, shipping, munitions, and naval affairs while building up a national army. This army, when it was absolutely non-existent, still helped to govern the general military situation. For in the spring of 1917 it formed one of the main allied reserves for 1918. At first sight the condition of the American Army seemed deplorable. Including the militia, which was unfit for service, it numbered less than a quarter of a million men. The regular force was so small that many authorities doubted whether it would be safe to send a single army corps quickly to France.

For three years Major-General Leonard Wood had endeavoured to rouse the country to the need of national defence by a campaign of enlightenment similar to that which Lord Roberts had vainly carried out in Great Britain. As former Chief of Staff, General Wood could speak with patriotic authority to his fellow-citizens, but he evoked as little general response as did Lord Roberts. Only in the universities did General Wood produce any effect of importance. University training corps were formed, in which fine material for the cadres of a national army was collected; but the number of trained officers with active service experience was very small. The regular troops were too few even for an expedition across the southern frontier, and the second line was weak and lacking in training. It was foreseen that, in order to create a national army capable of being used within a year against the veteran German troops, most of the regular force would have to be retained in the country to train and stiffen the large body of recruits. The U.S.A. Government intended to profit by British experience, and raise its forces in masses of half millions until victory was achieved. In its population of a hundred million souls man-power was abundant. Weapons were also plentiful, as American munition factories had expanded in a gigantic way under the stimulus of orders from the Allies.

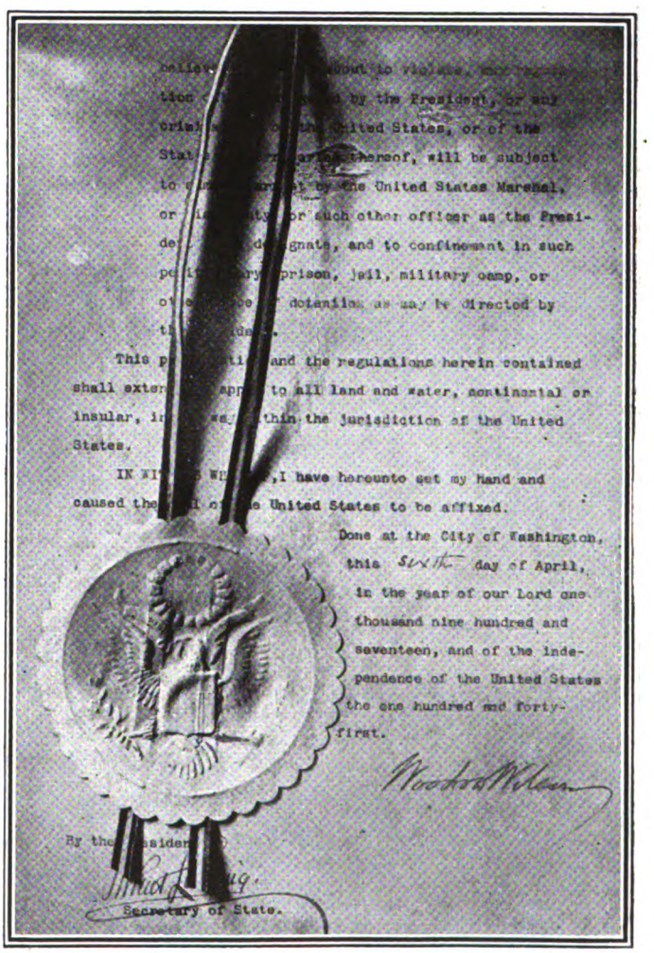
Profiting by British experience

At this time the direct military effort of the United States was a matter of secondary importance. Even had a large, perfectly-trained army been available, its transport across the Atlantic would have been an affair of great difficulty. The danger of the passage of American troops to Europe, by reason of the intensification of the enemy's submarine operations, would not have checked the movement. But the troops, with their armament and supplies, would have required so many ships that the aim of the enemy would almost have been achieved, and the populations of Great Britain, France, and Italy would have starved for want of shipping. It was sufficient for the immediate occasion that the United States stood behind the Allies as an immense reservoir of fighting men, while her Fleet, her mercantile marine, and her shipyards actively contended against the underwater assassins.

Transcending all the actual and potential reinforcements brought by the American democracies to the fighting democracies of Europe were the political possibilities of the new international situation. The design upon which the leaders of the great Republic entered the war extended far beyond the immediate military issue of the struggle. In one way it might have been said, as an English poet put it, that the sons were coming home. The people of Brazil turned to Portugal, the people of the United States turned to Great Britain, and the Spanish populations of the larger part of Central and Southern America began to look eagerly for their mother country—Spain—to join them in the crusade for civilisation.

Over the reconciliation of the two great English-speaking federations the spirits of Chatham and Burke brooded prophetically. The common rich heritage, from the ages of Drake and Shakespeare, Cromwell and Milton, had been at last developed by diverse ways towards a community of larger and higher sentiments, principles, and ends. Though a union of the two systems would have practically formed a controlling power on earth, neither side regarded such a design as entirely admirable. Something larger, nobler, and more universal, including all the Allies and all stable free nations, appeared to be adumbrated. The first American scheme of a League to Enforce Peace was modified into a League of Honour between all democracies. As the lines of the plan became curiously vaguer the feeling that inspired the plan grew stronger and more definite. Above the fiery thunderclouds of battle there seemed to break faintly the light of a larger day than the contending races of men had yet known. Visionary it still seemed as the guns rang over the Hindenburg line; yet was it an inspiration to every free man struggling against the last autocracies of Europe.

A democratic League of Honour



THE MOST MOMENTOUS DEED IN AMERICAN HISTORY.
President Woodrow Wilson's signature to the Declaration of War, sealed with the seal of the United States and attested by Robert Lansing, Secretary of State.

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THE LAST SALUTE: TOUCHING TRIBUTE OF ITALIAN TROOPS TO A COMRADE WHO GAVE HIS LIFE FOR HIS COUNTRY.

A deep religious sense of duty inspires the Italian soldier, who feels that the most fitting commemoration of his dead will be to carry on the battle of the comrades whose bodies lie in the wake of the advance. "Remember your dead!" was a cry that often rose above the roar of the battles on the Italian mountain fronts and on the Carso. The Italian artist Signor Amato here portrays a touching scene peculiar to Italian warfare. A soldier had fallen wounded outside a trench, in so exposed a position that it was impossible to bring him in. When he finally expired his comrades lined up and presented arms in honour of his heroism.

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ON THE ITALIAN MOUNTAIN FRONT.

CHAPTER CLXXIV.

THE GREAT BATTLE OF THE CARSO.

By Dr. James Murphy.

Preparation for the Second Phase of the Austro-Italian Campaign—Trieste the Objective—Italian Series of Offensives Forming the Battle of the Carso, September-November, 1916—Three Zones of Action from San Grado on the Left Wing to Hill 144 on the Right—Hand-to-Hand Struggle Followed by Flight and Surrender of Many Austrians—Triple Attack on Hill 144—Italians Suffer Heavily but Hold Firm—Skill and Gallantry of the Austrian Defence—Renewal of the Attack, Culminating in Victory of the Italians and Taking of nearly 1,000 Prisoners—Results of the Three Days' Struggle—Description of the Terrain—Trieste the Heart of Austria and the Carso its Pericardium—Abandonment of the Austrian First Line—Italian Infantry Assault of October 10th—Deadly Attack on San Marco: Two Austrian Regiments Exterminated—Stubborn Austrian Defence of the Veliki Hriback—Gigantic Contest near the Castagnevizza Road—Austrian Reserves Hurried from Other Fronts—Italian Attack of November 1st—Great Fight at a Fortified Cavern which was Finally Cleared of the Austrians—Struggle for the Veliki Summit—Gabriele d'Annunzio's Silken Banner—"Victors of Gorizia, Remember Your Dead!"—Brilliant Italian Success with Capture of an Austrian Brigade Commander and his Staff—An Austrian Strategic Centre Reached—Extent of the Austrian Losses—Effect of the Battle of the Carso on the General Position of the Allied Armies.

IN Chapter CXXXV. (Vol. VII., page 281) the narrative of the Austro-Italian Campaign was brought forward as far as the fall of Gorizia, August 9th, 1916. With the series of battles which culminated in that victory the first phase of the great Italian offensive came to a close. Before the opening of the second phase, which happened a month later, the work of preparatory organisation engaged all the energies of the Army. Staff officers were busy re-forming the regiments and drafting in new forces where gaps had been made. The Air Service explored the new battlefield, photographing the Austrian positions, and accurately mapping them for the guidance of infantry and artillery commanders. The Engineering Corps employed its huge mass of military labourers to consolidate the positions won and fit them as jumping-off ground for a new attack.

The amount of labour expended in fortifying trenches and dug-outs and artillery emplacements can be realised only by remembering how the line of battle lay along a stony waste of mountain, where the surface is at best only a thin skin of withered moss and heather. To use spade and shovel for the digging of trenches in such a terrain was out of the question. For the housing of munitions and general stores caverns had to be blasted in the hard rock. In excavating gun emplacements electric and steam drills had to be employed. The material for the building of parapets was brought from the plain beneath. Quarries were opened for the supply of stone, and millions of sand-bags were dragged up the hill-sides. To supply and organise the driving force for this immense industry, electric-power plants were installed, roadways were laid along the hill-crests, bridges built across the ravines, telegraph stations, kitchens, storehouses, and dwelling-quarters constructed.

ITALIAN AND RUSSIAN ALLIES.
The Duke of Aosta (right), whose troops won Gorizia on August 9th, 1916, and the officer at the head of the Russian Military Mission with the Italian Army.

Trieste had become the direct though not the immediate objective of the Italian forces. In conquering Gorizia and the western Heights of the Carso they had broken down the principal outer defences of Trieste. Between this first-line barrier and the Hermada group of hills, which formed the immediate defence of the Triestine Plain, lay a block of rugged territory known as the Eastern Carso. It is a weird, wild terrain, partly wooded, but almost entirely bare of other vegetation and fertile soil, furrowed by a confused maze of valleys and gorges, pockmarked by innumerable *doline* (funnel-shaped hollows in limestone rock), and gored by subterranean river-beds. There are no springs, for all water percolates through the porous limestone and

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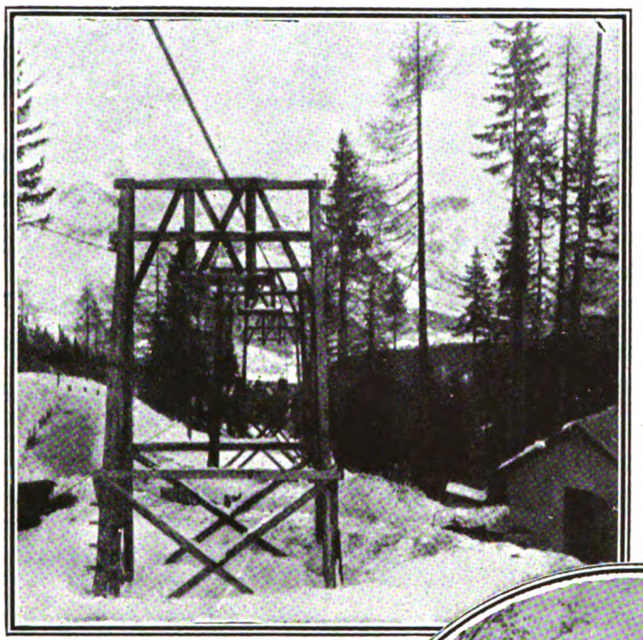

AERIAL TRANSPORT BASE.
The Italians freely used aerial transport in difficult country for the conveyance of wounded and supplies.

runs to the sea in underground channels.

Standing at Gorizia and looking towards the south-east, the horizon is everywhere broken by a bewildering mass of hills, varying in altitude from a few hundred to about two thousand feet, irregular in outline, with rugged slopes fitfully wooded and barren brows where every vestige of plant life is destroyed by the merciless *bora*, or north wind. To conquer this territory was the objective of the three great offensives launched by the Italian Army during September, October, and November. The whole movement is generally called the Battle of the Carso, and the Carso, it must be remembered, is a generic term, like that of the Alps; it does not apply to a single mountain, but to that vast hilly region which lies on the north-eastern shore of the Adriatic.

The Battle of the Carso was begun in the middle of September. In order to understand the reasons for the plan of attack formulated by the Italian commander, two outstanding features of the strategic situation after the conquest of Gorizia must be recalled. Though the capture of the Isonzo citadel was a great feat of arms both in the tactical and strategic sense, from the strategic point of view it was not a complete success. The Austrians had held their ground on Monte Santo and San Gabriele, directly north of the city, and on the fortified heights of Duino, the extreme left of their lateral defence. This condition of affairs seriously influenced the subsequent phases of the Italian programme. The original Italian plan, if it were to reap the full harvest of success, was to open the attack on Gorizia by a heavy thrust against the Austrian left, thus attracting the enemy's centre of gravity southwards towards Monfalcone; then to get round behind him through the Vipacco Valley, thus cutting the communications with Lubiana (Laibach) and inflicting a complete defeat. But Monte Santo controlled the mouth of the Vipacco from the north and hindered the Italian advance through the valley. This hitch might have been countered if the Duino position could have been taken, for then the obvious rôle of the Italian Army would have been a direct thrust southwards along the shore route to Trieste, turning the Austrian left and rolling it back towards Lubiana; but the Duino position held out as firmly as that on Monte Santo. The result was that the Italians broke through the centre, while the wings remained firm.

Strategic situation after Gorizia

Scope of the September attack

The defeat of the Austrians on the Isonzo was therefore incomplete, and its incompleteness changed the character of the Italian advance. It became necessary to adopt a defensive rôle on the northern and southern wings, while thrusting forward with the centre, in the hope of breaking through the second and third lines and curling them round the Hermada group, which is the great mountain bulwark directly north of Trieste. This movement would have completely isolated the Austrian left; but before it could be undertaken it was necessary for the Italians to better their positions on the extremities of both wings, so that the flanks might have room to manœuvre in the defensive struggle while the centre was pushed forward.

This offensive-defensive stroke on the flanks was the scope of the September attack. On the morning of September 14th the action opened. The solemn roar of the big guns was the prelude of the symphony. About ten o'clock a great crescendo was reached. An hour later the medium and

LIGHT LINE OF COMMUNICATION ON THE ITALIAN FRONT.
Terminus of an overhead transport line in the mountains, and (in circle) passengers en route. In the "cradle" men, or supplies, were rapidly conveyed over ground only otherwise crossed slowly and with difficulty.

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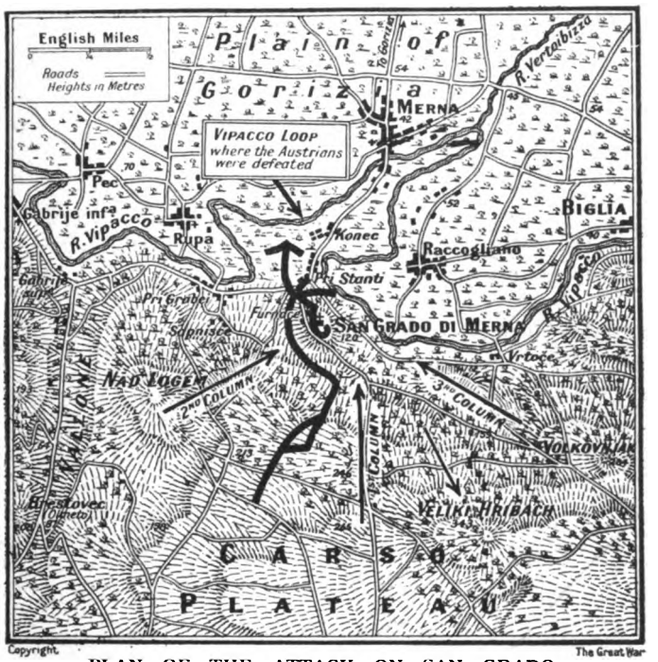


PLAN OF THE ATTACK ON SAN GRADO.
On the left wing of the Italian attack of September 14th, 1916, San Grado was captured on the following day.

smaller calibres joined in. The whole Carso, from Gorizia to the sea, was fire and flame. In the interludes of silence the gun-waggons could be heard rattling along the roads at the rear of the Austrian lines. Reinforcements were swiftly rolling up. Towards midday the Austrian artillery answered with a tremendous antiphony.

Owing to the controlling positions which they held on the surrounding hills they were enabled to search out the Italian trenches and inflict some damage. The sun was still on the Austrian side, throwing its rays directly against the Italian positions and dazzling the outlook of the gunners. The soldiers were gathered for the attack, bayonets fixed, bombs in hand, each unit instructed in the special work allotted to it. The officers scanned their watches, the priests uttered a prayer, in which the soldiers joined *sotto voce*. At two o'clock the sun was on the Italian side. Half-past two was the moment chosen for the charge.

Strategic importance of San Grado

The sphere of action divided itself into three well-defined zones. The conquest of San Grado was the task allotted to the left wing. Hill 144 was the main objective of the right. The rôle assigned to the centre was to support the attack on the wings and move accordingly. The Austrians had guessed where the main effort would be launched, but they did not know its purport. They were puzzled to find out whether the Italians intended clearing the way for the main advance through Duino or through the Vipacco. In other words, they could not guess whether the Italian purpose was to encircle the Hermada or take it by direct assault. The action in each zone may be followed separately.

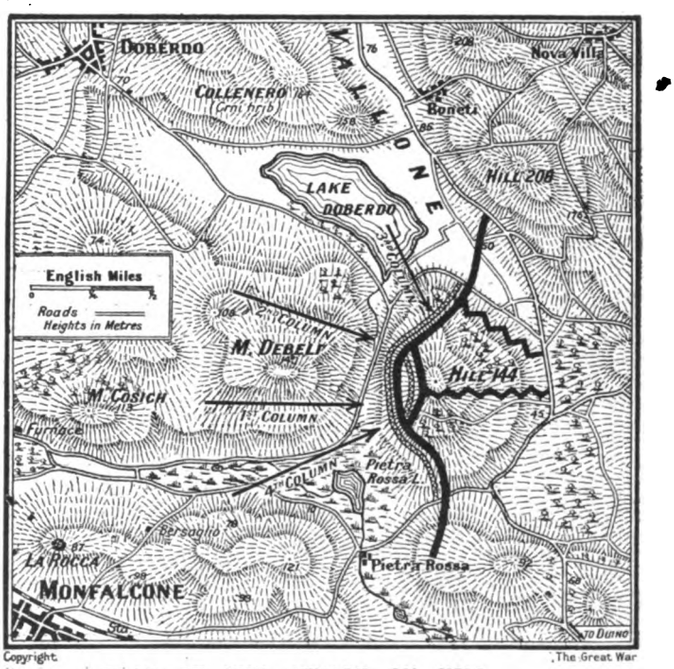
San Grado di Merna is a circular mound, some three hundred and seventy feet in height, situated on the southern bank of the Vipacco, about three miles south-east of Gorizia. On their retirement from Monte San Michele, on August 8th, the Austrians chose this as the pivot of their defence east of Gorizia. It served as a sort of universal joint, keeping their line on the Carso firmly articulated with that on Monte Santo. A reference to the map will at once make clear the strategic importance of the position. Not only does it control the Vipacco road on the north, but also from the western side it overlooks the important route which runs from the Plain of Gorizia through the Vallone to the Adriatic. It was, therefore, a central pillar supporting the twin gates of the Vipacco and Vallone. As long as it remained in Austrian hands the Italians could make no headway.

San Grado is reminiscent of an ancient Celtic dun (hill-fort); and there is a possibility that at one time it served such a purpose, for the Celts were here in the days of the world's youth, and have left their traces not only in the nomenclature of mountains and rivers, but also in the fairy legends which abound among the people of the Carso. In any case, it will help the reader to visualise the course of the battle if he pictures San Grado as a circular Celtic dun, with a Christian sanctuary on the summit. Its northern slope is barren, the southern side is slightly wooded, and on the western side there is a large oblong crater somewhat like the *doline*, which are such familiar phenomena in the geography of the Carso.

The Italian plan was to attack the stronghold from the west and south simultaneously. At four o'clock in the afternoon the assault was launched by the infantry of the Eleventh Army Corps. The Austrian artillery enveloped the western and southern approaches in a dense curtain of fire, so as to hold back the Italian advance, while the Italians pounded the reverse slope and the summit of the hill, with the result that only a fraction of the Austrian reinforcements could reach their objective. Bursting through the enemy's barrage in a brilliant dash, the first waves of the attacking infantry were soon pouring into the front trenches. These were found to have been partially demolished by the preparatory bombardment. A sprinkling of dead bodies lay strewn along the irregular furrow at the foot of the hill, but the bulk of the defending troops had taken shelter in the crater on the escarpment and in the covered communication-trenches. To clear the crater was the heavy task then ahead of the Italians.

Italians assault the position

The terrain of the struggle resembled a mammoth witch's cave, furnished in every nook and cranny with the engines of destruction. From inner recesses, where the satanic cauldrons of German chemists were a-boil, issued heavy clouds of poisonous vapour. A thick covering of ragged shrubbery clothed the inner walls of the crater, hiding the openings of large caves which had been excavated in the limestone rock by the long action of rains filtering through.



PLAN OF THE ATTACK ON HILL 144.
In the opening of the battle on September 14th, 1916, Hill 144 was the main objective of the Italian right wing

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ON THE EASTERN CARSO: AUSTRIAN TRENCHES IN ITALIAN HANDS.

Italian infantry repairing trenches taken from the Austrians in the Carso di San Martino: part of a typical "dolina," showing an entrance to caves. The "doline" are funnel-shaped hollows in the limestone rock, countless numbers of which pockmark the whole of the rugged territory which lies between the western heights of the Carso, near Gorizia, and the Hermada group of hills which form the immediate defence of the Triestine Plain.

From the observatories on Nad Logem the troops could be seen passing over the embankment and descending into the unknown. They ceased to be visible, save where the polished discs, which were carried as signals for the artillery, glittered like fire-flies above the torn mass of shrub and foliage. Then, after an hour or so, a stream of prisoners and wounded began to trickle towards the Italian rear.

They told stirring tales of the fight. It was a hand-to-hand struggle, bayonet against bayonet, bomb against bomb, rifle-stock against rifle-stock, rocks hurled from one side and the other as in a primeval barbaric contest. The Austrians fought desperately, always hoping that reinforcements would arrive; but nothing could withstand the fury of the Italians. In the terrible melée the sonorous notes of the Latin war-cry, "Savoia!" rang out above the hoarse hurrah of the Teuton. Towards nightfall the Austrian resistance wavered. Only one officer and ten men were left in a corner of the cavern, but they steadfastly refused to surrender until they had realised that the struggle was hopeless.

When morning broke, the flanking columns had succeeded in overcoming the resistance on the southern slope, and before midday they were nearing the summit. There the Austrians were firmly entrenched in the pilgrim-church and in the cellars of the surrounding houses. A well-aimed shell from the Italian artillery struck the campanile, which had served as an observatory, utterly smashing it and breaking in the roof of the church. Sheltered by the débris, the defenders still held out. With a wild rush, the Italian troops, led by their commander, entered the churchyard and surrounded the houses. "Fuori! Fuori, tutti!" ("Out! Out, all of you!") they cried, hurling bombs through every opening and playing their machine-guns wherever an opportunity afforded.

Capture of San Grado

Casting away rifles and accoutrements, six hundred Austrians fled down the northern slope towards the Vipacco, hoping to regain their lines at Raccogliano. But they could not cross the river. Sullenly they threw up their hands and rushed towards the Italian lines. From their dominating positions behind the line the Austrian guns were now turned on the fleeing mass. Escaping from the destructive fury of their own companions, the conquered heroes of Francis Joseph's Army called out for Italian protection, raising their hands in supplication, trembling and dazed.

The majority of these prisoners were Hungarians belonging to the 39th Regiment. Lamenting the fate which had compelled them to fight on Austrian soil while their own country was in the throes of the Rumanian invasion, they explained that they would have surrendered more readily but that Austrian officers stood behind them with pistols in hand, ready to shoot the first man who should cry "Kamerad!" Interspersed with the Hungarians were Slavonians and Croats from the Austro-Italian provinces. One man said that his home was in Cormons—one of the towns conquered by the Italians during the first days of the war—and asked leave to visit his family. This was readily granted. On reaching his home he found a happy community living peacefully and contentedly under the benign rule of their deliverers. Good bread and cheese and wine and fresh water formed luxuries which he had almost forgotten. For him the agony of Galician, Carpathian, and Carso battlefields was at an end.

Strategic value of Hill 144

On the extreme right the struggle was of a similar character. Here the Austrians had held a position which might be called the twin hinge of San Grado. This position is always called "Hill 144" (its height in metres) in the military notices. Standing beyond the eastern slope of Monte Debeli it served the purpose of a watch-tower at the southern exit of the Vallone, controlling the road which runs from Gorizia to Trieste through the Vallone and

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Duino. In Austrian hands Hill 144 had a further defensive value, for it stands in front of the junction where an important highway branches from the Vallone and runs directly eastwards at the northern foot of the Hermada. In conjunction with the Vallone road this forms an outer loop which receives several tributary roads from the important strategic centres on the Carso Plateau. Therefore, the fall of Hill 144 would unshield the arterial supply system of the Austrian defence.

On the western glacis of the stronghold the Austrians had constructed a deep zigzag trench, so well covered and protected that it looked like the casemate of some mammoth fortress. The protecting wall was a cyclopean structure of rocks and sand-bags, with thousands of embrasures for the play of machine-guns. Along the escarpment two strong fences of barbed-wire defended the approaches. Lower down, at different points of vantage on the slope, batteries of machine-guns were installed, connected with the main trench by protected channels. Close to the summit, about sixty yards above the main trench, ran another deep furrow, completely encircling the brow of the hill. A series of covered channels connected both trenches and led into spacious caves where munitions and men could be held in reserve.

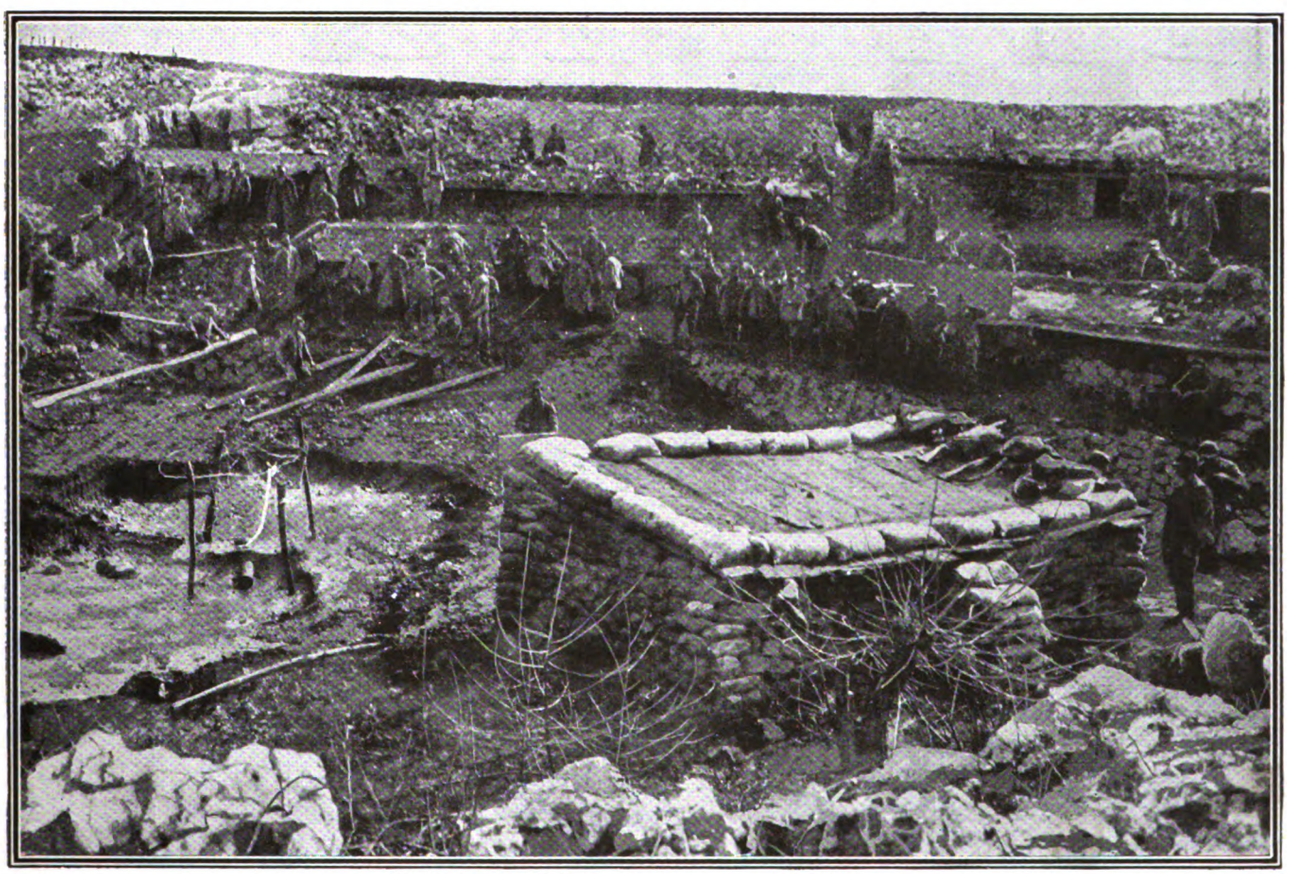
Strength of Austrian defences

The Italian plan was to attack the position from three different points. On the southern shore of the Doberdo Lake one column awaited the order to advance southwards against the northern glacis of the Austrian stronghold. From Pietra Rossa, on the south, another column was to advance northwards. On Monte Debeli, on the west, two columns were ready to launch the frontal attack. During the first stages of the struggle these two central columns would have to bear the brunt of the enemy's resistance. Between them and the foot of Hill 144 lay a strip of ground about a thousand yards in depth; but that stretch was under the open fire of the enemy's guns, not only from the stronghold itself, but also from the higher mountains to the rear and south.

About three o'clock in the afternoon of September 14th the flanking columns launched their attack. Within half an hour the troops from the north had gained the foot of the hill and begun to fight their way upwards with bomb and bayonet. Simultaneously the southern column advanced, driving the Austrians from the roadway at the point of the bayonet and entering the wood on the southern slope. The central columns then began to move. Before them lay the descending slope on the eastern side of Monte Debeli, the valley beneath, the roadway, and the western glacis of the stronghold. They set forward at full sprint, covering a distance of nearly a thousand yards within ten minutes. Then the gruelling work commenced. The lateral columns began to suffer heavily, under the raking fire from Medeazza on the south and Hill 238 on the north. The centre toiled forward through the tree-trunks and caverns and rock-built barricades. The machine-guns of the enemy opened great gaps in the advancing files. Volleys of hand-grenades burst against the stony crust of the hill, scattering showers of splintered rock, denser and deadlier than shrapnel. But the Italian line held firm. Leading their companies, pistol in hand, the officers shouted rallying cries to their men.

Spirited attack on the Hill

It was a strange scene, bringing together in one great mêlée the characteristic elements of primeval and mediæval and modern warfare. While the heavy guns lifted their shells over the hill, across a distance of five and six miles, the machine-guns and rifles rang out at short range,



FORTIFIED POSITION IN THE EASTERN CARSO.

In the weird, wild terrain of the Eastern Carso, furrowed by a maze of valleys and gorges the Italians adapted the "doline," or hollow parts of the surface, for defensive purposes. Blasting out these hollows where they were not deep enough for the purpose in hand, they succeeded in converting some of them into veritable sunken forts, building up "dug-outs" with pieces of rock and sand-bags.

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AWAITING THE WORD TO GO FORWARD.
Italian reserves in waiting during an action. The men had been assembled within easy distance of the fighting, and were awaiting the signal that should send them to the support of their comrades in the front lines.

aeroplanes fought one another in the skies, men fought hand to hand with bayonet and rifle-stock, and when the rifles were broken they hurled rocks at one another. Some of the Austrians carried heavy shields, which looked like specimens from some museum of classic antiquities. An Austrian officer challenged an Italian to a separate duel. They fought with pistols, as in olden days, and both fell. As the attendants stood over the dead bodies of their masters the first impulse was to rush at one another with bare bayonets, but the more human sentiment of loyalty conquered. Each lifted the corpse of his master and bore it back to the rear of the fighting. Rain fell heavily. The smoke of exploding shells and the steam rising from mountain torrents, mingled with the waves of earth and splintered rock cast up by the high explosives, concealed the outlines of the struggle. Twilight began to descend. Men called out to one another—the Austrians in a strange babel of tongues—Slav, German, and Magyar; the Italians in the different Latin dialects which are to be heard from the Alps to Sicily and Sardinia.

Tribalism in modern warfare

Foreign writers have often criticised regionalism in Italy, and counted it as a disintegrating force in national life; but here it proved a rich source of appeal for the outpouring of blood in the national cause. The officers appealed to the tribal instincts of their followers. Many forgotten war-cries, appealing to the honour of home and kindred were heard. "La Brigata Sassari non si arrende mai e non indietreggia!" "I laceri, ma indomiti della Brigata Perugia sanno qual 'è il loro dovere!" "Bersaglieri di Lamarmora, sempre avanti!" "Garibaldini del San Michele, ricordatevi dei vostri morti!" "Brigata Ferrara, o Brigata Brescia, fate onore alla fiera Calabria, alle generose Puglie!" ("The Sassari Brigade never yields nor turns back!" "The wounded but unconquered men of the Perugia Brigade know their duty!" "Onward, ever onward, Bersaglieri of Lamarmora!" "Garibaldians of San Michele, remember your dead!" "Brigade of Ferrara, Brigade of Brescia, onward for the glory of dauntless Calabria and bountiful Apulia!")

But the fiery courage called forth by memories of home and fallen comrades could not break through the Austrian barrier of fire. Men had fallen in sheaves, and wounded comrades were crying out in agony. Yet the line did not waver or break. Clinging for bare life to every yard they had won, the heroic aggressors sought such cover as scattered rocks and shell-riven trunks of trees could afford. The barrage of the Austrians held back the Italian reinforcements. Fearing lest this might develop into a decisive thrust along the shore route to Trieste, the Austrians defended their ground with extraordinary skill and gallantry.

Night came on—a night of terrific wind and rain. Under cover of the darkness and blinding storm the Italians were enabled to move up reinforcements. Barricades were hurriedly built and wire entanglements erected. Morning found the troops holding a stronger footing on the ground they had won the day before. The Austrians now launched several counter-strokes. Six times they came on in dense waves; six times they were hurled back, always with heavy slaughter. Throughout the day the Italians were strengthening their hold and repairing the damage which the units had suffered; when night came on the whole series of positions had been consolidated and the ranks made ready for a new start.

Desperate Austrian counter-attacks

The morning of the 16th dawned clear and calm. About eight o'clock the infantry columns were in motion. Led by a young Calabrian, Roberto Taverniti, who had been a journalist in civil life, the right central column went bounding up the slope and along the gorges. Within a few minutes the Calabrians had lost their leader. The Southern blood was now up and the terrible vendetta was sworn. The Bersaglieri had also lost their favourite colonel and several officers. All the more reason why the combat must go on with increasing vigour; for when a comrade falls beside an Italian soldier the soul of the dying man seems for the moment to take up its abode in the living companion, giving him a double strength.

At ten o'clock the Bersaglieri were over the parapet, and about three hundred Austrian survivors were captured. But the conquest of the hill was not yet completed, for the defenders still held to the topmost part and the concealed communication-trenches. After two hours' further fighting, man to man and hand to hand, the aggressors succeeded in routing the enemy from the summit. He was now driven down the reverse slope, where he entrenched and held fast. Here he was no longer a menace on the Italian flank, nor could he hinder the manœuvring of the troops on the immediate sectors of the centre. When the fresh relief columns came up they found the trenches and caves and open escarpment of Hill 144 littered with dead. About one thousand prisoners had fallen into the hands of the victors.

Though the advance on the wings, for the purpose of gaining freedom of movement for the main offensive against the Carso, was the primary object of the September attack, the centre also bettered its position. Here, however, the advantages could not be fully maintained, for several battalions which had gained a footing east of Loquizza and Oppacchiasella had to be withdrawn in order to save them from the enemy's artillery on the flanks. Still, the gains were important. West of Loquizza,

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Battle of the Carso: Victorious colours of the Lombardian Brigade.

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Sand-bag trench above Redipuglia on the Carso, terrain where it was impossible to dig.

Type of fortress trench built by the Austrians in many of their strategic centres.

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Improvised trench built of stones placed within wicker baskets on Lago Mucile, Carso di Monfalcone.

Telephone post in the Italian lines on Podgora, the famous "Hill of Death," near Gorizia.

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Laborious progress over obstacles imposed by inexorable Nature: Italian troops advancing on skis along the Alpine front.

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amongst the outlying houses of the village fortress, a number of trenches were taken and successfully held. East of Oppacchiasella the line moved forward on the fortified Castagnevizza road. Farther south, between Nova Villa and the Lake of Doberdo, one of the twin "202" hills had been conquered and the second partially outflanked. During the operations in this sector upwards of a thousand prisoners were taken.

Violent storms and the necessity of consolidating the new positions brought about a pause in the action. During the three days' struggle, from September 14th to 17th, the Italians had taken 4,104 prisoners, including 111 officers, together with a considerable quantity of arms and ammunition and various military stores.

Geographical aspects of the Carso

Before passing on to the second phase of the Battle of the Carso it is necessary to examine more closely the geographical aspects of the territory that lay ahead of the advancing troops. Once again it was not merely a question of one army against another, but that of an army unaided by any natural advantages of position against an army whose power of resistance was primarily due to the strength of the great fortresses which Nature had placed at its disposal. It is not easy for one who has not tramped it in times of peace to call up a vision of the geographical difficulties which beset a military traveller on the road which winds round the Eastern Carso towards Trieste.

Leaving Gorizia, and bending his steps to the south-east, the traveller follows the Vipacco road onwards and upwards towards the source of the river amid the hills. On his right rises the tier-like ridge of mountains — Veliki Hriback (1,190 feet), Faiti Hrib (1,247 feet), and Golnek (1,470 feet) — which stand as sentinels along the ascent. On reaching the village of Ranziano, he leaves the Vipacco road and turns directly southwards, on the winding ascent which brings him to the shoulder of Monte Golnek. Faiti Hrib is now on his right, the brow of Golnek on his left. At his feet the rugged upland of the Eastern Carso extends. The landscape framed before his eyes is the scene of the great Austrian defence. The distant horizon, beyond which lies the Plain of Trieste, is broken by the blunt peaks of the Hermada group. The foreground is a weird upland scene which looks like the handiwork of some delirious cubist artist who has allowed his gargantuan brush to splash mountains and roads and villages on the canvas in defiance of all proportion of symmetry.

In the general ensemble there is a point of central interest around which it is possible to group the jumble of objects which fall within the field of vision. It is the town of Castagnevizza, almost in the centre of the foreground. On their retirement in August the Austrians chose this as the centre of their defensive system. It was made the focus towards which a number of newly-made railways converged. Tapping the main line between Trieste and Lubiana, these arteries poured men and supplies into Castagnevizza, to be transferred from there by a system of radiating mountain roads to all parts of the Carso. The town and outlying district became the site of an entrenched camp, holding much the same relation to the new line as Gorizia had held to the old. Barracks and arsenals were erected, and the heavy guns taken from Gorizia were installed in a position which gave them a pivotal control of the plateau. The masses of manœuvre were held in leash within the town and its outskirts. As a revolving searchlight sweeps the horizon, concentrating its rays wherever danger may be suspected to lurk, the military strength held in reserve at Castagnevizza could be sent forth at a moment's notice along any given radius, and concentrated wherever the Italian line looked threatening.

It would be impossible to give a definite numerical estimate of the forces employed for the defence of this area, but we may be quite certain that since the fall of Gorizia their ranks had been greatly strengthened. In the general outburst of vituperation which followed the fall of the great Isonzo citadel, the divisional commanders were made the scapegoats of the popular outcry. General Zeidler, who had commanded at Gorizia, was promptly dismissed. General Würm, who had had control of the Sixteenth Army Corps on the Western Carso, was relegated to an inferior position in some unknown section of the Imperial battle-line. It was decided to reorganise the Staff thoroughly and reconstruct the general system of defence. General Boroevic still remained commander of the Isonzo Army, and he was now supported by a Staff of the ablest generals at the disposal of the Imperial Army. Among these were Generals Lukacich, Scheider, Scharizen, and Schench. The Archduke Charles, who succeeded his uncle, the Emperor Francis Joseph, as the Emperor Charles, on November 21st, 1916, took personal control of the Seventh Army Corps.

PLACING A CHEVAL-DE-FRISE ALONG A MOUNTAIN FRONT.
Digging trenches to consolidate positions won in the mountainous area where the Italians fought was generally impossible. The most the Italians could do was hurriedly to build barricades of fragments of rock and erect wire entanglements along the ice-bound zone before them.

Numerical strength of the Austrians

We know that at least three army corps were employed—namely, the Eighth, Ninth, and Seventeenth—but it would be impossible to say whether they were present in full strength. From the examination of prisoners, and other information gathered from captured documents, it was fairly well established that at least eight divisions were employed between the Vipacco and Duino, a front of about eight miles. As to the general fighting quality of the troops, we know, on Boroevic's own showing, that they were the best Austria-Hungary could afford. The majority of the regiments were exclusively Hungarian.

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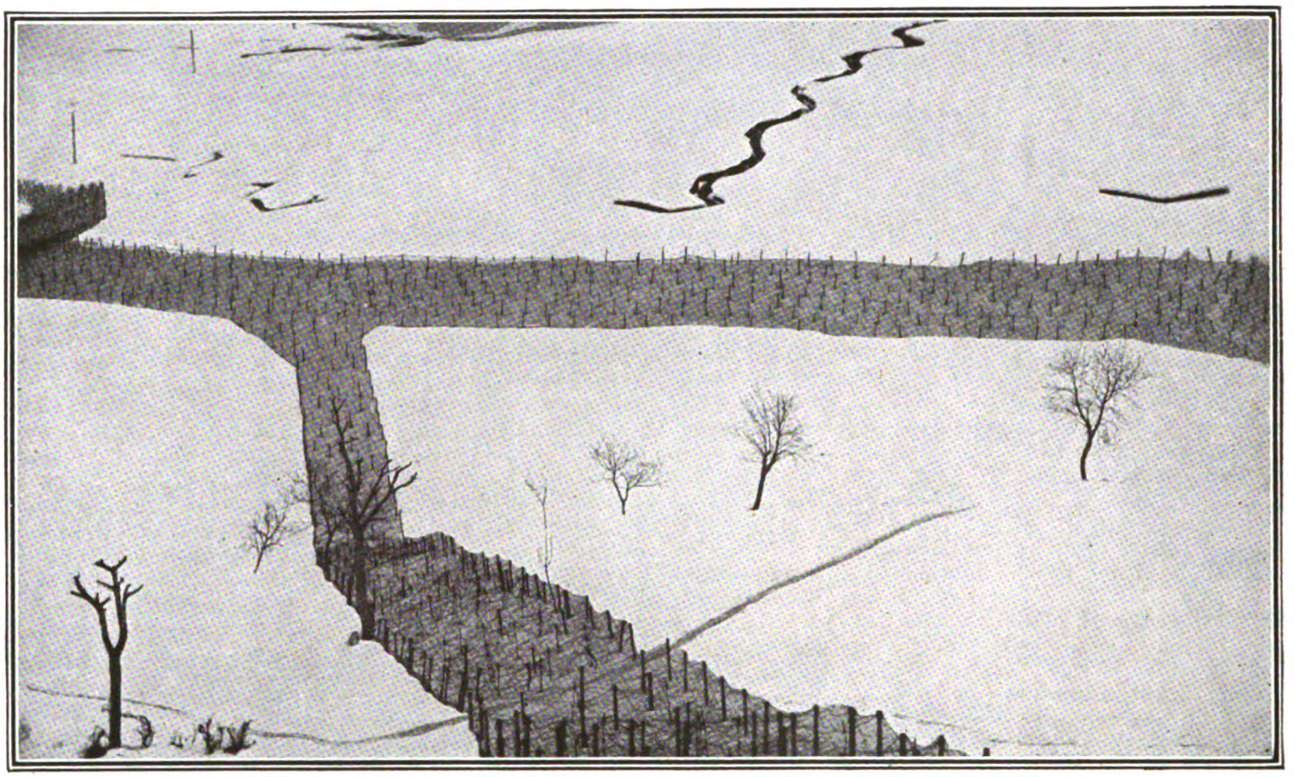

BROAD BARBED-WIRE ENTANGLEMENTS THAT PROTECTED THE ITALIAN FRONT.

Snowy slopes on the Italian front, with belts of barbed-wire protecting the sinuous trenches. In advancing on the Austrian positions among the mountains the Italians found that the enemy had made particularly extensive use of wire. In some places deep layers of entanglements were concealed in a way which made it impossible to sight them from any distance, so that the Italian artillery could not always be trained on them.

Next in strength of numbers came the Croatian and Bosnian regiments. These were all first-class troops, the only troops of second-rate quality present being a few Austrian Landwehr and Landsturm regiments. What was the strength of the masses of manœuvre held in reserve it would be impossible to say, especially in view of the fact that it was constantly on the increase; for trainloads of troops from the eastern front arrived every day. The artillery and engineering equipment had been strongly reinforced from Germany, as the defence of Trieste had become a problem of vital interest for the Central Empires. "Trieste," said a captured officer, "is the heart of Austria and the Carso is its pericardium."

On October 9th the Italians began the second stage of the offensive. From the Vipacco to the sea the whole line was subjected to a violent bombardment, so violent indeed that on the Carso the waves of earth and stone and smoke constantly cast up by the exploding shells entirely obscured the outline of the terrain. Those who witnessed a bombardment on the Carso could realise to the full the power of modern artillery. The high-explosive shells dug slight openings in the stony crust of the mountain. The rocks split and heaved. Volumes of broken stone and earth leapt upwards, like eruptions from a volcano, and then descended in heavy showers on the trenches. The high explosives performed the double duty of wrecking the trenches and killing the inhabitants. There was no shrapnel in France and Flanders to compare with this deadly rain of splintered stone. The enemy deserted his trenches for the time being and hid in the rock-hewn caverns. When the range began to lengthen, so as to allow the attacking infantry to advance, he came forth and worked furiously at reorganising his defences. Hence it was always necessary that the rush of the attacking troops should follow immediately on the heels of the lengthening curtain, and that the attack should be sharp and decisive. Yet that was not so easy as where the trenches ran through a stretch of level ground, for these mountain positions were often at a considerable distance across ravines and valleys from the trenches of the attacking foe.

Second stage of the offensive

On the morning of October 10th the prisoners began to filter through the dense screen of fire and smoke. With hands raised, trembling and semi-delirious, they cried out for deliverance from the terrible inferno in which they were suffering. Among these first prisoners some were Ruthenians and Dalmatians. How had they escaped the vigilance of the Austrian officers, who stood behind their men and shot them down mercilessly the moment the least tendency to surrender was manifested?

"Our officers have deserted us," the prisoners proclaimed. "Our trenches are full of dead and wounded. You have destroyed our parapets and entanglements." Among them was a Hungarian sergeant-major, who had come as an emissary from his men. Abandoned by the commissioned officers, on whose shoulders rested the responsibility of defending the position, and seeing no hopes of holding out against the expected infantry attack, the sergeant chose discretion as the better part of valour. He would surrender. But how? He would come alone, and convince the Italians of his sincerity. Having listened to his story, they agreed to grant a safe-conduct for the men. The artillery ceased fire for a moment, signals were made, and the whole company made good its escape.

Surrender of Hungarian company

What had happened in the Austrian lines? Owing to the destructive violence of the bombardment it had already been decided to abandon the front line of trenches and concentrate the defence on strong strategic points, such as Veliki Hriback and Nova Villa. Furthermore, it had been decided to establish a new series of trenches as a subsidiary front line. Without parapets or entanglements, these were simply narrow channels delved in the soil among the rocks, connected with underground caverns by an elaborate system of concealed corridors. This arrangement enabled the defenders to fill the main channel at a moment's notice. An enormous number of machine-guns had been hastily brought up and posted in hiding-places throughout the rugged uplands. It was clear that the Austrians had abandoned the idea of holding a definite linear frontage against the brunt of the attack. They would force the Italians to accept a system of fighting which was a scientific

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development of guerilla warfare. The character of the terrain was well suited to such a method of defence.

At half-past three in the afternoon of October 10th the infantry assault was launched. The battlefield was divided into three separate zones—namely (1) the territory immediately north of the Vipacco, on the lower spurs of the Julian Hills; (2) the ascending ridge on the southern bank of the Vipacco; and (3) the Carso Plateau east of the Vallone. We shall follow the course of the action in these zones separately.

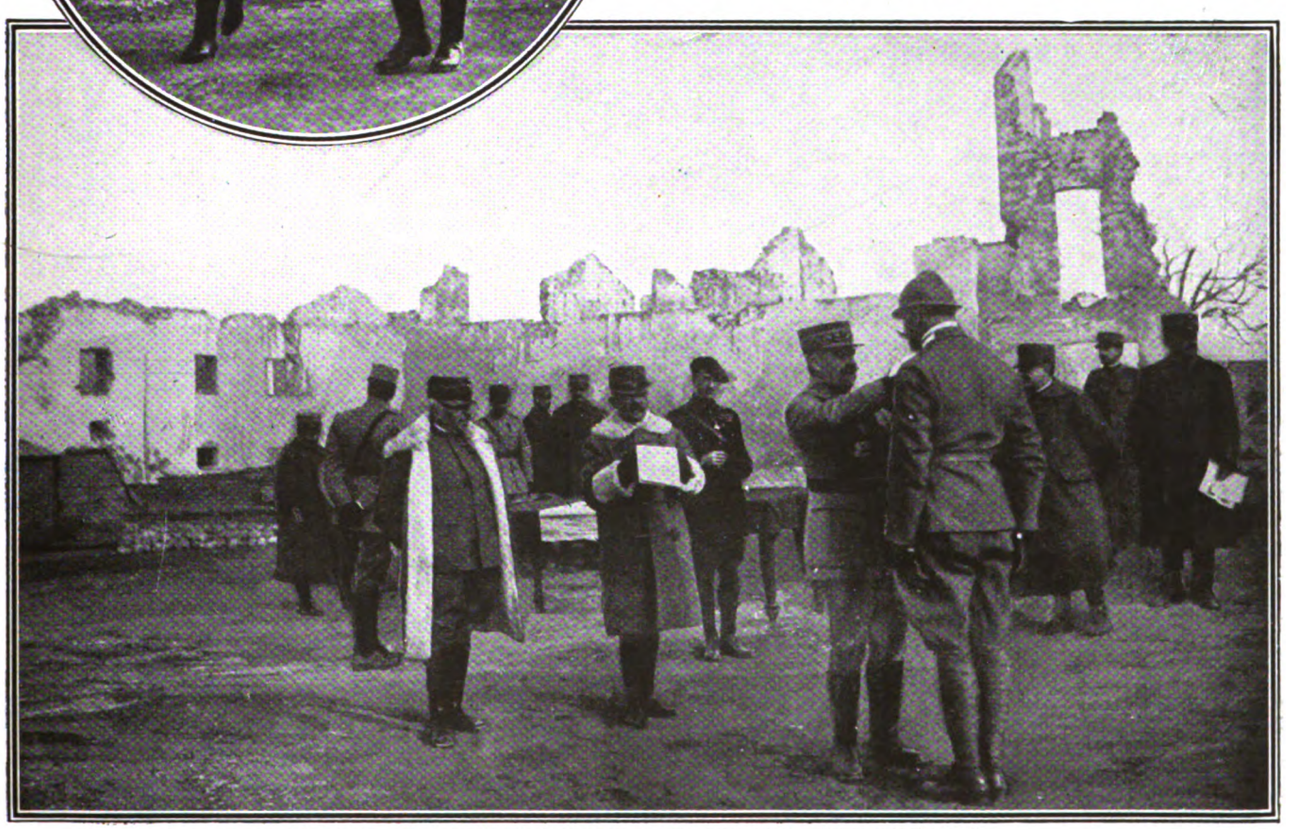
On the heights east of Gorizia and north of the Vipacco some units of the Second Army co-operated with the Treviso and Cuneo Brigades of the Third Army. The object of this movement was to enlarge the manœuvring-ground for the troops which operated on the Vipacco. It would also compel the enemy to keep a mass of reserves here and thus weaken his resistance on the Carso. Besides, every new position gained on the Sober Ridge would drive home a little further the right arm of the forceps, by means of which the Italians were striving to tear the Monte Santo molar from the Austrian jaw.

In Chapter CXXXV. the importance of Monte Santo and San Gabriele was explained. After the fall of Gorizia the Austrian guns on Monte Santo still dominated the city and the opening of the Vipacco road. They might reduce Gorizia to ruins, as they had reduced Gradisca and Monfalcone, but they fondly hoped that one day they would retake the city. Should an Austro-German drive on the grand scale again become a practical part of the Teutonic military programme, not only would the position on Monte Santo be a serious hindrance on the flanks of the Italian defence, but it would be a magnificent support for the flank of the Austrian attack. Having failed to conquer it by a direct assault from the west, the Italians attempted to encircle it by operating from the northern bank of the Vipacco along the bed of the Vertoibizza.

Attempt to encircle Monte Santo

Leaving the summit of Monte Santo and descending the southern slope of the hill, the traveller comes to a broad furrow which extends to his left and carries the road from Gorizia to Tivoli and Aisovizza. Between this furrow and the foot of the mountain there is a triangular block of hills, known as the Rosenthal group. These form the residential suburb of Gorizia. It is a beautifully-wooded hillside facing the southern sun, rich in flower-gardens and olive groves, vineyards and orchards. Numerous parks nestle in its folds, and there are clusters of beautiful villas where wealthy Austrian pensioners were wont to spend the declining years of lives that had been given to the service of the House of Hapsburg.

The outstanding feature of the landscape is the Hill of San Marco (750 feet), the southern slope of which



FRENCH COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF AT ITALIAN HEADQUARTERS.

General Nivelle, visiting the Italian Headquarters to concert plans with General Cadorna, took advantage of the opportunity personally to decorate an Italian officer with the Croix de la Guerre. Behind the French Commander-in-Chief stood the Italian Commander-in-Chief (wearing a fur coat thrown open) and General Porro, the Italian Chief of Staff. In circle: General Cadorna (left) and General Nivelle.

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ITALIAN "DUG-OUTS" ARRANGED ON THE SLOPE OF A CARSO "DOLINA."

In the "doline," or hollows, of the limestone rock of the bare and broken Carso the Italians contrived the nearest approach to dug-outs which the nature of the ground permitted. The Carso is a general term applying to the whole of the vast hilly region which lies on the north-eastern shore of the Adriatic. It is a bewildering mass of hills, irregular in height and rugged in form, sparsely grown with trees, and bare of all other vegetation.

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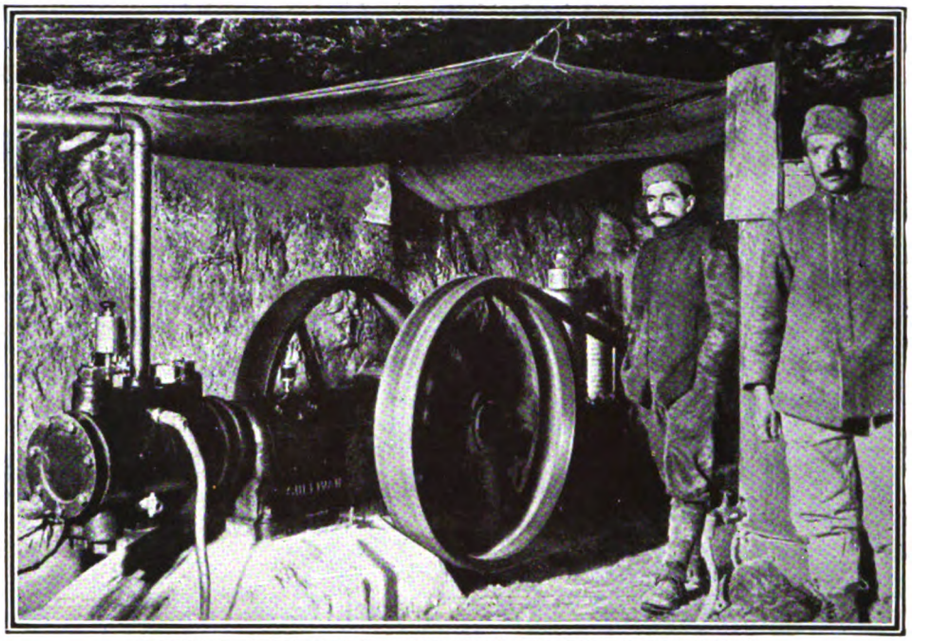
runs down to the railroad and the northern bank of the river. For practical strategic purposes it is a low spur of Monte Santo and San Gabriele, a sort of bridge-head position shielding the approaches to the main block of hills. In like manner San Marco has several lower spurs, which may also be regarded as bridge-head positions in relation to the summit of the hill. The obvious Italian plan, subsequent to the capture of Gorizia, was to lay siege to San Marco, as a first step towards the encirclement of Monte Santo. This was to be the task of the extreme left during the attacks on the Carso.

Owing to the advantageous positions which the Italians occupied to the south of Gorizia, it was possible to open a devastating fire against San Marco and its surroundings. So violent and precise was the bombardment that, even before the infantry advanced, the defenders had already lost sixty per cent. of their effectives. At half-past three in the afternoon of the 10th the infantry attack was launched. As the Italians entered the wooded terrain on the southern slope of the hill, the Austrians took shelter in the parks behind the ruins of the once princely villas. Through the night of the 11th and the morning of the 12th the struggle continued. The Italian artillery had succeeded in gaining control of the Austrian approaches, so that no further reinforcements could be sent. Again and again the defending commander signalled for help, but received none. Still he defended every yard of his ground. Prisoners yielded only in twos and threes. They came from places of ambush in the hedges and arbours and amid the broken statues of the once beautiful parks.



DRIVING A MACHINE ROCK-DRILL ON THE CARSO FRONT.
In the fighting on the Carso gun-emplacements and caverns for housing munitions and general stores had to be blasted out of the solid rock, and for this purpose numbers of electric and steam driven machine rock-drills were used. The Italian Engineering Corps comprised a huge mass of military labourers.

It was a weird, semi-ludicrous, semi-tragic spectacle. Above the débris of broken walls and statues and garden-seats glittered the familiar Teuton formula "Verboten"—"Forbidden to walk on the grass or injure the shrubs." About midday the main redoubts had fallen and two Austrian regiments had been practically exterminated. A rich booty in machine-guns and bomb-throwers fell into Italian hands. Towards evening the remaining subsidiary spurs of San Marco had been taken, but the Austrians still held the summit. Several times they counter-attacked, but failed on each occasion. Though unable to press the attack as far as the summit of the hill, the victors held all the ground that had been gained, and were firmly consolidated when the fury of the battle began to wane. The winning of these spurs was a very important success, for it robbed the enemy of valuable tactical supports and rendered his position on the summit extremely difficult. From that day onward San Marco remained isolated on two sides and a part of the third, with the result that the bringing up of supplies became difficult and dangerous.

Italians isolate San Marco

While these successes were being gained by the left wing, the centre was pushing forward against the Carso Pentagon. At three o'clock in the afternoon of the 10th the assault was launched against the powerful line which ran from the northern ridge of the Carso to the Oppacchiasella-Castagnevizza road, a distance of about three miles. On this front the Austrians had built their trenches on the classic style, protecting them by walls of rocks and sand-bags covered with metal shields. Deep layers of entanglements lay in front of each line, so cleverly concealed in parts as to make it impossible for the Italian gunners to sight them.

In occupying the front line little difficulty was experienced, for the preparatory artillery fire had demolished the parapets and strewn the ditches with dead and wounded. The thin group of survivors frantically cried for mercy, shouting out "Nichts dum-dum!"—for General Cadorna had issued an order, copies of which Italian airmen had dropped into the enemy's lines, proclaiming that any soldier found possessing explosive bullets would be shot forthwith. Within a few hours the northern section of the line had fallen; but to the south, around Point 201, the resistance was more stubborn, for this blocked the road to Castagnevizza. Here the Austrians had constructed a series of trenches in quadrangular formation, protected by dense rows of barbed-wire and connected with one another by a labyrinth of underground channels. A new brigade, which was to experience its first battle, attacked the position. After several hours of desperate fighting with bomb and bayonet the defenders surrendered. "Genug, Genug!" they cried. "We cannot stand it any longer!" When night came the village of Loquizza had been reached, and farther north the attacking troops were laying siege to the western slope of Veliki Hriback.

Successes of the Italian centre

Next morning the attack was renewed. The Italians commenced to ascend the mammoth staircase. On Veliki Hriback the Austrians contended every yard of ground. This terrain was more difficult than that over which the battle of the previous day had been fought. Advancing upwards, the leading columns found in their path a thickly-wooded crater which had not been mapped by the aeroplane observers. Here the Austrians had employed every means at their disposal to make the ground impassable. Densely woven nets of barbed-wire lay concealed in the undergrowth. Stout fences of the same material ran from tree to tree in the wood. Alcoves for the harbouring of machine-guns had been constructed amid the rocks; like traps set by hunters for the capture of game, clusters of percussion bombs lay ingeniously concealed beside the pathways. Any attempt to encircle the hollow would have exposed the troops to the enemy's artillery on the flanks. The only hope was to advance cautiously and clear the ground yard by yard. After two

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days' terrific struggle a firm footing had been gained in the centre and on the rim of the crater. But it was impossible to proceed farther until the ground had been subjected to an artillery bombardment.

South of the Castagnevizza road the contest assumed gigantic proportions. In this sector the main storm-centre was the fortified ruins of Nova Villa, which stood south of Oppacchiasella, at a distance of about a thousand yards. In times of peace Nova Villa sheltered about two hundred and fifty souls, but the experience of war had now reduced its houses to a mass of débris. Through the western outskirts the Austrians had built a deep trench, and another through the heart of the village. The strong point of the latter was the piazza and campanile of the church, which had offered a good opportunity for the emplacement of artillery. Both these trenches ran to the foot of the neighbouring Hill 208, outside the south-western corner of the village, whence they branched into a deep causeway that encircled the hill-top. The position was of vital importance, for it was an effective obstacle in the flank of any attempt to advance towards Castagnevizza.

Capture of Hill 208

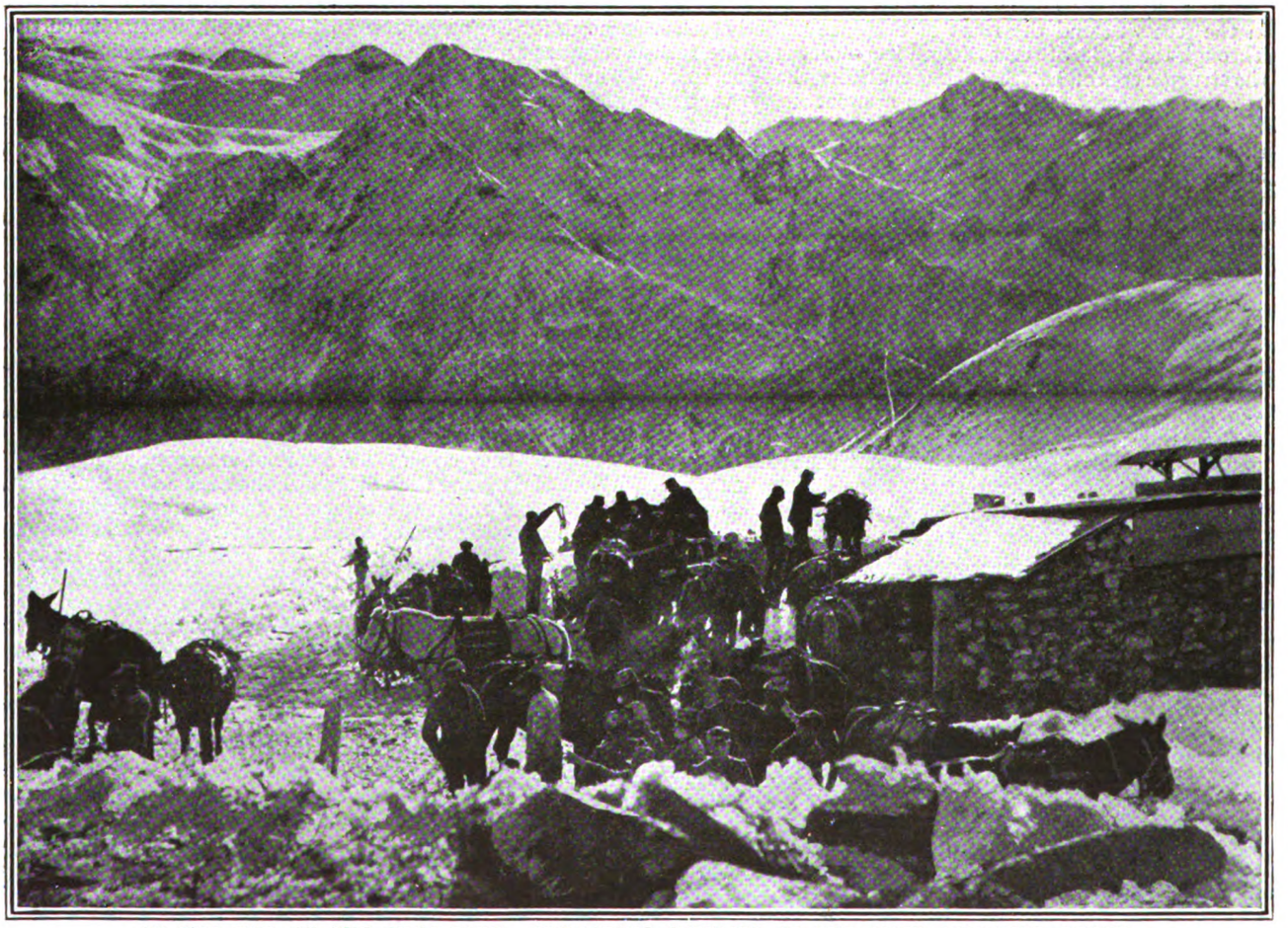
The "Iron Brigade" of Calabria (59th and 60th Regiments), consisting chiefly of the Calabrians, Sicilians, and Apulians, led by two Sardinian generals, had been entrusted with the task of conquering Hill 208. The first onslaught brought them astride the front line of trenches between the village and the hill, but the Austrians now pivoted their immediate defence of the hill on a system of irregularly grouped redoubts which were very difficult to reduce. During the first day's fighting a thousand prisoners fell into the hands of the Italians. On the third day of the struggle the village fell and the hill was carried by the force of a terrific simultaneous attack on left, right, and centre. By the evening of the 14th the position was solidly held, and the advancing troops had entrenched amid the outlying houses of the village of Hudilog.

For the moment the offensive was over. It had succeeded in pressing forward the line over a distance of five hundred yards at some points and nearly two miles at others; and, more important than mere territorial advance, it had also taken from the enemy several strongly fortified positions of great strategic value. During the whole of the action the Italians had taken 8,219 prisoners, including 254 officers, 31 trench-mortars, 82 cases of cartridges, and a rich booty in general war material. The declarations of prisoners bore unanimous testimony to the heavy losses sustained by enemy regiments, several of which had been practically wiped out.

Austrian reserves brought up

On several occasions towards the end of October attempts were made to prepare the ground for a new offensive, but the heavy rains and fogs prevented their continuance. Thus, warned of the forthcoming onslaught, the Austrians spared no pains in strengthening themselves against it. During the latter half of October, Italian airmen reported an incessant stream of daily and nightly traffic through the railway-stations of Opicina, Nabresina, and Duttole Duttagliano. This meant that the Austrians were bringing up their reserves from the home bases and effectives from the eastern front in order to make the road to Trieste impassable.

From the declarations of prisoners subsequently taken



AT THE END OF THE MULE-PATH: UNLOADING SUPPLIES AT THE MOST ADVANCED DEPOT.

Ten men were required, on the average, to supply one man fighting on the Alps. This picture shows the end of the mule-trail but not the end of the route. Here were the kitchens where the food was cooked. The provisions were carried the rest of the journey by expert climbers who set out for the front line three times daily. Their journey usually took them six or seven hours, but they arrived with marvellous punctuality.

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ALPINE SPORT ADAPTED TO WARFARE.
Italian soldiers ski-ing along pine-grown slopes on their mountainous front. They carried their rifles slung across their backs to leave their hands free for using the steadying sticks.

SKI-ING SCOUTS AMID ROCKY SUMMITS
Alpine soldiers of the Italian Army scouting among the grand summits of the mountains on their Carso front. It was only by means of the ski that the deep snow could be traversed.

the extent and character of these movements became known. Besides several Landwehr and Landsturm battalions, Ruthenian, Rumanian, and Bosnian troops of the line had been brought from the interior of the country. These were reinforced by heavy drafts of Hungarians hastily brought from Transylvania. So expeditious was the transport that some regiments made the journey from the Carpathians within two days and some from Volhynia within three. When the whole reorganisation was complete the army which now faced the Italians was almost entirely new to this front. Not more than a fourth of the original Carso Army had remained, and a large part of this had been relegated to the reserve.

On October 31st the weather improved and the demolition fire of the artillery began. It was sustained throughout the night and intensified on the following morning. Scouting parties having ascertained that great gaps had been opened in the enemy's line, the order to advance was given. The immediate objective of the attack was the second line on the Carso Plateau from the Vipacco to the Hermada Mountains. This line passed along the western slope of Veliki Hriback, at a distance of about a thousand yards from the summit, and descended in a southerly direction as far as Lukatic. Here it joined the sector of the first line, which had remained firm during the October advance. But in the most important area, the northern Carso Ridge, the Austrians had built a subsidiary line at a distance of about eight hundred yards from the first. The strong points of this were the summits of Veliki Hriback and Monte Pecinka.

At half-past ten on the morning of November 1st the curtain fire lifted and the batteries lengthened the range so as to lash the storm of projectiles on the Austrian approaches. At eleven o'clock the infantry leaped from their trenches. Against all the strongholds along the front—Veliki Hriback, Pecinka, the village of Loquizza, and the southern flank of the Castagnevizza road—a simultaneous onslaught was launched. At 11.30 four dense columns on the extreme right of the attack had already driven the enemy from his main positions to the south of the road. In one wild rush the Spezia Brigade, with the Cremona Brigade on the left, carried every obstacle in its path. So sudden was the avalanche and so fierce the driving force, carving its way principally by the aid of bomb and bayonet, that it dazed and bewildered the enemy. Time was not given even for signals of surrender. Within half an hour the Italians were in the Austrian second line of defence, without having halted to clear the battlefield or send back prisoners. Stricken friend and foe, dead and dying and wounded, now littered the wake of the advancing troops. It was one of the strangest spectacles of the war. Within a radius of about two miles over half a dozen races had met in battle shock. In over half a dozen different tongues—Italian, German, Magyar, Rumanian, Croatian, Polish, Bohemian—the wounded cried out for help, the conquered for mercy. Lukatic was swiftly encircled and before midday the victors were entrenching amid its ruins.

Austrian second line rushed

Then the famous *dolina* (the *dolina* of the brigands) beyond the village became the scene of a desperate conflict. This cavern was about one hundred and fifty yards in length and an average of forty yards in depth. Fortified

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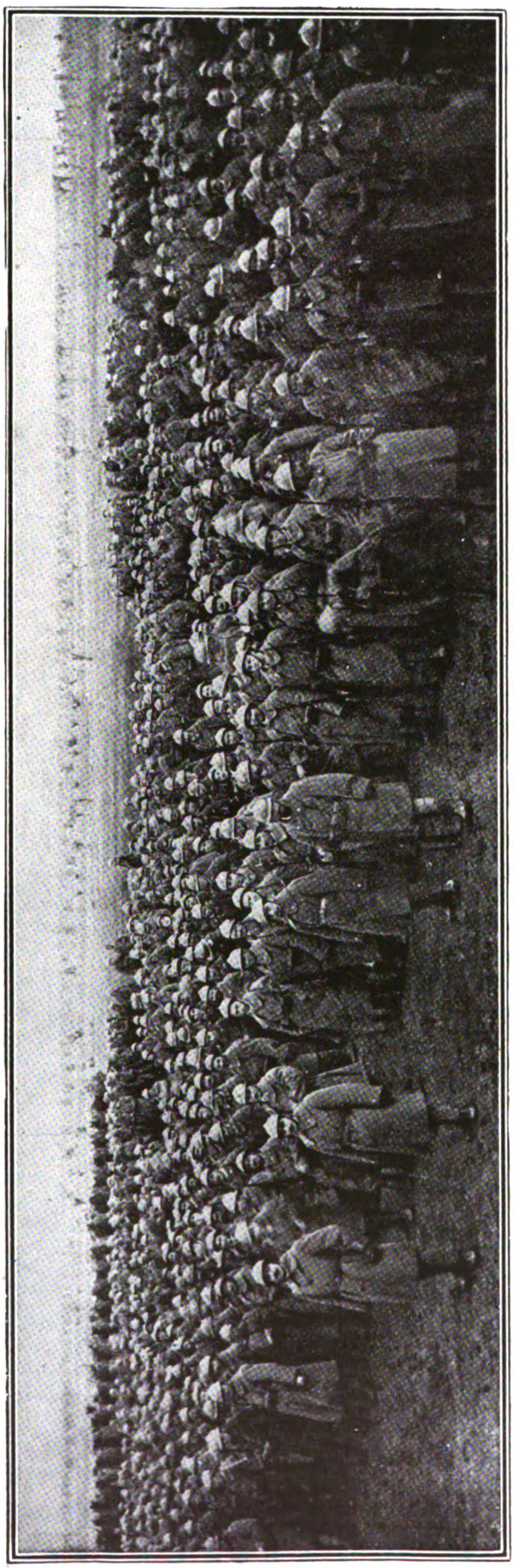

REGIMENT OF ITALIAN INFANTRY WHICH WON NEW LAURELS IN THE CARSO.

The men are clad in winter uniform and wearing steel helmets in readiness for their service at the front. The infantry of King Victor Emmanuel's gallant Army behaved magnificently in the Carso fighting. Sometimes the men went forward with an impetuosity which almost carried them into danger from the barrage fire of their own artillery. Their officers led them on with half-forgotten war-cries, appealing to the honour of home and of kindred; and even when they were met by machine-gun fire and grenades that made great gaps in their advancing files, "the Italian line held firm."

in every nook and cranny, floored with dense entanglements and explosive mines, with thousands of openings like rabbit-burrows, behind which machine-guns lurked in well-constructed caves, it formed one of the strongest positions along the whole line. The shock of the conflict was terrible. On the Italian side six battalions took part in it. The cries of the Austrians reached beyond the village as they were poniarded in their lairs. The struggle grew fiercer with the despair of the defenders, who now contested the positions foot by foot. Several separate duels were fought. During the opening stages an Austrian captain stood alone and pointed his pistol at an Italian lieutenant. The challenge was readily taken up and both combatants fell. Later in the day orders were given that the two brave enemies should be buried side by side in the same grave.

The Brigands' Cavern cleared

At one o'clock in the afternoon the defenders were already giving way, and an hour later the cavern had been fully cleared. The Latin troops were now beyond Segeti. So swift had been their onrush that they were already on the fringe of their own curtain fire, and only with difficulty could the officers restrain them until the gunners had been signalled to lengthen the range.

On the immediate left of this thrust another force, composed of the 6th and 12th Bersaglieri, pushed forward on the southern slope of Monte Pecinka. There the rush was also like that of a pent-up torrent suddenly let loose. Before the gunners on the summit of the hill could realise the precise direction of the attack the Italians had pounced upon them. The surprise was largely due to the fact that the Austrian gunners had expected the full blow to come on the ridge between Veliki Hriback and Pecinka. Now they were suddenly seized from the south, while the north remained quiet. But as they were reorganising their plans of defence a swift blow was struck in the north. Both attacks had been carried out by young Bersaglieri regiments, which have the speed of mountain deer. Finding themselves so suddenly encircled, the Austrians surrendered the two batteries, containing six 4.13 in. cannon, which had defended the position, together with large supplies of ammunition and food stores.

The Italian Command had planned this thrust with the object of clearing the ground for an attack on Veliki Hriback. Thus supported from the south, the blow against the summit of Veliki was now guaranteed its full striking force. The deep cavern and heavily-fortified wood which had so stubbornly held back the advance in October were carried in the first rush. But the struggle for the summit turned out to be an arduous task. Here the terrain was a barren patch of rocky hill, cleft in twain by a deep seimcircular fosse.

Attack on Veliki Hriback

The attack was one of the most dramatic spectacles witnessed on the Carso. The principal actors in the great scene were the troops of the Tuscan Brigade (77th and 78th Regiments) and the Lombardian Brigade (73rd and 74th Regiments) which had conquered the heights of Sabotino during the epic struggle for Gorizia. From every observatory in the immediate rear of the advancing lines binoculars were levelled on the bare brow of the hill. A warm sun drew clouds of vapour from the rain-sodden valley of the Vipacco. Standing out, gaunt and defiant, above this mass of cloud and shell smoke, Veliki Hriback—the second San Michele—seemed destined to resist all attack. Will it hold out, or will it fall? the officers asked one another. If Veliki should hold out, the conquest of Monte Pecinka would have been in vain. Since the famous day in August when the Latin troops were struggling up the side of San Michele no moment so pregnant with destiny had dawned on the standards of Rome.

At half-past eleven the bright discs which signalled the position of the front line began to glitter like fire-flies

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wherever the sunlight broke through the mist. They were working ahead and upwards. That at least was a comfort. But the pace was slow, for it was in the teeth of a raking fire from the summit. The great trench was like the balcony of a castle, commanding a steep lawn in front. Would steady-plodding progress bring the besiegers to their goal? The onlooking officers shook their heads doubtfully, for experience had taught them that the only hope of success in such a manœuvre lies in a great lightning thrust, where the speed and agility of the troops make it difficult for the defenders to get the best out of their machine-gun batteries. The quivering line of discs seemed almost stationary.

Suddenly a wave of excitement passed along the groups of onlookers who crouched in the Italian observatories. "Ecco! Ecco! Savoia! Avanti, Savoia!" they shouted frantically. Triumphantly a row of hands was pointed towards the southern slopes of Veliki, where nobody — except those in the official secret — had expected an attack. Out from the heavy wreaths of fog and smoke, like boys leaping through bracken after a pack of hounds, wave after wave of Bersaglieri sprang upwards. They were bounding up the hill-side. The Austrians had not expected nor prepared for this charge. Within half an hour the foremost Bersaglieri were already on the summit. The Austrian gunners were attacked at close quarters before they had time to organise a defence. The observatories telephoned to the batteries on the surrounding hills, but it was too late. The Bersaglieri waved a tricolour in the sun. The Tuscans, who had been toiling up the western slope, now came forward with a bound. At midday the position was won, and remained firmly in Italian hands.

WITH THE ITALIAN GUNNERS: AN AWKWARD TURNING.

Bringing a gun round a precipitous curve on a mountain road built by Italian military engineers. The soldier on the left had descended to make sure that the passing of the weighty weapon had not displaced any of the supporting balks of timber.

A specially dramatic incident in the attack deserves mention; it is the story of the banner that was waved on Veliki Hriback. On the eve of the attack Gabriele d'Annunzio, the national poet, who had served in the Flying Corps until he met with a serious accident to his sight, and was subsequently gazetted as a captain in one of the infantry regiments of the Tuscan Brigade, provided himself with a silken banner which he folded and concealed in his knapsack. At the head of his battalion he fought his way upwards, bounding over the heather as lithely as the youngest peasant in the regiment. Having reached the summit he unfolded the banner, which was the signal for a mighty cheer from the Tuscan ranks. But a brother officer, fearing lest the signal might attract the Austrian fire, cried out: "Hold! Hold! Give me the banner! Let us bear it farther onward still!" D'Annunzio relinquished his treasure. Jumping forward along the reverse slope of Veliki, the streaming banner laid the trail for the Italian huntsmen who were after the Austrian game. That evening they had reached the foot of another towering hill beyond.

Gabriele d'Annunzio's silken banner

Another incident of a picturesque character is worthy of record. As the Bersaglieri rushed forward on the ridge which runs from Veliki Hriback southwards to Pecinka they encountered a train of Austrian mules laden with provisions and ammunition for the front line. One of the drivers, a native of Trieste, spoke for his companions and surrendered. "Signor Tenente," he said, addressing the Italian lieutenant, "I know the road to Italy." "Good! Good!" answered the Italian. "Go to Italy and take your company with you!" The mule-driver, so unexpectedly gazetted to the rank of captain, jauntily led his column along the road to the Vallone, explaining to the wondering Italians as he arrived that he had been suddenly promoted for discretion shown on the field of battle. His ammunition he could recommend. It would serve for use in the captured guns. But as for the quality of his bread and coffee and meat—well, if the signori did not

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mind, he would prefer to sample their *minestrone* and *pane commune*.

Throughout that night, the night of November 1st, tremendous difficulty was experienced in holding the positions which had been won. The Italians were clinging to the lower flight of steps on the mountain staircase, while the Austrians held the main landing, from which their guns mercilessly swept the positions beneath. For the aggressors the attack could have no halt until the enemy had been driven from his post of vantage. The principal position which he held was the towering hill beyond Veliki Hriback overlooking the Carso Plateau to the south and the Vipacco to the north. Beyond Veliki, at a distance of about one and a half miles, the summit of Faiti Hrib (1,247 feet) was now the immediate and indispensable objective of the attack. The conquest of Faiti occupied four hours. The struggle proved to be one of the most interesting in the annals of the campaign; not merely because of its epic heroism, but largely because it offered a telling example of the triumph of Latin intelligence over the mechanical military mind of the Teuton.

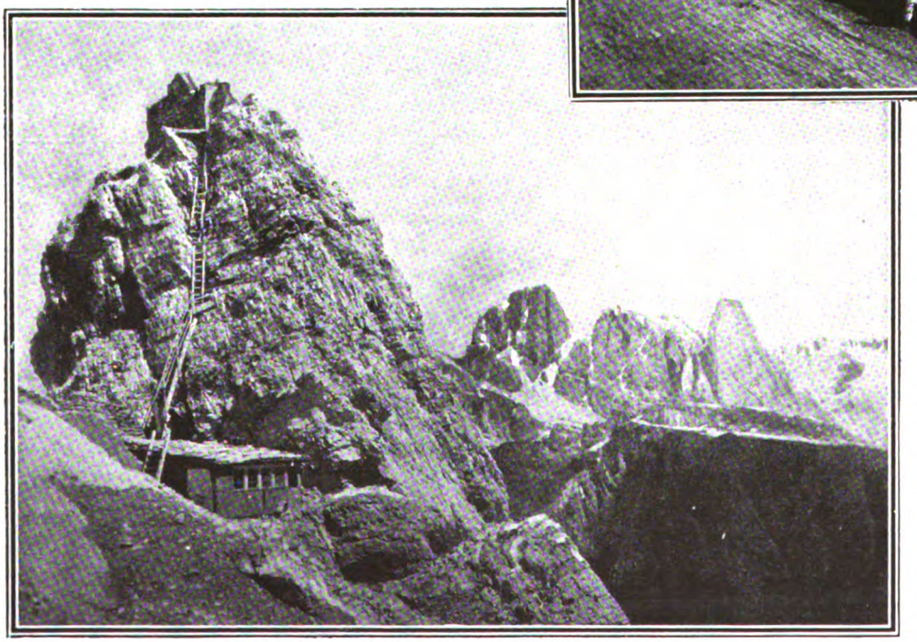
Conquest of Faiti Hrib

It was November 2nd, the Feast of All Souls, a day on which a deep religious sense of duty inspires the Italian soldier, for he feels that the most fitting commemoration of his dead will be to carry on the battle of his fallen comrades whose bodies lie in the wake of the advance. On that day the shout was often re-echoed on the hill-side: "Vincitori di Gorizia, ricordatevi dei vostri morti!" ("Victors of Gorizia, remember your dead!")

As on the previous day, the troops advanced in three separate columns, a heavy central column making the frontal attack and a column on each wing moving somewhat ahead, with the idea of encircling the Austrian position. As the central column advanced it soon found itself exchanging shots with the advance guards of an Austrian column, counter-attacking along the ridge which runs directly westwards from Faiti Hrib. Realising the meaning of the situation, the Italian commander made a bold decision on the spur of the moment. Wheeling suddenly to the right, he detached the main body of his forces from the impact of the counter-attack and threw them into the line of advance along the right wing. This lightning stroke immensely strengthened the impetus of the advance. The Austrians on the summit were taken unawares, but they made a desperate resistance. Machine-guns opened gaps in the advancing troops; the hail of bombs was terrific. For the Italians the main hope was in the force of numbers and the lightning speed at which their troops could work. It was a bomb and bayonet fight, with more of bayonet than of bomb, for in a mountain advance it proved difficult to keep the bombers supplied.

The Austrians were magnificently fortified behind stout rows of rocks and sand-bags which had been protected by iron shields. The communication-trenches led into roomy caverns where whole companies could shelter at a time. From these communication-trenches and caverns they had to be driven at the point of the bayonet. The defenders, who were mostly composed of Hungarians and Croats, fought like wild animals cornered by hunters. For three hours they fought the Italian hand to hand, but his hand was more dexterous than theirs. And he won. The communication-trenches were choked with dead and wounded, friend and foe lying side by side. At six o'clock in the evening the position was safely in Italian hands. Waves of reinforcements and military labourers, for the work of consolidation, were already surging upwards along the western and southern slopes of the hill.

HIT BY AN AUSTRIAN SHELL.
Private house which was wrecked as a result of the first Austrian projectile that was fired on an Italian village.



ITALIAN OUTLOOK ON A ROCKY SUMMIT.
Observation-post on the Italian front. Many of these vertical heights, as one visitor put it, could only be scaled by placing ladders one above the other. As each of these ladders was secured in position it was mounted to find a place for the next.

During the struggle a brigade commander and his Staff were taken prisoners. Having occupied the summit, the Italians set out to explore the surrounding ridges and spurs. They came upon a group of huts screened from the view of the airmen by layers of thick foliage. From the roof of one hut a number of telephone wires radiated. Here was big game. It was evidently the headquarters of the general commanding the sector. If it could be taken by a surprise dash valuable documents and maps would fall into the hands of the victors.

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AUSTRIAN PRISONERS TAKEN ON THE CARSO BEING ESCORTED TO THE REAR.

In the first three days of the Battle of the Carso, September 14th to 17th, 1916, the Italians took 4,104 prisoners, including 111 officers; in the second phase of the battle, beginning October 9th, they took 8,219 more, including 254 officers; between November 1st and 3rd they took 8,982 more, including 259 officers. In addition to this grand total of 21,305 prisoners, they captured also guns and a rich booty in general war material.

Getting down on all fours, the Italians began to creep stealthily towards the sheds. They saw an officer come out and put up his binoculars for a scrutiny of the surroundings. Soon the group of buildings was surrounded. The Austrians rushed out. "Siamo Italiani! Arrendetevi!" ("We are Italians! Surrender!") A few pistol shots rang out as the entrapped Austrians tried to open a gap in the ring that surrounded them. But it was a hopeless attempt. The commander and officers laid down their arms and surrendered all their material—maps, documents, etc.—to the conquerors. Then the Italians discovered that the establishment had been the headquarters of General Stankl, who had been in command of the 55th Brigade. The general, however, was not there in person. Having been seriously wounded a few days previously, he had surrendered the command to Colonel Skofo, who now found himself in Italian hands. Skofo, who was a native of Budapest and evidently a rather good type of Hungarian, did not unreasonably quarrel with his fate. When the first moments of surprise were over he and his Staff readily fraternised with their Italian hosts.

So ended All Souls' Day, with a list of deeds that might be accounted a worthy commemoration of the heroic dead whose graves are on the Carso. The memory of the fallen brave had given rise to a touching episode which proves that beneath the roaring seas of war, which separate the men of one nation from those of another, lies the deep bedrock of human nature where all men are united. In a little graveyard behind the Austrian lines some Hungarian soldiers had written the following inscription on a prominent slab as a touching reminder and request to the conqueror:

An historic All Souls' Day

Italians! If your advance should reach thus far, let not your engines of war profane the soil on which you tread. Respect this cemetery and preserve it; for we have tears in store within our eyes wherewith we shall bathe this soil above our buried kindred when the scourge of war shall have passed and all shall be friends once again.

Before the morning of November 3rd all the outlying positions between Faiti and the Vipacco had been taken, and on the Carso Plateau the troops had brought forward their line to a depth of about a mile, between Faiti Hrib and the Castagnevizza road. During November 3rd a vigorous push south of the road sent the line forward in that section another four hundred yards, so that the Italian entrenchments now ran through the western outskirts of Castagnevizza. The Austrian strategic centre on the Eastern Carso had been reached. The enemy had been forced to evacuate a position which he had deemed impregnable. He was now faced with the possibility of an encirclement of the Hermada mountains, and the immediate defence of Trieste became his main concern.

Thus ended the second phase of the Battle of the Carso. Realising that winter was coming on and that no other great advance could take place during the close of the year, the Italians settled down to the winter war work of organising the positions and strengthening their ranks so as to be ready, when the weather conditions would be suitable once more, for the great thrust which should bring them to the gates of Trieste.

End of the second phase

In the general reckoning of the losses that had been inflicted on the enemy it was found that during the action which opened on November 1st and closed with the fall of Volkovniak on November 3rd, the victors had taken 8,982 prisoners, including 259 officers, 24 guns (of which 13 were of medium calibre) 9 bomb-throwers, 62 machine-guns, some thousands of rifles, a large quantity of ammunition and vast military stores of various kinds. According to a semi-official account published by themselves, the Austrians had lost 33,000 men during the three days' battle from November 1st to November 3rd.

The record of these splendid deeds would lack completeness if the main points of comment suggested by the narrative were not placed before the reader's mind. Let us, therefore, discuss briefly the position which the Battle of the Carso occupies in the history of the war during 1916. What was its effect on the general position of the allied armies? How far did it bring the Italians towards the realisation of their immediate national objectives?

In answering these questions, it is necessary to distinguish between material and moral values, though it must be remembered that in the objective order of things there is an interplay of forces between both spheres.

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MAP OF THE CARSO BATTLEFIELD, SEPTEMBER-NOVEMBER, 1916.

In this map of the whole of the Carso region, extending from Gorizia in the north to Trieste in the south, may be readily identified the centres of the fighting during the autumn of 1916. The battlegrounds—San Grado, Veliki Hriback, Hill 144, etc.—may be seen immediately to the right of an imaginary line drawn from Gorizia to Monfalcone, near the head of the Gulf of Panzano.

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From the material point of view the loss inflicted on the Austro-German forces was serious in the extreme.

In order to realise this to the full extent we must look upon the Battle of the Carso as a subsequent phase of the conquest of Gorizia, and we must view the conquest of Gorizia as part of the counter-offensive in Trentino. These three movements were closely linked together, in fact, and they must be linked together in any study of general value. Now, during the period of Italian onslaught against Austria, from Gorizia to Castagnevizza, 42,000 prisoners were taken, together with 60 guns, 200 machine-guns, and a vast booty in general war material. Judging by statistics compiled from the information given by prisoners, and verified by careful comparison with data otherwise obtained, the proportion between the number of prisoners taken and the actual casualties suffered in the enemy's ranks was far higher than the normal proportion in other parts of the allied battle-front. This phenomenon was due to conditions which are peculiar to the Italian front. In the first place comes the demolition of stone trenches effected by the artillery. On the Carso there was little necessity for the use of shrapnel; for the high-explosive shells did double work. By destroying the parapets and blasting the rocks beneath the enemy's feet, a deadly hail of splintered stone was showered on his troops. On many parts of the Carso it was discovered that even before the advance of the infantry the enemy had lost sixty per cent. of his effectives in the front line. We may, therefore, suppose that three times the number of prisoners taken would be a very conservative estimate of the total casualties. Adding the number thus obtained to the amount of casualties which are known to have been suffered in the Trentino—namely 140,000—we arrive at a number approaching 300,000 as the sum total of the Austrian casualties on the Italian front during the summer and autumn campaigns. But the real number is probably much higher. Relating this figure to that which measures the results of the Battle of the Somme, where the combined Franco-British forces captured 51,000 Germans, we find that in the magnitude of the losses inflicted on the common enemy the Italian victory achieved results which stood well beside those of the classic Franco-British offensive.

ANTI-AIRCRAFT GUN ON MONTE NERO.
When M. Chavez first flew over the Alps in 1910 the world marvelled at the achievement. In the Great War, however, scouting airmen soared frequently above the Julian Alps and anti-aircraft guns studded many of the mountain peaks.

It is a fine record, but the importance of it is intensified when we come to consider the peculiar conditions of the Austro-Italian conflict. The military value of the positions held by Austria on the Carso and Isonzo was the main source of her strength. Several of those positions, such as San Michele, Sabotino, and Veliki Hriback, were such that to maintain them against an attacking force the defenders needed only a small percentage of the forces necessary for a successful assault. Indeed, it is doubtful if Gorizia would have been taken had it not been for the able strategy employed by General Cadorna. And once it had fallen, Austria could not hope to retake it, if she were not prepared to employ forces at least four or five times greater than those with which she had originally held it. In driving them farther backwards towards a territory which is far more difficult to defend, the Battle of the Carso forced the Austrian armies not only to make up for their losses but to increase enormously the number of effectives. Reacting on the whole Austro-German line in the east and in the west, this state of affairs seriously weakened the resistance of the common enemy.

But there is another aspect of the matter which reveals in a stronger light the value of Italy's stroke. The most

RETURN OF A SEAPLANE TO ITS BASE ON ITALIAN SHORES.
Italy is poorly provided with harbours on her Adriatic littoral, whereas Austria at the beginning of the war had many fine bases between Trieste and the southern extremity of Dalmatia, whence she might have despatched strong forces against her enemy. Italian seaplanes did important service watching for any such attempt until the Italian Navy had "bottled up" the Austrian Navy in its bases and secured full control of the Adriatic.

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vital portion of the whole Austro-German battle-front was that block of territory lying between the Isonzo, the Vipacco, and the Plain of Trieste. It defended not only the Adriatic seaport, but also the road to Lubiana (Laibach), which is the principal junction of the main railroads between Austria and her Adriatic provinces. The Battle of the Carso brought the Italian Army into contact with the main outer defences of Trieste and practically within striking distance of the commercial arteries which supply the city.

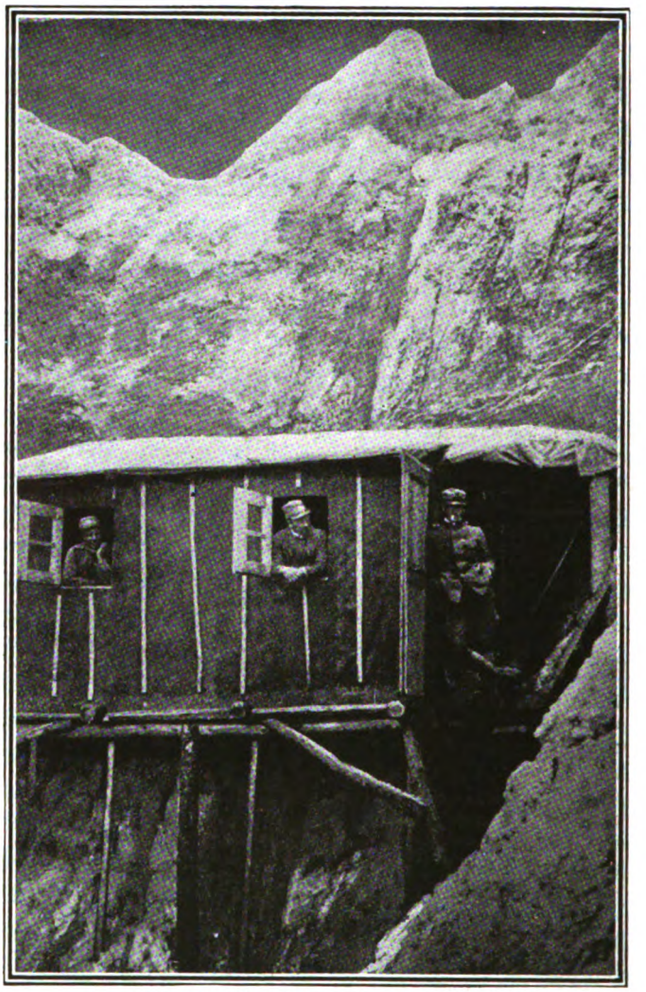
Only one line of positions now remained along the mountain defences; to construct a second and a third it was necessary to entrench on the plain. A large force of German engineers was employed in the construction of these defences, for the Central Empires had fully realised the peril which threatened them. They were fully cognisant of the fact that, should Trieste fall, the Istrian Peninsula would probably follow suit, Pola would have to be evacuated by the Fleet, and the position of the Austrian naval forces in the Adriatic seriously jeopardised. If the Battle of the Carso had done no more than to compel the military leaders of the Central Empires to concentrate large bodies of their forces on the defence of the Adriatic it had rendered a service of immense value to the allied cause.

In touch with Trieste's defences

Coming to the more restricted question of the strategic position which the Italian Army occupied in relation to its particular objective, we can easily discover the point of convergence towards which the Carso movements were directed. And when viewed in that light the offensives of September, October, and November assume an aspect which has a dramatic interest; for each of them was an act in a great military drama, carrying on and developing the central theme towards a majestic climax. After the conquest of Gorizia the Austrian official bulletins assured the Teutonic populace that the fall of the city was not a matter of deep concern in the general military situation, for the positions on the Carso Plateau were stronger than the original primary line on the Isonzo. The German correspondents at the Austrian front were at pains to popularise the same theory among their readers, adding that the Isonzo citadel could be easily recaptured.

HOW THE ROCKY AERIE WAS REACHED.

Rope ladder by which the hut shown above was attained. The ladder was some hundreds of feet in length, and to ascend it called for the steady nerve of the experienced mountain climber.



A NEST OF WAR EAGLES IN THE ALPS.

Headquarters of an outpost constructed by Italian engineers in a mountain cleft on the Alpine front. Here at intervals the men were able to enjoy some rude comforts in comparative security.

It would be a mistake to suppose that these statements were entirely without foundation. Having held firm at Monte Santo and Duino the Austrians judged, with a good show of reason, that it would be impossible for the Italians to manœuvre against their flanks. They, therefore, concluded that the pentagon of the Eastern Carso would withstand the heaviest attacks. The pentagon was formed of five great strongholds, linked to one another by an elaborate series of defences and supported by a number of subsidiary positions both within and without. All these points have been already mentioned. During the offensives of September, October, and November they all went down before the Italian blows.

Austria's misleading calculations

The new line reached in November brought the aggressors into close contact with the last defences on the Carso. In August Trieste was thirty-two kilometres away; in November that distance had been reduced to twenty-two kilometres; but of these remaining twenty-two about eighteen lay on the lowland surrounding the city. Therefore

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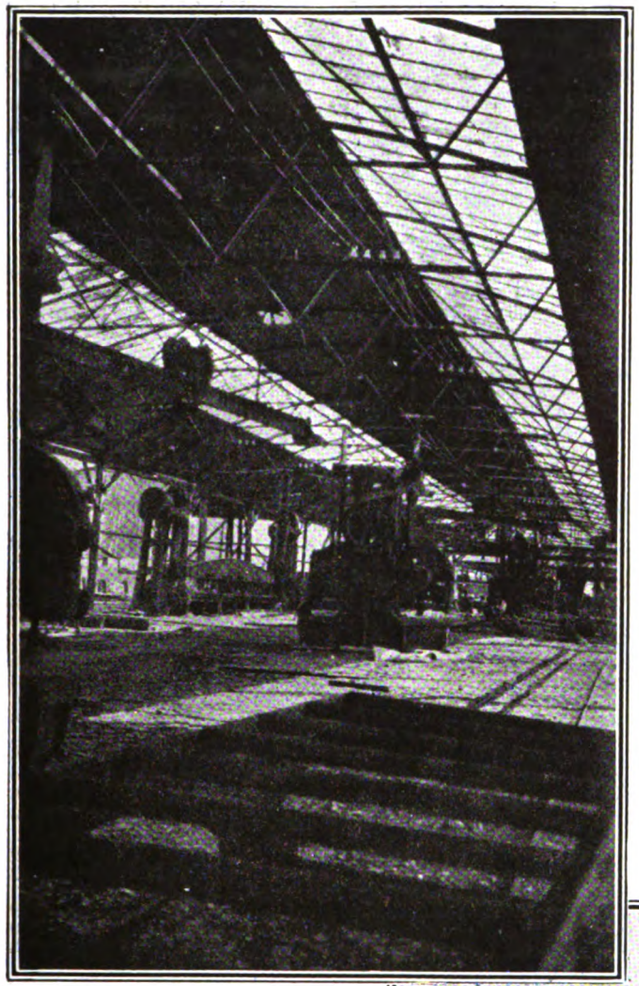


IN MONFALCONE SHIPYARD.
Interior of the works of the Austrian shipyard at Monfalcone which was captured by the Italians.

the Italians had succeeded in breaking down more than three-fourths of the mountain defences which had formed the great bulwark of the Adriatic seaport.

In the moral sphere the value of the conquest was marked by an entire volte-face on the part of the Teuton military authorities. Articles in praise of the Italian Army were now allowed to appear in the Press, and nothing more was heard of the old superstition about the "mandolin players." On November 9th the "Neue Freie Presse," of Vienna, uttered a jeremiad which probably reflected the general state of mind in the Dual Monarchy.

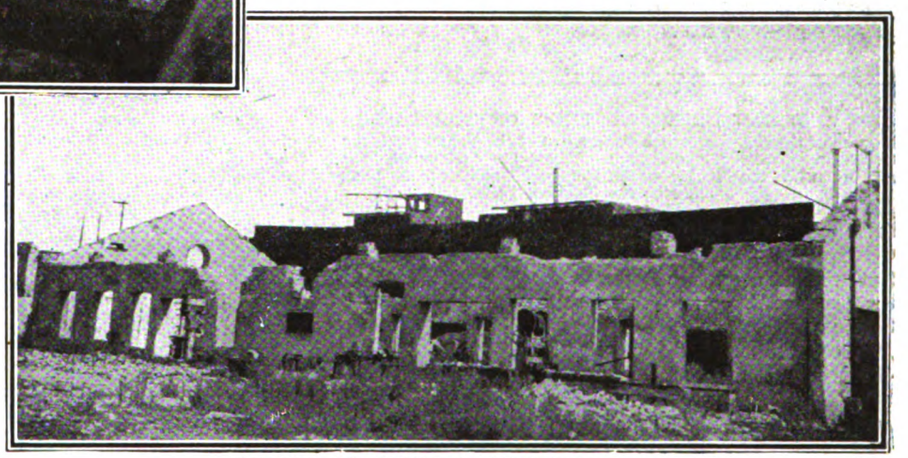
Teutonic respect for Italy

"Quiet reigns on the Carso," said the Vienna journal. "Is the battle over, or will it break out anew? Probably the Italian Supreme Command wishes to consolidate the gains of November 1st and 2nd and to rest the troops. Then there will be a new assault, for the conquest of further ground to a depth of four or five kilometres. Another period of rest will follow, and so on."

It was no longer argued, as it had been argued in the case of Gorizia, that the Austrian commanders were taken unawares, for on the Carso they well knew what was coming and had prepared for it accordingly. Commanders who had shown a lack of ability had been replaced by men of approved worth. General Boroevic was supplied with troops and artillery and ammunition to the full extent of his request. And the quality of the troops put at his disposal could be objected to by no commander in Europe. He had several divisions of Hungarian soldiers, hardy Croat and Bosnian mountaineers, and only very few regiments of Austrian Landwehr or Landsturm. On October 23rd Archduke Frederick, then Commander-in-Chief of the Imperial Army, visited the Carso front and inspected all its defences. In company with General Boroevic he examined the immediate defences of Trieste. Then he visited the Archduke Charles Joseph—who in the following month became Emperor of Austria—on the Carso. He spoke with the Staffs of the different sections, and was assured of the Austrian power to resist at every point. Concluding his tour at Villach, after an inspection of the forces fighting in Carinthia, he returned to Supreme Headquarters on October 25th, well pleased (according to one of the Vienna journals) with all that he had seen. To make assurance doubly sure, he ordered further reinforcements to the Carso. During the following week the bases at Komen and Temnizza were busy receiving and distributing additional supplies of men and artillery, machine-guns, bomb-throwers, and ammunition.

General Boroevic's elaborate plans

But within the three first days of November this elaborate system of defence had fallen. The Austrians did not attribute the disaster to fate or accident, but to the military superiority of their rival. For a people who place so high a military value on the will to conquer and the consciousness of superiority in the rank and file of the Army, this enforced change of appreciation was a more crushing blow than the material loss of men and guns. The old idea of Teutonic superiority and Latin inferiority was gone. The "Deutschland über Alles" spirit, which the military caste had made the dominant characteristic of the Teuton populace, was waning fast.



CORNER OF AUSTRIA'S LOST SHIPYARD.
Part of the Monfalcone shipyard which the Italians succeeded in taking from the Austrians in 1915. It long continued to be dominated by the artillery of the ejected enemy, who subjected it to frequent bombardment from the heights which they held to the east.

Among the Staff officers captured on Faiti Hrib was one who declared openly his impression of the Italian Army, vouching for the fact that he gave expression to the general state of mind among his confrères. Speaking with the correspondent of the Rome "Tribuna," he said:

"I have never seen General Cadorna personally, but I once saw a portrait of him and I read an article about him, published originally in an Italian paper and subsequently copied in the Austrian Press. My impression of your Generalissimo is that he is unerschütterlich."

"What do you mean by that?" asked the correspondent.

"I will tell you," replied the Austrian. "Cadorna

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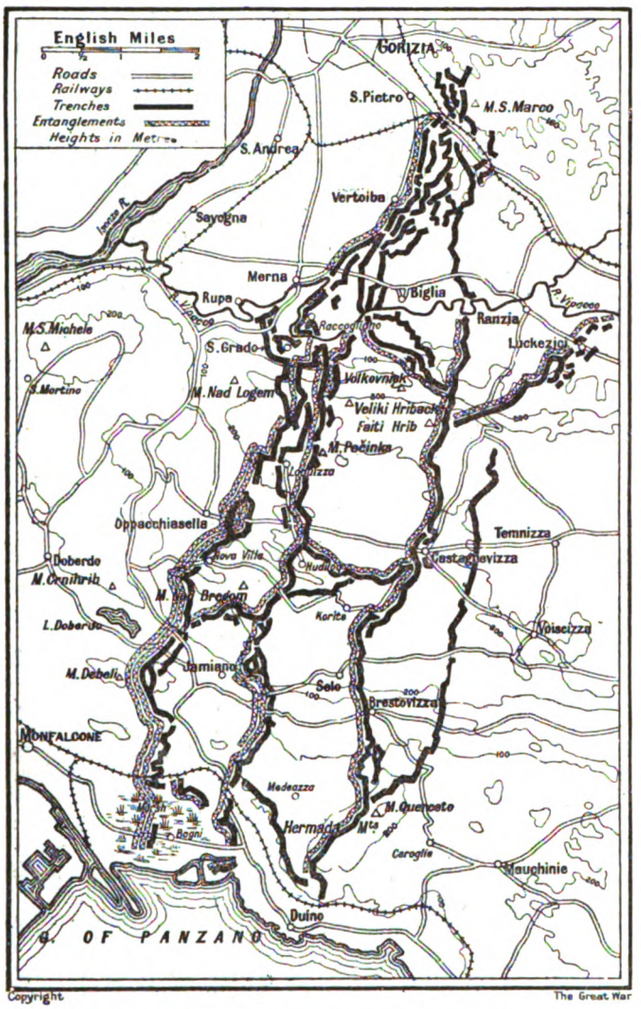

AUSTRIAN DEFENSIVE LINES ON THE CARSO.

Diagram of the Austrian trench system east of the Vallone. At the end of the Italian offensive in the autumn of 1916 the Austrians held only the third main line terminating at the Hermada Mountains, the last position covering the Triestine Plain.

strikes me as a piece of massive sculpture, roughly shaped, as if from one of those rocks on the Carso. I do not say that through want of respect; but that convex forehead, that head which looks almost like a piece of primitive carving, reveals to us, your enemies, a danger in itself. He is like a tower, a fortress which you have raised to encompass our downfall. In our journals the caricaturists have outlined him as a man of stone, and stone is hard. That is why our Austrian soldiers hate Cadorna, but they are forced to look upon him as a dreadful enemy."

"Have you nothing more to say?"

"Oh, yes!" said the Teuton officer. "Cadorna has deceived us many times. In one week last spring he gathered together a new army, rushed it to the Trentino, and blew our offensive to pieces. He then showed a quickness of insight which is a mark of genius. On the Isonzo he has upset our plans several times, and he has done it by that cursed habit of silence."

On December 26th the Italian Supreme Command published a general summary of the year's work and commented on the position then held by the Army. The concluding paragraphs, full of justified pride and hope, form a fitting close to the story of the Battle of the Carso:

Looking back on the year which is drawing to its close, the Italian Army has reason for legitimate satisfaction and pride in all the efforts made, the difficulties overcome, and the victories achieved.

The development of its military power was effected in the winter of 1915-16, thanks to the wonderful work of reorganisation and production, in which the whole nation participated. In the spring we sustained in the Trentino the powerful, long-prepared Austrian offensive, which the enemy, with insolent effrontery, styled a punitive expedition against our country. But after the first successes, which were due to the preponderance of material means collected, above all in artillery, the proposed invasion was quickly stopped, and the enemy was counter-attacked and forced to retire in haste into the mountains, leaving on the Alpine slopes the flower of his Army, and paying bitterly the price for his fallacious enterprise, not only here, but also on the plains of Galicia.

The year's work summarised

Our Army did not rest after its wonderful effort. While maintaining a vigorous pressure on the Trentino front, in order to gain better positions and to deceive the enemy as to our intentions, a rapid retransfer of strong forces to the Julian front was made. In the first days of August began that irresistible offensive which, in two days only, caused the fall of the very strong fortress of Gorizia and of the formidable system of defences on the Carso, to the west of the Vallone. Doberdo, San Michele, Sabotino—names recalling sanguinary struggles and slaughter—ceased to be for the Austro-Hungarian Army the symbols of a resistance vaunted insuperable, and became the emblems of brilliant Italian victories. The enemy's boastful assertions of having inexorably arrested our invasion on the front selected and desired by himself were refuted at one stroke.

From that day our advance on the Carso was developed constantly and irresistibly. It was interrupted by pauses, indispensable for the preparation of the mechanical means of destruction without which the bravest attacks would lead only to the vain sacrifice of precious human lives.

Our constant and full success on the Julian front is witnessed by 42,000 prisoners, 60 guns, 200 machine-guns, and the rich booty taken between the beginning of August and December.

Also on the rest of the front our indefatigable troops roused the admiration of all who saw them for their extraordinary efforts to overcome not only the forces of the enemy, but also the difficulties of Nature.

The coming year is looked forward to by our Army with serenity and confidence. Our soldiers are supported by the unanimous approval of the nation, and by faith in themselves and in the justice of their cause. They face willingly their hard and perilous life, under the guidance of their beloved Sovereign, who, from the first day of war, with a rare constancy has shared their fortunes. Our Army is waiting in perfect readiness to renew the effort which will carry it to the fulfilment of the unfailing destiny of our people.

COMMANDO SUPREMO, *December 26th*, 1916.

WHERE NATURE FROWNED UPON THE WORK OF WAR.

Sheds and refuges on Monte Nero, suggesting to the imagination something of the natural difficulties which the Italians had to overcome in their theatre of the war merely in respect of keeping their men supplied with the bare necessaries of existence.

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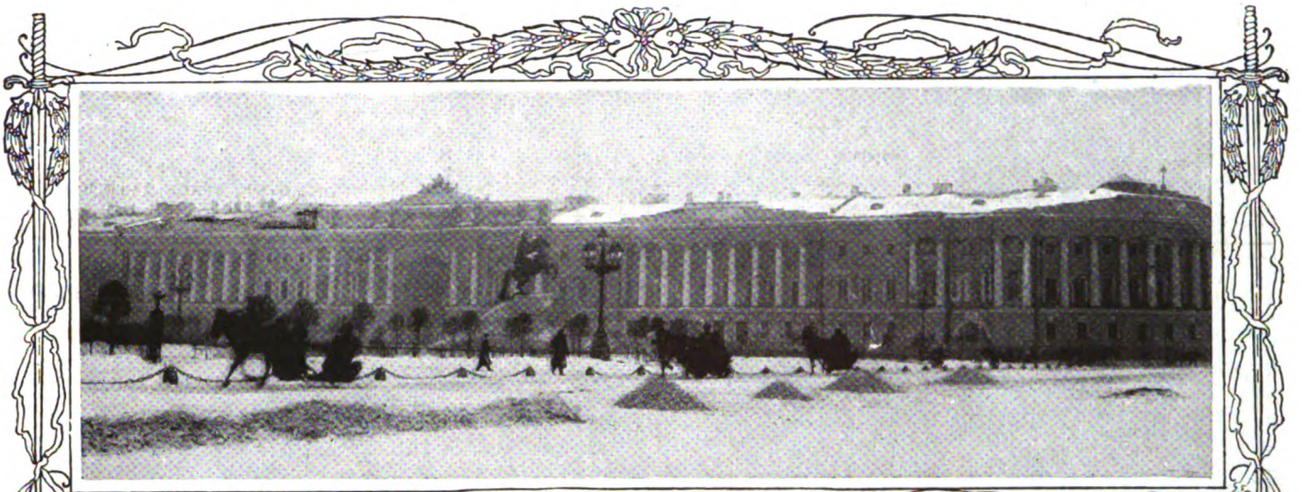

SENATE HOUSE.

CHAPTER CLXXV.

PETROGRAD.

RUSSIA IN THE THROES OF REVOLUTION.

Imminence of Civil War—Grand Duke Denounces the German Empress of Russia—Tsarevitch Poisoned by the "Dark Forces"—How Protopopoff Succeeded to Rasputin—Preparations for Another Red Sunday—Plot to Starve the People of Petrograd into Rebellion—Protopopoff's Agents Begin the Riot—Petrograd Revolutionary Groups Turn the Pseudo-Revolution into a Real Revolution—Half-Starved Soldiers Shoot their Officers and Side with the People—Tsar Refuses to Meet the Popular Demands—White Sunday and the Birth of Free Russia—General Russky Compels the Tsar to Abdicate—All Army Leaders Go Over to the Provisional Government—Communists of Petrograd Endeavour to Promote Peace with Germany and Civil War at Home—German and Austrian Socialists' Scheme to Drown Russian People in their Own Blood—Wild Machinations of the Communists—Disorganisation of Russian Armies—Communists Try to Arrest Members of Provisional Government and Duma—Russian Armies Threaten to March Against the Petrograd Commune—Agitators Work Upon the Peasantry to Bring About Confiscation of all Property—Attacks on Landowners and Huge Waste of Agricultural Effort—Sobering Effect of Reverse on the Stokhod—Cossack League and First Army Declare Against the Commune—Lenin's Plot Against the Allies—Victory of Communists Over Miliukoff—Prince Lvoff Transforms a Difficulty into an Opportunity—Russian Revolutionists Challenge Teutonic Revolutionists to Overthrow all Autocracies.

ON February 27th, 1917, the Conference of the Allies at Petrograd, referred to at the close of Chapter CLXXII. (Vol. IX., p. 35), came to an end, and the chief British representative, Lord Milner, left for England in a troubled frame of mind. In the afternoon of the same day the Duma reopened, with the British Ambassador, Sir George Buchanan, sitting in the centre of the diplomatic box, grimly watching the final efforts of the "dark forces" of Russia which he had boldly denounced.

Everybody knew that civil warfare was imminent; nobody knew what the result would be. The Allied Conference, at which the new Russian Minister of War, General Bieliaeff, and all the other reactionary intriguers had spoken fair words and given fair promises, had proved only an historic farce. The Russian Ministry had already arranged terms of peace with Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey, and was secretly prepared, if France stood out for the return of all Alsace and Lorraine, to make a separate peace with the Teutons, Bulgars, and Turks.

The action of Sir George Buchanan in denouncing at Moscow the sinister favourite of the Tsar and the Tsaritza seems to have provoked in the Russian Court a violent feeling of enmity against Great Britain. Stimulated by the speech of the British Ambassador, one of the leading men of the House of Romanoff, the Grand Duke Dmitri Pavlovitch, had killed Gregory Rasputin in a bold and open manner, and had practically dared the weak chief of his family to avenge the murder of his favourite.

Nearly all the men and women of the House of Romanoff drew away from their crowned kinsman, and in one of their palaces in Petrograd held conferences throughout January and February, 1917, with the leading men of the Duma and the Council of Empire. Another Prince of Royal Blood, the Grand Duke Nicholas Michailovitch, had in December, 1916, called upon the Tsar and denounced the Tsaritza as a treacherous and hostile German woman.

"I have said my say," said the Grand Duke, "and now you can have me shot and bury me in your palace garden."

Nicholas looked at him with glassy eyes, but went on offering him lighted matches for his cigarettes, and shook hands with him when he left. The Grand Duke thereupon wrote the Tsar a letter, in which he again accused the Tsaritza of being a false adviser and a traitress to Russia. Save that the Grand Duke was banished to his country estate, nothing was done to him.

SIR GEORGE BUCHANAN, BRITISH AMBASSADOR IN RUSSIA.
At the reception of the allied Ambassadors at the Marinsky Palace, Petrograd, in March, 1917, Sir George Buchanan, the British Ambassador, addressing the Council of Ministers, conveyed to them "the most heartfelt greetings of a friendly and allied nation," and looked forward to "a new era of prosperity, progress, and glory" opening before Russia.

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MADAME VYRUBOVA.
Original centre of the Russian "dark forces," she introduced Rasputin to the Court circle.

One more effort was made by the Imperial Family to prevent civil war or a German peace. The Tsaritza Alexandra, who was a granddaughter of Queen Victoria and a daughter of Princess Alice and the Grand Duke of Hesse, was visited by the divorced wife of her own brother, the reigning Grand Duke of Hesse. Having remarried a prince of the House of Romanoff, the lady had the interests of Russia at heart, and in the frankest of conversations she informed the German Tsaritza of the danger she was running.

Nothing, however, could move the strange, wild woman from her evil course. She exclaimed that the Romanoff princess knew nothing about anything except bridge-playing, and that she had sat on the throne for twenty-two years and thoroughly understood the Russian people. In her view the Russians would fight for autocracy, and the only persons in favour of a Liberal Government were a small pack of traitors who could easily be dealt with.

In regard to the policy of maintaining autocratic rule, the Tsar was as resolute as his German wife. The difference between husband and wife was that Nicholas was also determined to continue the war and overthrow William of Hohenzollern, whom he personally disliked and patriotically regarded as a bitter enemy of all the Slav races. At Field Headquarters, amid his leading generals, the Tsar did all he could to pursue the war with vigour. But, in his capital, the well-meaning, feeble, and yet honest autocrat allowed himself to be misled on political grounds by his intriguing wife and her creatures in the bureaucratic Ministry. He became afraid of allowing the local assemblies or national representatives in his Empire to exercise any power.

Crisis after crisis occurred in the supply of food and production of munitions, owing to the way in which the corrupt and traitorous bureaucracy interfered with the organisation created by the representative bodies. On practically every occasion of domestic conflict the Tsar, while still hoping to win the war, put down the men who were loyal to him and to the Army and the nation, and increased the powers of his treacherous and irresponsible Ministers. He removed loyal Russian ecclesiastics from the metropolitan sees of Petrograd and Moscow, and to these positions, which were superior to those of archbishoprics, he appointed, at the suggestion of his wife and favourite, two notorious agents of Germany. The Russian Church became corrupt in its centres of power and administration, resembling in this respect the Russian Civil Service.

A German potentate, the Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, obtained an important position in the Palace of the Tsar, there acting as counsellor to the Tsaritza while she worked to delude her husband and defeat his armies. Outside the palace the principal agent of the Empress was the new Minister of the Interior, Protopopoff, who became, on the death of Rasputin, the most active plotter in the German cause.

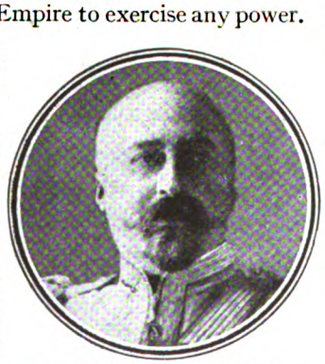
GREGORY RASPUTIN.
Monk, who for years exercised a sinister influence in the Russian Court. "Removed," December, 1916.

M. BORIS STÜRMER.
The pro-German Prime Minister of Russia who had sought to make separate peace. Notoriously a creature of the Tsaritza.

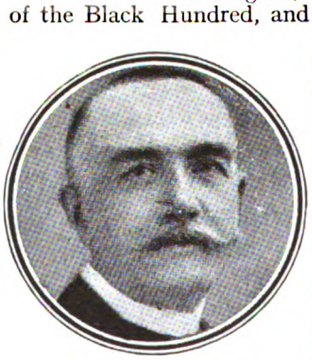
The Austrian, Boris Stürmer, who, as former Prime Minister, had tried to make a separate peace with Germany and had been overthrown by Professor Paul Miliukoff, in the Duma, remained in the palace with the Empress, and assisted Protopopoff in the schemes.

Kurloff, another treacherous bureaucrat, sat in the Ministry of the Interior at Petrograd, and there collected the gangs of the Black Hundred, and clothed these hired assassins

DUKE CHARLES MICHAEL.
Heir to Grand Duchy of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, but naturalised, July, 1914. Arrested by the Duma.



GRAND DUKE NICHOLAS.
In December, 1916, the Grand Duke Nicholas Michailovitch had warned the Tsar with outspoken courage.



M. PROTOPOPOFF.
Russian Minister of the Interior; after the death of Rasputin the most powerful of pro-German plotters.

GRAND DUKE DMITRI.
The Grand Duke Dmitri Pavlovitch was responsible for the bold and open "removal" of Rasputin.

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in police uniforms and trained them in machine-gun practice.

The new Minister of War, who was carefully chosen so that he would not act like his predecessor and support the Duma, brought thirty thousand troops to the capital, under officers of the reactionary school, and placed them under the command of another reactionary commander, General Khabaloff.

Protopopoff, however, remained the dominant figure in all the intrigues and preparations. Without him the Tsaritza and the Tsar would have been almost impotent. Unlike all the creatures of routine with whom he worked, the new Minister was possessed of original power. His associates had edged themselves into their positions by toadying to Court favourites, and by accumulating the proceeds of blackmail and bribery until they were able to purchase high positions in which they could rapidly make a fortune at the expense of the nation.

Protopopoff's subtle intrigues

From Stürmer down to Stürmer's secretary they lacked creative force of intellect. Protopopoff, on the other hand, was a wealthy landowner and a capable man of business, who had first distinguished himself as a champion of freedom in the Duma. There he became Vice-President, in which capacity he visited Great Britain in the early part of the war, and again made himself remarkable by his advocacy of the common cause of the Allies. He saw the new British munition factories and the expanding British Fleet some months before the Battle of Jutland Bank, and was able to foresee the sudden rise of Great Britain into a great military as well as a great naval Power.

Extraordinary as it now seems, the sights that he saw in Great Britain helped to alter the frame of mind of the Vice-President of the Duma. Apparently, fear and jealousy of the British power were stirred within him. On his return to Russia he opened negotiations with a representative of the German Government in Sweden, and then seemingly made up his mind that a separate peace with Germany and the repression of the democratic movement in Russia were required in the interests of his country. He entered into an alliance with Stürmer, and, while pretending to be still a Liberal, strengthened the bureaucracy as Minister of the Interior, and through Rasputin and the creatures of Rasputin acquired the confidence of the Tsaritza and the Tsar. Upon the death of Rasputin he became the power behind the throne. By working directly upon the Tsar and indirectly assisting the Tsaritza and the Germans he became the virtual controller of the destinies of Eastern Europe.

Madame Vyrubova and Rasputin

Behind him was the repulsive figure of Madame Vyrubova. This woman may fairly be regarded as the original centre of all the "dark forces" of Russia. She was, as leading lady-in-waiting, the chamber confidante of both Tsar and Tsaritza, and took a leading part in the spiritualistic vagaries in which the Frenchman Philippe and the Russian monk Helidor played upon the minds of the rulers. When Helidor fell out of favour, Madame Vyrubova introduced Rasputin, and became, with this infernal witch-doctor, the leading conspirator against the Russian throne and the Russian people.

The Emperor's heir, Alexis, had inherited through his

A MILITARY CEREMONIAL ABOLISHED BY THE REVOLUTION.

Changing guard at the Winter Palace in Petrograd. As a result of the most rapid and least bloody Revolution in history this ceremony was swept away within a week of the outbreak. The Imperial Guard promptly took the oath of allegiance to the new Provisional Government, the Imperial ensign and symbols were at once removed from the Palace, and the building itself was henceforth appropriated to national uses.

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mother a tendency to bleed to a dangerous extent from the slightest wound or from sudden internal injury. Rasputin knew two Chinese drugs that stimulated the action of the heart and produced bleeding. He gave these drugs to Madame Vyrubova when he was dismissed from the palace, and she poisoned the young prince and made him bleed, and only stopped poisoning him when her fellow-conspirator was recalled to favour. By this means the two murderous charlatans obtained an amazing power over both the Emperor and the Empress.

The execution of Rasputin by the Grand Duke Dmitri Pavlovitch in no way cleansed the Russian Court. Madame Vyrubova remained in constant intercourse with the perturbed and angry Emperor and Empress, and urged them to maintain the autocracy for the sake of their son, whom she had really arranged to poison in response to the dying order of Rasputin. Rasputin had always prophesied that the young prince would die forty days after his own death, and the preparations he had made for this diabolical vengeance can easily be imagined. The woman, however, first sought for another man to help her, and selected Protopopoff as her new partner in crime.

At the suggestion of Madame Vyrubova the renegade Vice-President of the Duma practised some of the arts of spiritualism, and gave a séance at the palace. In the presence of the Emperor and Empress he pretended to summon the spirit of Rasputin. This trick of his had an astonishing success upon the superstitious Emperor. For years Nicholas had followed the advice of Rasputin, and he now obeyed any order that Protopopoff delivered while pretending to act as a spiritualistic medium.

Thus, with Madame Vyrubova controlling the affairs of the Palace and watching every current of thought in Emperor and Empress and communicating all information to Protopopoff, the new successor to Rasputin was able, with his great business ability and his connection with all the other pro-German leading bureaucrats, to become the master of the Russian Empire.

The self-styled Russian Richelieu

In his own opinion Protopopoff was the Richelieu and Bismarck of the new age. His former friends and admirers in the Duma refused to have anything to do with him. They would not even allow him to address them in the House, as other bureaucratic Ministers did. In various ways and on different occasions the National Assembly warned the Tsar that the removal of Protopopoff from the Ministry was the chief preliminary to any reconciliation or compromise with the autocratic system. The constitutional movement against the renegade only increased his sinister and widespread power.

Before the Duma reopened Protopopoff concocted a very subtle plot against the representatives of the people. As Minister of the Interior he knew the names and places of residence of thousands of Russian Revolutionists of the extreme school. He could have placed them in prison or had them tried by court-martial and shot in the course of a few days. Far, however, from repressing them, he sent his agents among them with funds, and arranged for a considerable number of German Social Democrats to enter Petrograd and work alongside the Russian Anarchists, Tolstoyans, Pacifists, Communists, and Red Socialists. In the munition factories, especially, Protopopoff's men were the wildest and fiercest of agitators. They continually urged the working men to strike and riot, and begin the movement that was to make Europe a federation of Socialistic republics. Men were disguised and dressed so as to resemble Professor Miliukoff and other popular leaders of the Duma, and sent into the munition factories to induce the working men to erect barricades in the streets. To an extent arms and ammunition

FIERCE STREET FIGHTING BETWEEN COSSACKS AND POLICE.

From the first the Cossacks were sympathetic with the people, and on March 11th and 12th, 1917, the really decisive days of the Revolution, when the police, secreted in garrets and on roofs, began firing wildly on the populace, they engaged them fiercely and drove them out of their strongholds.

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were provided; but this was only done in a small way, as Protopopoff designed to produce his own "revolution" within such limits that he hoped easily to control it.

When the Duma opened the grand plotter employed two methods of causing the insurrection he had so carefully prepared. His early system of engineering strikes had been defeated by the organising talent of a former President of the Duma, M. Gutchkoff, who had become one of the leading men in the Upper House, the Council of Empire. M. Gutchkoff was a man of large experience, who had fought for the Boers in the South African War, worked in the Manchurian campaign, and done much to assist the Grand Duke Nicholas and General Alexeieff in the munition crisis of 1915. He was Director of the Committee of War Industries, and into this committee he introduced some highly capable Labour delegates, who moved among the munition workers and prevented them from striking when Protopopoff tried to make them do so.

So Protopopoff's first step was to arrest the leading Labour members of M. Gutchkoff's committee. This not only angered the National Assembly but removed from the working class of Petrograd their principal protectors against the false "revolutionary" movement. The Duma, however, remained grimly patient under this foul stroke, and though Professor Miliukoff made a speech proclaiming that the struggle for liberty was about to open, no signal for it was given by the representatives of the people.

REVOLUTIONISTS WRECKING THE HOTEL ASTORIA.

As some sailors were marching past the Hotel Astoria, Petrograd, a machine-gun secreted on the top floor opened fire, whereupon the mob stormed and wrecked the hotel and killed the gunners.

The tension increased in a desperate manner during the first week of March, 1917. Protopopoff then used his second method. He brought terrific pressure to bear upon the populace by withholding food supplies from them. While one of his creatures, the Minister of Agriculture, blandly explained to the Duma that the lack of food was caused by snowstorms—as though snowstorms were unexpected things in a Russian winter—the governors of the provinces, who were directly controlled by Protopopoff, artfully induced the peasants to hold back their crops for higher prices.

Engineering an artificial famine

In the early part of the war, urban difficulties in regard to food supply in the greatest agricultural State in the world had arisen through pure incompetence on the part of the bureaucracy. The bureaucrats had foreseen nothing and arranged nothing; but the municipalities and the local councils had prevented famine. These local bodies, indeed, could have soon arranged for all the people to be fed, had it not been for the Tsar's personal fear that the local councils would so grow in power as to make autocratic government impossible. Until Protopopoff became dictator the people continued to go short of food, merely in order that the bureaucratic system should remain in full and futile force.

With diabolical ingenuity the renegade turned the defects of the bureaucratic system into an instrument of popular oppression and political intrigue. After deliberately aggravating all the difficulties of food supply, he pretended to ask the advice of the Duma as to the best means of obtaining grain. In the National Assembly, as he knew, there were two parties which disagreed over the method of fighting the artificial famine. One party, desiring to get food at any cost, was ready to offer the peasants the highest possible price; while the other party thought that a lower price, combined with a system of requisition, would meet the situation. The food debate, therefore, caused considerable differences of opinion. In the first week of March Protopopoff informed the Tsar that he had broken the power of the Duma and avoided all real danger to the dynasty.

The Tsar went to the front, confident and pleased, while Protopopoff arranged his little pseudo-revolution, which

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was intended to be the decisive weapon against the popular Assembly. The rations in Petrograd were suddenly reduced to a starvation level. But an historic blunder was committed by the agent of the subtle and tricky dictator. He thoughtlessly held up all food supplies, some of which were scarcely more than a day's journey from the capital. There were 35,000 troops in the city, and by way of keeping them faithful to the Crown and ready to shoot the hungry populace, their daily allowance of rye-bread was reduced from 3 lb. to $1\frac{3}{4}$ lb.

This diminution of the ration of the Petrograd garrison changed the fate of Russia and of mankind. Most of the soldiers were reservists, with families, recently called to the Colours, and in sympathy with the people from whom they were drawn. The Revolutionary ferment was working in them, owing to the fact that the students, who were the principal intellectual force in the movement towards free government, were mingling with the troops and preaching every variety of doctrine of revolt. Protopopoff had not foreseen any possibility of serious disaffection among the soldiers. He had confined himself to organising the police and the secret police, and bringing up to the capital from all parts of the country gangs of Government bravoes such as had formerly been used in massacres of the Jews.

Reactionary agent's historic blunder

In regard to the military forces Protopopoff relied upon the new reactionary Minister of War and the reactionary commander of the Petrograd garrison. These two men, happily for the popular cause, were blind both to the changes that had taken place in the Army and to the propaganda which was spreading among the troops who were half-starving on insufficient rations. On Wednesday, March 7th, 1917, Protopopoff opened his own little false "revolution." Some of his bands, led by his secret police, held demonstrations in the streets and raised the cry of "Give us bread!" Numerous attempts were made to induce the working men to join in the demonstrations when they left the factories in the evening. The people, however, remained under the control of their own organisers, and a happy phrase went round in which the true state of the situation was expressed in a sort of a pun. The phrase ran, "This is not a strike, but a false strike." But the word used for "false strike" was "protopofka," which had the merit of approaching the sound of the name of the man who was trying to murder Russian freedom.

UNDER THE NEW FLAG.
Russian sailor, with the red flag of Revolution, leading a company of soldiers on a police hunt in Petrograd.

SEARCHING FOR WEAPONS.
After the Arsenal at Petrograd had been rushed the crowd helped themselves to arms and ammunition, and civilians were searched for these when the troops began to restore order. In circle: Searching for police spies.

A few Cossack patrols moved about the streets, but did not interfere with the people or with the pseudo-revolutionaries whom Protopopoff was employing. On Thursday, March 8th, the agitation continued and increased. A new force appeared on the scene in the Russian Social Democrats, directed by M. Kerensky, a brilliant and perfervid young lawyer, who was a deputy in the Duma, and by M. Cheidze, another impassioned Revolutionary orator of the same stamp. Being far less cautious than the constitutional members of the National Assembly, these two Socialist leaders at once forced the pace of the popular movement, and began to fight Protopopoff with his own weapons of street rioting. Genuine working men in large numbers joined the false demonstrators and started wrecking the bakers' shops. Thereupon the Cossack patrols opened fire, and the armed police tried to form a cordon through the city and confine the rioters to the working-class quarters.

Socialist leaders force the pace

So far all had gone excellently from the point of view of Protopopoff. He had provoked the kind of riot which he needed as an excuse for closing the Duma, for silencing the Press, and for establishing absolute autocratic

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RED FLAG IN PETROGRAD.
Soldiers on a motor-car bearing the red flag on their bayonets through the snowy streets of the Russian capital.

government. In the Lower House there was an open conflict between the Constitutional group and the Socialist group in regard to the conquest of Constantinople and the Dardanelles. Moreover, as we have already seen, the Constitutionalists themselves were divided over the problem of obtaining food supplies.

Protopopoff tried to increase the division among the deputies over the urgent question of food, and a conference was arranged between some of the reactionary Ministers and the leading members of the National Assembly. In this fateful conference, held while the hungry crowds were demonstrating in the streets of the capital, the representatives of the nation completely disconcerted both the Tsar and his bureaucrats by showing a solid front. They required that the local councils, which had proved their organising powers in the munition crisis, should be made the principal collectors of grain, and that the distribution of supplies should be managed by the municipal authorities. Protopopoff did not appear at the conference. Acting through the undistinguished Ministers who were his creatures, the sinister dictator rejected the help of the local councils and arranged to end both the Duma and the Council of Empire, deal with the recalcitrant members as the Kaiser had dealt with some of his political opponents, send them into the Army, and bring the "revolution" to a bloody finish.

Protopopoff's police open battle

On March 9th, when the failure of the conference was known, the bulk of the working men of Petrograd joined in the demonstration, and surged along the Nevsky and other main streets in a mood of apparent good-humour, singing songs and offering some of the soldiers cigarettes. The people did not expect a struggle would take place, and many of them were curious sightseers rather than potential rebels. It was Protopopoff's armed police who deliberately excited the fighting passions of the mob. For more than a fortnight these men had been occupying attics, house-tops, and roofs of Government buildings and churches, where they had placed machine-guns, rifles, and stores of ammunition in preparation for an insurrection. Since the opening of the Duma they had been eagerly waiting the order to fire, and at last they opened the battle between the Crown and the people without any provocation.

Protopopoff, no doubt, gave the signal. For his own purposes he wanted a great riot at all costs, and he proceeded to provoke it. He was a man of nervous temperament, playing in blood for a mighty stake. Against him were three Russian gentlemen—Prince Lvoff (the President of the Union of County Councils), M. Rodzianko (the President of the Duma), and Professor Miliukoff (the leader of the Constitutional Democratic Party). The longer the outbreak was delayed the greater grew their influence over the national forces. Their agents were busy throughout the country, where their power became so great that even a temporary defeat in Petrograd would not have permanently overthrown them.

Playing for a mighty stake

They, therefore, remained quietly expectant. The Social Democrats, with yet wilder schools of Revolutionaries, arrayed themselves for battle, and with Protopopoff's agents urging them on, swept over all the bounds that the reactionary Minister had attempted to impose. They set up clubs in both munition factories and barracks, and with thousands of delegates from the working-class and military groups, they improvised a cumbrous yet far-ranging system of control that much exceeded in power the Jacobin organisation in the French Revolution. When the infantry were brought out in the afternoon of Saturday,

SOLDIERS WHO JOINED THE REVOLUTIONISTS.
Civilian cutting a piece off a soldier's red ribbon, in order that he might show that he, too, was of the Duma Party and on the side of the revolution. In circle: Soldier wearing the ribbon round his arm.

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March 10th, and ordered to shoot down the people, only a few troops fired a few rounds. Others mutinied and killed their officers. Protopopoff's police became more violent, but as they lacked military support they were in places killed by the mob.

By this time the real Revolution was in train, and General Khabaloff, backed by General Bieliaeff, the new Minister for War, resolved to hold the capital down by armed force until the Tsar could arrange to rail an army back from the front under General Ivanoff, who was apparently the only first-rate Army leader who remained loyal to the weak and decadent autocrat.

On Sunday, March 11th, the commander of the Petrograd army issued a proclamation warning the people that the soldiers would use force to preserve order. The newspapers were not printed, the tramways ceased running, and the capital became the supreme battlefield of the Empire. The Guards were called out to shoot down the

THE ABDICATION SCENE AT PSKOFF.

On March 15th, 1917, MM. Gutchkoff and Schulgin, representing the Duma, arrived at Pskoff, where Nicholas II. received them in the Imperial train and signed the manifesto announcing his abdication.

people, but the character of these household troops had completely changed. Hindenburg had destroyed most of the old Guards regiments in the early battle amid the Masurian Lakes. Both officers and men of the old school had vanished, and their places had been supplied by new recruits who were in sympathy with the people from whom they were drawn.

Every heavy blow delivered by Hindenburg and Mackensen had indirectly served the purpose of purging the Russian Army of officers and non-commissioned officers ready to support autocracy, and had introduecd fresher and more liberal forces into all the regiments. From the beginning of the struggle the Duma and the National Assembly knew that the character of the Army was changed, and that with the return of General Alexeieff, a champion of Constitutionalism, to the High Command the Army would not remain at the service of the reactionists.

On White Sunday things fell out very differently from the events of Red Sunday twelve years previously. The famishing Petrograd garrison was almost as discontented as the populace, and was organising for revolt. A non-commissioned officer of the Volynski Guards, by name Kirpitchnikoff, went round the barracks and won over all the other non-commissioned officers and all the men. They discussed the case of their officers, and decided they were all likely to be loyal to the Duma with the exception of one company commander. Him they tried and shot, and then went out into the streets and persuaded the Sappers of the Guard and the Preobrajenski Regiment to join them.

Mainspring of the Revolution

These combined forces of Guardsmen were the mainspring of the Revolution, for they gradually won over the rest of the garrison and defeated Protopopoff's armed police. One company of the Pavlovski Guards, after first firing on the mob on the Nevsky and killing and wounding a hundred people, mutinied and shot their own officers. Then the Cossacks came over in considerable numbers with large bodies of infantry of the line.

Many of the soldiers of liberty marched to the Taurida Palace, where the Duma sat, and asked the deputies for orders. This was a moment when the National Assembly lost a splendid opportunity of controlling the situation. The deputies should have kept the troops, who came over to them, wholly under their command, and should have vigorously directed their negotiations with the rest of the garrison and their conflicts with the reactionary police. It almost seems, however, as though the leaders of the Duma were oppressed by their memories of Red Sunday and feared that the popular effort would be again defeated. It was left to the Anarchist council of workmen's delegates to form an alliance with the victorious troops by co-opting representatives of the soldiers into the council.

Protopopoff was seriously alarmed, and, pretending to be ill, withdrew to the background, and induced the Tsar to issue ukases suspending the session of the National Assembly. This suspension had been his aim throughout, but his long-prepared stroke fell too late. By the time the ukases were published the Taurida Palace was defended by revolted Guardsmen. The deputies continued their sitting all through the night, while in other rooms of the palace a multitude of delegates from groups of soldiers and workmen continued to direct the fighting in the capital.

When the members of the Duma tried to govern, they found themselves outside the centre of affairs. The men who had raised the whirlwind continued to direct the storm. They were non-commissioned officers and enterprising privates with a gift of eloquence, with the orators of the working-men's sections and numerous agents of the secret police. If the people were victorious, the false agitators were in a position to prove that they had been actively loyal throughout the Revolution, and had merely pretended to serve Protopopoff in order to strike him down.

Position of the secret agents

If the people were defeated, the agents were able to say they had fully carried out the bureaucrats' orders and induced the working men to come out and be shot. Meanwhile, most of these men were the loudest and most violent of all the mob leaders and the most hostile to any measures of control by the laggard Duma. Joining with the honest and rabid working-class Revolutionists, they preached to the soldiers every variety of Socialism, Communism, and Anarchism, in order to seduce the troops from their free allegiance to the National Assembly.

The leaders of the Duma were almost as much dismayed by the character of their new friends as by the menace by their old foes. On Monday, March 12th, the President of the Duma telegraphed to the Tsar, making a last appeal to him to meet the people's demands. The struggle for

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Street fighting in Petrograd: Students and soldiers firing at police across the Moika Canal.

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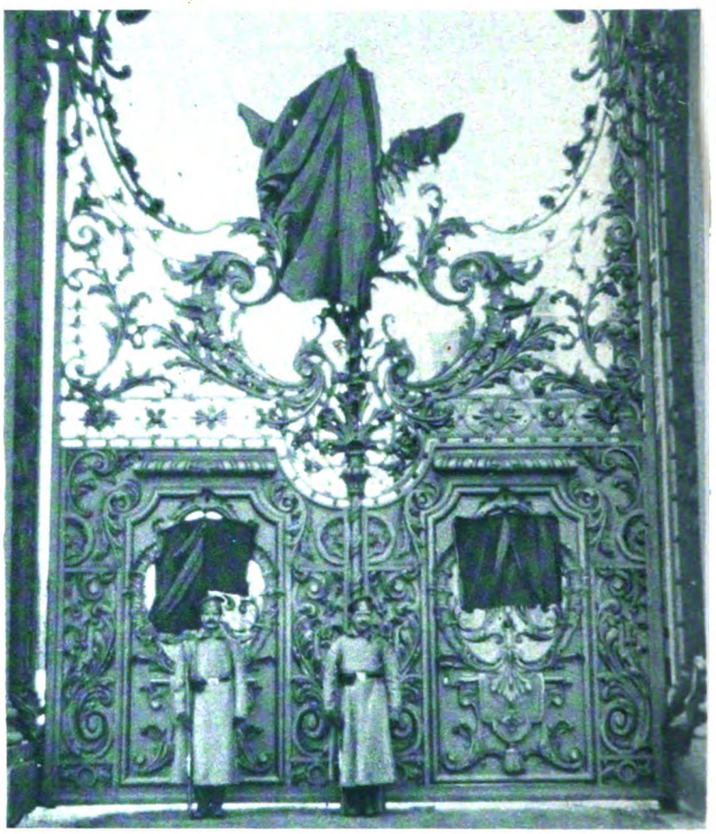

Empty frame in the Duma whence the Tsar's portrait was removed; and covered insignia on the Palace gates.

Eagles and heraldic pomps that adorned the Imperial Palace were torn down and burnt in the courtyard.

Shadows of glory in Petrograd where Democracy broke the iron

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Barricades at the corner of the Liteini Prospect and the Sergievskaya, showing a munition factory.

Barricades across a main street in Petrograd defended by guns decorated with the red flag.

r of Autocracy and brought sceptre and crown tumbling down.

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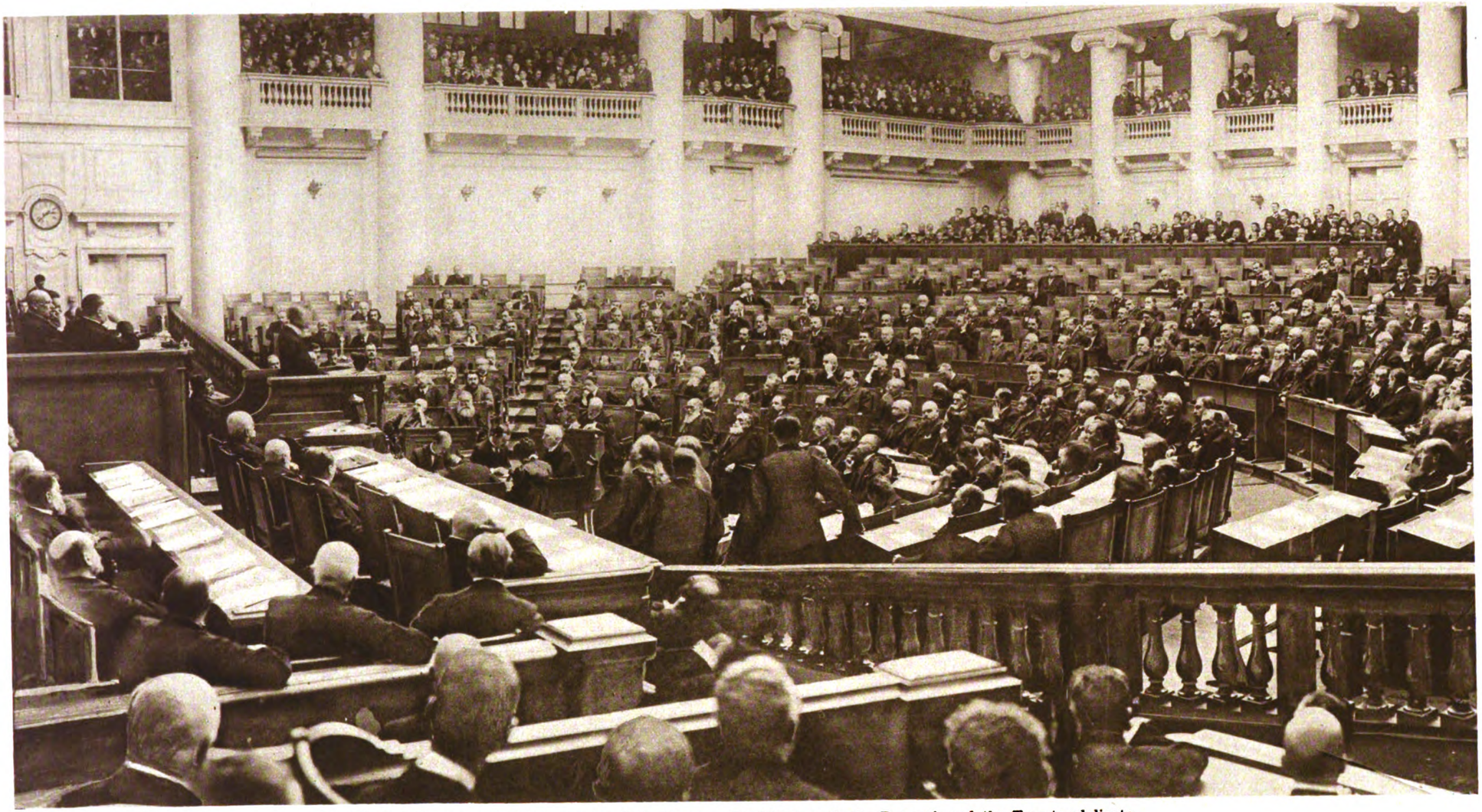

On March 12th, 1917, the Tsar prorogued the Duma. On March 15th the Duma forced the Tsar to abdicate.

Last session of the Duma under the Empire: Ignoring the ukase proroguing it, the Duma, instead, abolished Tsardom.

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liberty was then practically decided, as nearly all the Petrograd garrison had sided with the revolted Guardsmen. Yet Protopopoff, General Khabaloff, and the reactionary Minister of War would not save further bloodshed by admitting they were beaten. So the battle went on.

The Guards stormed the Arsenal and Artillery Department and closed round all buildings where the police and troops under reactionary officers were holding out. As a considerable number of able officers remained with the revolted troops, many of the actions were conducted in a skilful manner and with comparatively small loss of life to the attackers. In the case of regiments that had shot most of their officers, there were, however, privates who rose by self-assertion and Revolutionary eloquence to commanding positions. In one instance it was reported that a private became a general in a single day, although he could not capably handle a platoon in battle.

TOWN MILITIA SEARCHING A MOTOR-CAR IN PETROGRAD.

After the first few days of Revolutionary excitement the Russian Provisional Government took control of all motor-lorries and private motor-cars, and ordered the Town Militia to search all motor-vehicles for arms and to ascertain on what business they were being employed at the moment.

Generalship was scarcely needed in the closing phase of the street fighting. In addition to nearly three divisions of revolted troops there were some forty thousand civilians who had obtained arms and fought against the police. They captured and set on fire the reactionists' central position, broke into the gaols in order to liberate all political prisoners, and in the confusion allowed many ordinary criminals to escape. In spite, however, of the presence of some desperadoes amid the fighting mobs, the overthrow of Tsardom was conducted with extraordinary order and coolness. Only the reactionary police, who had secret stores of drink, showed signs of drunken frenzy.

Provisional Government formed

The Russian people have always been distinguished by a genuine feeling of brotherly charity. This feeling prevailed during the four days' battle in Petrograd. As Protopopoff's forces weakened, the curious spectacle of policemen being arrested and taken to prison by the public was seen in many streets. The resistance of the last remnants of autocratic power was overcome on Tuesday and on Wednesday, March 14th, 1917, the bureaucratic Ministry resigned and a Provisional Government was formed by members of the National Assembly and the Union of Local Councils.

Two days before this the Tsaritza, who was in residence at Tsarskoye Selo, summoned a new large force to guard her palace. But the entire garrison rose and marched through the grounds; the pickets of her household guard went over to them, and the officers entered the Imperial apartments and met the authoress of all the misfortunes of the Romanoff dynasty. "Please do not shoot," she said. "I am now only a Sister of Mercy, tending my children!" In the hour of her overthrow her condition was piteous. Her children were suffering from an infectious disease, and her only son Alexis, for whom she had always striven to preserve all the privileges of autocracy, was in danger of death.

The Tsar was at Field Headquarters at Mohileff when the news of the success of the Revolution reached him. At first he did not understand what forces were arrayed against him, and sent General Ivanoff with a battalion of the Knights of St. George to retake Petrograd. General Ivanoff had proved himself a commander of genius during the great retreat from Galicia, and it was somewhat tragic that he should be the only Russian captain of fame who was ready to fight against free Russia. His trainload of troops, however, was utterly inadequate for the task assigned it. His train was forcibly turned back near Tsarskoye Selo, and it then wandered to and fro along the line until it was stopped by General Russky, the Army commander on the north-west front.

It was afterwards alleged that General Ivanoff's final advice to the Tsar was to open the Dwina line and let the Germans in upon the Petrograd mob. General Russky however, upheld the popular cause. The Tsar went in person to General Russky's headquarters at the town of Pskoff. Pskoff was the nearest active Army centre to the capital, and the Emperor no doubt hoped to obtain from General Russky an army strong enough to break the Revolution. Russky was of the same mind as Alexeieff, Evert, Brussiloff, and the Grand Duke Nicholas. That is to say, he was angry with the bureaucratic Ministry, by reason both of their inefficiency and their treacherous pro-Germanism. He had little interest in politics, but he judged the local and national representative bodies by the good work they had done in the war, and preferred that they should have free scope to organise victory rather than that Protopopoff should have renewed power to organise defeat. When the Tsar found that Russky would not move, he offered, after a midnight discussion on March 14th, to grant responsible government to the people.

Abdication of the Tsar

Russky, however, knew that abdication had become necessary now the Tsar was two days late in answering the last telegraphed appeal from the Duma. He communicated with President Rodzianko by telephone, and also sent an outline of the case to the Grand Duke Nicholas in the Caucasus, to Alexeieff at General Headquarters, and to Brussiloff and Evert. They all agreed upon abdication, and in the morning of March 15th Russky informed the Tsar of the general decision. Thereupon, the Tsar wrote out an abdication in favour of his son. Before this was despatched, two representatives of the Provisional Government arrived and had an interview with the beaten and

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hopeless man. When he learnt that his bodyguard had gone over to the people he changed his mind in regard to his heir, and, stating that he would not be separated from the ailing boy, signed a form of abdication in favour of his brother the Grand Duke Michael. He then tried to go to the Crimea, but was stopped by General Alexeieff.

Thus, by the evening of March 15th, 1917, the movement directed by the National Assembly and Zemstvos was apparently accomplished. Russia was transformed with amazing swiftness from the greatest autocracy in the world into a progressive and Constitutional monarchy somewhat resembling the British monarchy. Having regard to the immensity and complexity of the Russian Empire, its inadequate communications, diversity of races, and the dominating and penetrating power of the bureaucracy, the Revolution was carried out at comparatively little cost of life.

Cost of the four days' fighting

The people of Petrograd suffered most, but their casualties of 2,500 killed, and severely and slightly wounded, were small for four days of street fighting. In Moscow there were only six people killed and eight wounded, and, save at Kronstadt and in some parts of Finland, where one of the most brutal of reactionary commanders held sway, the provinces carried out the great change in government as easily as did the ancient capital. Both the Baltic Fleet and the Black Sea Fleet came over to the popular side without any serious disturbance or loss of material and men. It was only in the remote east, in the Amur region, that any commander of a considerable force of troops made any show of resistance to the Provisional Government.

GENERAL BIELIAEFF.
Russian Minister of War at the time of the Revolution.

One foolish Grand Duchess did great harm to the Romanoff family by sending a letter to the Grand Duke Nicholas, commanding the Army of the Caucasus, advising him to start a counter-revolution. The only result of this act of folly was that the Grand Duke Nicholas, who had been loyal to the Constitutional movement, was relieved of his command and prevented from aiding General Alexeieff in the struggle with Germany and Austria-Hungary. Seeing that the gallant Grand Duke had originally been removed from the post of Commander-in-Chief by Rasputin and the Tsaritza, who disliked him because he was a fierce anti-German and feared him because she thought he coveted the throne, the suggestion that he was the man to organise a counter-revolution and restore the power of the bureaucracy seems to have been as idle as it was mischievous.

TAURIDA PALACE: THE CENTRE OF THE REVOLUTION.
When the Duma, or Russian National Parliament, was created by Tsar Nicholas II., in 1905, he gave as its meeting-place the Taurida Palace in Petrograd, near the banks of the Neva. The Duma became the directing power of the forces of Revolution.

While the country was swaying between the propaganda of the Petrograd Commune and the organising efforts of the local councils, the Provisional Government constituted itself in day and night sittings at the Taurida Palace. Prince George Lvoff, the President of the Union of County Councils, was made Prime Minister and Minister of the Interior. Professor Paul Miliukoff, the leader of the Constitutional Democratic Party, became Foreign Minister. M. A. I. Gutchkoff, the chairman of the War Industries Committee, which had accelerated the supply of munitions, was appointed Minister of War and Marine. M. Kerensky, the young lawyer leader of the Social Democrats, was made Minister of Justice, and M. Shingareff and other brilliant men of the Constitutional Party filled various important posts. M. Rodzianko, the President of the Duma and chief director of the Revolution, did not take office; neither did M. Cheidze, the Socialist Revolutionist, who had played the main part in provoking the battle to which Protopopoff had challenged the Duma.

Dreams of a Socialistic Utopia

As a result of the activity and clamour of the Social Democratic organisation in Petrograd the popular victory in the capital was entirely claimed by the Labour delegates. These men, mainly of the fire-brand type, were so numerous that they reduced Petrograd to the condition described by W. S. Gilbert, in one of his comic operas, of a land where dukes could be bought at three a penny, while field-marshals crowded all the pavements and every street resounded with the political debates of two or three party leaders.

In Petrograd, in the middle of March, 1917, there were 1,300 party leaders. By the middle of the next month they numbered 4,000. Each was a delegate of either the working men or the soldiers. There were occasions when the greater part of a battalion of newly-trained peasants transformed itself into a parliament. One of the Guards regiments, for instance, killed its officers, fought one of its companies that began to fire on the people, and then came leaderless to the Taurida Palace for the purpose of placing itself under the orders of the Duma. Instead, however, of doing any more fighting or engaging in public work, the battalion divided itself into committees, to consider and solve all the problems of Russia and mankind in general, and spent weeks wrangling over the details of the glorious Utopia pictured by the Communists. Not one man said anything about the war. The battalion considered that the war was over, because the Social Democrats of Germany were rumoured to have made common cause with the Russian people. They thought the only remaining business was to settle all details for the new Socialistic Utopia before going back to their homes, there to enjoy the earthly paradise which they imagined they had created. In many of the officerless regiments quite a considerable portion of the men deserted and returned home, or wandered about the capital talkatively idle. Some of the munition factories, on which General Russky's army vitally depended, also stopped work, while the men demanded to be paid higher wages for discussing all the problems of the universe.

Had Hindenburg been ready to strike with his men and artillery he would have again broken Radko Dimitrieff on the Riga front, and swept up towards General Russky's headquarters at Pskoff, and immediately menaced the debating Revolutionary mobs of Petrograd. Happily for Russia, Hindenburg was not ready. His reserves were in the middle of Germany, poised between the imperilled

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M. GUTCHKOFF.
Minister of War and Marine in the first Russian National Cabinet.

M. KERENSKY.
Leader of the Labour Party, who became Minister of Justice

M. KONOVALOFF.
Minister of Commerce and Industry in the first Russian National Cabinet

M. MILIUKOFF.
Deputy for Petrograd in the Duma and Minister for Foreign Affairs.

western front and the weak but distant eastern front. His Chief of Staff was fully engaged in the delicate operation of withdrawing to the new line in Northern France, having based his plan of action upon the early arrangement for a negotiated peace with the Ministry that Protopopoff had controlled. The sudden success of the Russian Revolution surprised Germany and Austria as completely as it surprised the Russian bureaucracy. Berlin had expected only some feeble street rioting in Petrograd, followed by the suspension of the Duma and the rise to practically absolute power of Protopopoff, with the German Empress of Russia behind him, eager to make peace with the Central Empires in order to safeguard the principle of autocracy.

Germany was thus caught unawares by the movement in Russia. Its immediate effect was to stagger and dismay the Kaiser and his Ministers. Bethmann-Hollweg tried to anticipate the impression that the Russian Revolution would make upon the German people by unexpectedly proposing another vague and unsubstantial offer of political reform. This offer, abruptly made when the events in Russia were still hidden from the German people, was afterwards withdrawn by the Imperial Chancellor, under energetic pressure from the Prussian governing class and their political allies, the German industrial magnates. But the promise of political reform, made to quieten the German populace on March 14th, 1917, showed that the German military authorities were not in a position to take immediate advantage of the state of utter disorganisation in Petrograd. They were, indeed, more fearful of contagious outbreaks among their own large urban populations than ready to profit by the temporary weakness of the Slav race.

M. RODZIANKO.
President of the Duma, who might have become Prime Minister if he had not preferred to retain the position to which he had given such weight and distinction.

Meanwhile, the unpractical and misled agitators in Petrograd proceeded in their attempt to reduce an empire to anarchy. There were powerful forces of treason and perfidy acting alongside the honest but wild popular forces of revolution. Germanic agents dominated some of the gatherings of workmen and soldiers, and worked upon them to enfeeble the Army and make it an easy prey for hostile despotism. Munition makers and the troops were falsely told that the German and Austrian Social Democrats were prepared at once to follow their example and rise in mutiny along the battle-front, as well as in the cities. In some cases the Russian soldiers were advised that they should kill their officers and advance unarmed from the fire-trench, when they would be received as brothers by equally mutinous Teuton soldiers. Demonstrations were engineered by duped and excited crowds carrying banners with such legends as, "Down with the war with Germany!" "Hurrah for the struggle between the masses and the classes!"

PRINCE GEORGE LVOFF.
First Premier under the new régime, had been President of the National Union of Zemstvos.

PROFESSOR IMANUILOFF.
Of Moscow University, who became Minister of Public Instruction.

M. SHINGAREFF.
Deputy for Petrograd, who was appointed Minister of Agriculture.

M. CHEIDZE.
One of the Social Democrat leaders in the Duma.

M. LVOFF.
Member of the Duma, who became Procurator of the Holy Synod.

EMINENT AND PATRIOTIC RUSSIANS WHO GUIDED THE FORCES OF REVOLUTION.

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At home the German Social Democracy was the tamest of all slave organisations in history. It lovingly ate out of the hands of the Hohenzollern, and exerted all the cunning of the slave mind to excuse and palliate the ghastly inhumanities practised by the despotism to which it was attached. But, through its international connection with the Russian Social Democracy, it cynically worked for the overthrow of the newly-born Russian Provisional Government, and strove to drown the Russian people in their own blood, in order to procure an easy and complete victory for the Hohenzollern dynasty.

Surrender of Protopopoff

This subtle intrigue against free Russia was assisted by the agents of the fallen Russian bureaucracy. Protopopoff came of his own will to the Duma, and, in a condition of nervous collapse, surrendered to the Provisional Government. Most of his associates had been captured and imprisoned, and his armed police were arrested or killed. But the secret agents he had introduced into the factories and into the Revolutionary clubs were still at large. Some of them, as we have seen, had been frightened into a show of patriotism by the course of events, and had compounded for their crimes against the people by becoming the wildest of the Revolutionists. Others, in vain wisdom, still anticipated a successful counter-revolution, and continued to carry out the orders of the old Ministry of the Interior, by allying themselves with the German Social Democratic Party and urging the workmen, soldiers, and peasants on courses calculated to weaken and disperse the national forces.

There was a remarkable strain of fervent humanitarianism in the populace of Petrograd, and a noble idealism in the minds of the loyal leaders of many sections. But even the loyal Russian Communists were unwittingly made to play into the hands of the enemy. They belonged to a European race that was, in general, illiterate and entirely lacking in large political experience. The peasantry was living in the atmosphere of the Middle Ages, governed by tradition and swayed by superstitions that had faded from the intellect of Europe and America.

The principal leaders of the Petrograd Commune were entirely out of touch with the majority of the Russian race. Indeed, they were not Russians themselves. M. Cheidze, the principal Communist, was a Georgian; his most active lieutenant was a Hebrew; the large majority of lesser Communists were infidels, agnostics, and disciples of every fashionable form of every decadent Western European school of scepticism and neo-paganism. Their book knowledge of the latest theories in French and German forms of political thought was often brilliant and comprehensive. They knew everything, but were practised in nothing. Their lack of the ballast of experience made them the most blindly audacious pilots with which any civilised race in the day of danger was cursed.

The wildest follies of the ancient French Jacobins were prudent social experiments compared with the schemes worked out by the orators of the Petrograd Commune. They would have required all the forces employed against Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Turkey to enforce their plans of action upon the enormous mass of Orthodox, uneducated, and backward peasantry.

Intoxication of success

The most progressive of democratic communities, such as New Zealand and Australia, would have been staggered by the proposals of the utterly inexperienced Petrograd agitators.

Yet to the strange successors of those old Paris Communists, who nearly wrecked the French Republic, everything seemed possible on the day when they were intoxicated by success, blinded by their own vanity, and misled by numerous traitors. They opened their extraordinary campaign on March 15th, by sending to the armies delegates who ordered the men not to obey their officers, but to elect new commanders. Had this unparalleled act of folly been consummated, the disorganised

RUSSIA REBORN AMID FLAMES AND FUSILLADES.

Much of the bloodshed which stained the streets of Petrograd when Russian liberty was born was due to the action of the police, who had promoted disturbances among the disaffected expressly in order to suppress them by force. When the soldiers threw in their lot with the populace the police were in a hopeless position, and those who were not shot were imprisoned. In the street fighting in Petrograd about 2,500 people were killed and wounded.

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THE END OF POLICE TERRORISM IN RUSSIA: REVOLUTIONISTS STARTING ON A POLICE HUNT.

Animosity against the police, creatures of the old bureaucracy, suppressed through long years of terrorism, burst into full flame when the day of the Revolution dawned. Armed civilians, and soldiers with them, crowded into motor-lorries and raced from point to point, driving the police by a hail of bullets from coigns of vantage on roofs and in garrets whence they had been firing their last shots in defence of doomed tyranny.

Russian troops would have been at the mercy of their enemies, and German and Austrian forces would have been able to close upon Petrograd, Moscow, and Odessa. Then, after battering and starving out the Russian people, they would have taken the wheatlands and ports of Little Russia, drained the Muscovites completely of strength and treasure, and either left them in utter anarchy or have imposed autocratic rule again upon them. There can be little doubt that treacherous Germanic influences, as well as bureaucratic forces plotting a counter-revolution, were active in the Petrograd Commune during this phase of the Revolution.

Difficulties of the new situation

The honest fanatics of pacifism were misled by the more practical agents of the enemy. A ghastly intestinal conflict seemed imminent, for the Russian people had more powerful representatives than the Petrograd Communists possessed. The Provisional Government, with the old National Assembly and the Army commanders behind it, rightly refused to surrender the conduct of the State to the mob of the capital, and prepared to retire to Moscow and bring an army against the rebels. The situation somewhat resembled that which obtained in France in 1871, when the Communists of Paris were in conflict with the forces of the new National Assembly. In France, however, the representatives of the nation sat outside the capital and directed the army that quelled the city. In Russia the deputies and councillors of the country sat in the rebellious capital, with a small bodyguard of soldiers, whom the agitators continually tried to seduce. The larger part of the former Petrograd garrison was controlled by the delegates of the Commune, and was carried away by lies, treacheries, empty idealisms, and vain dreams.

There were four institutions exercising power—the Provisional Government, the Executive Committee of the Duma, the Military Commission of the Duma, and the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates. The first three bodies worked in cordial support of the new order of things, but the delegates of the Petrograd mobs showed many signs of disloyalty to the nation. In the last week of March, 1917, they sent mandatories to the Taurida Palace, with orders to arrest the members of the Provisional Government and of the Executive Committee of the Duma. Some misguided soldiers, with fixed bayonets, accompanied the delegates with the intention of effecting the arrests by force.

The palace, however, was defended by a strong force of Guardsmen, who asked the traitors what their business was. "What!" the Guardsmen exclaimed. "You want to imprison the members of the Duma? Go away!" The delegates went away, and in an endeavour to recover their prestige sent a hundred and fifty armed soldiers to Tsarskoye Selo with a written order to arrest the Emperor and imprison him in the Fortress of Peter and Paul. Again the forces controlled by the Provisional Government daunted the unrepresentative leaders of the city mobs. The small Communist force withdrew without a struggle, after being allowed to peep at "Colonel Romanoff" walking in the guarded grounds.

Communists and the Army

After the failure of the attempt to arrest the members of the Provisional Government, the directors of the Petrograd Commune tried to capture the armies. They despatched thousands of missionaries and delegates to the forces at the front. No Army commander or general, however, was ready to have all his officers selected for him by the privates. General Brussiloff, commanding in the south, would not allow his forces to be interfered with. General Evert, commanding in the centre, so fiercely resisted the

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MINISTER OF JUSTICE IN THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT.
M. Kerensky, Minister of Justice, the Commandant of the Palace of Tsarskoye Selo, and the two adjutants who placed the ex-Tsar Nicholas and his family under arrest at the Palace.

unauthorised power of the Communists that they afterwards intrigued against him with remarkable persistence.

Only in the north-western army, under General Russky, were there any serious disorders, when the Communists tried to overcome the officers and make the troops a helpless, leaderless mob. As this army was nearest the capital, it was more subject than the others to Anarchist influences. General Russky and his subordinate commanders were not, however, men to be daunted or duped by a medley of dreamers and traitors. Discipline was restored after a fortnight of confusion and enfeeblement, and before the Germans could strike at any leaderless and loquacious division, the north-western army again stood firm from Riga to the lakelands of the Dwina.

By this time it was fairly clear that the armies in the fighting-line would detach troops to march against Petrograd and overthrow the Commune, if the Provisional Government and the members of the Duma were arrested. Thereupon, the allies of the Hohenzollern and Hapsburg changed their tactics. They endeavoured to procure the defeat of the armed forces of the Russian Commonwealth by creating disorders in the great garrison towns in the rear of the battle-line. The reserve troops were told that they need not obey their officers, and that the great estates near their villages were being divided among the people.

Reactionary forces at work

By suggestion rather than by definite statement the men were induced to desert and return to their families, so as to secure a large share in the new land. In the agricultural districts of South Russia, especially, certain organisations connected with both the Black Hundred and with the Petrograd Commune actively stirred the peasantry to invade private estates and divide them up. In some places massacres also occurred, and as these were said to have been committed against unoffending Jews, it seemed as though some of the old secret forces of the most criminal department of the fallen bureaucracy were craftily

CONSULTATION AT TSARSKOYE SELO.
Officers and privates of the Guard in consultation. After the Provisional Government decided to arrest the ex-Tsar and his family they were kept under guard at Tsarskoye Selo, fifteen miles south of Petrograd.

working with the Communists in preparation for some counter-revolutionary movement.

General Brussiloff succeeded in maintaining command of his reserves at Kieff, but lost for a time control of Odessa and other bases. Moscow remained firm behind the central army, yet the general condition in the urban centres was for some weeks one of profound disorganisation.

The Commune of Petrograd exhibited remarkable activity in producing smaller Communes in many other centres of industry where the working class was more or less prepared for Social Democratic movements. All the disturbances and changes in urban centres were not mischievous. It had been found during the disorders in the Army that where the men cast their officers out these officers were usually unfitted to command, being incompetent, cowards, or bullies. In the same way, where municipal authorities were overthrown by movements of working men, it was often discovered that the popular decision was well founded, and that the old town council was corrupt and inefficient. The Zemstvos, or local councils, controlled by the new Prime Minister, Prince George Lvoff, best weathered the

Helpful work of the Zemstvos

ON GUARD AT THE PRISON-PALACE OF THE EX-TSAR.
Sentry on duty at Tsarskoye Selo. He was being visited by Prince Gagarine, who always accompanied the ex-Tsar Nicholas when he went for a walk. The Emperor was kept closely guarded.

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storm of civil and military commotion. They were, indeed, the soundest and strongest organ of national strength, connecting the Army, the peasantry, the gentry, and the middle classes with the large body of trained mechanics and other skilled men. Zemstvos had saved Russia in 1915, and they worked intensely yet quietly to save her again in 1917.

From the middle of March to the middle of April the divided and confused Russian people wavered between the Communists and the Constitutionalists. Happily, some of the leaders of the Commune came to terms with the Provisional Government. M. Kerensky accepted the position of Minister of Justice, in the new Government, and proved himself a reconciling and moderating force. At gathering after gathering he faced the wilder agitators, and seemed gradually to educate his audiences into an appreciation of the realities of the general position. M. Cheidze and his lieutenants became more reasonable and anxious to avoid civil war. While insisting on important concessions from the Provisional Government, the leaders of the Commune agreed to submit some of the matters in dispute to a Constituent Assembly, which was to be elected upon democratic lines.

Communists versus Constitutionalists

Before the country was ready for a General Election, however, the leaders of the Petrograd delegates forced some profound modifications in policy upon Prince Lvoff.

In the first place, the idea of making Grand Duke Michael a Constitutional monarch was annulled. Russia was to decide by the vote whether it would be a monarchy or a republic. It was at first thought that the majority of peasants would hold to their ancient traditions and require a Tsar. But the Communists quickly showed they were able to shake the peasant out of his conservative attitude. Upon the country and upon the Army they poured a stream of lurid stories concerning Rasputin and other evil figures in the Russian Court. From newspapers and public speeches the tales travelled with the strange speed of oral communication to camp and village.

Peasantry and Republicanism

So general an emotion of disgust was excited that the spirit of Republicanism began to penetrate the peasantry. Some members of the Provisional Government responded to the new feeling of the nation and planned a republic on the modern French model. But a middle-class polity of this kind did not suit the aspirations of the Communists. They endeavoured to win over the peasantry in a furious and extensive campaign for agrarian reform. All the estates of the Crown and the Church and the monasteries were to be confiscated and divided among the villagers. This was a possible though rather dangerous scheme, as the Church still exercised enormous influence over the people, who were not prepared for such practical measures of religious reform.

The confiscation of all property was the idea at the back of the agrarian reform. The land greed of the peasantry was merely excited by the agitators as an instrument for ultimately establishing a complete system of National Communism. The immediate result was an outburst of peasant risings that continued through

REPUBLICAN GUARDS IN IMPERIAL GROUNDS.
General Korniloff, Military Governor of Petrograd, inspecting the Republican Guards after the burial of the men who fell during the Revolution at Tsarskoye Selo. Thousands of people marched past their graves.

WINDOWS OF THE PALACE-PRISON.
The suite of apartments in the Palace of Tsarskoye Selo assigned to the ex-Tsar and his family, who were placed under the strictest surveillance and completely isolated from the world outside.

STRANGE MANTLING FOR HERALDIC CIPHERS.
Red flags hung over panels of the Palace gates concealed the Imperial cipher of Nicholas II., as a smiling sentry showed by raising one with the point of his bayonet.

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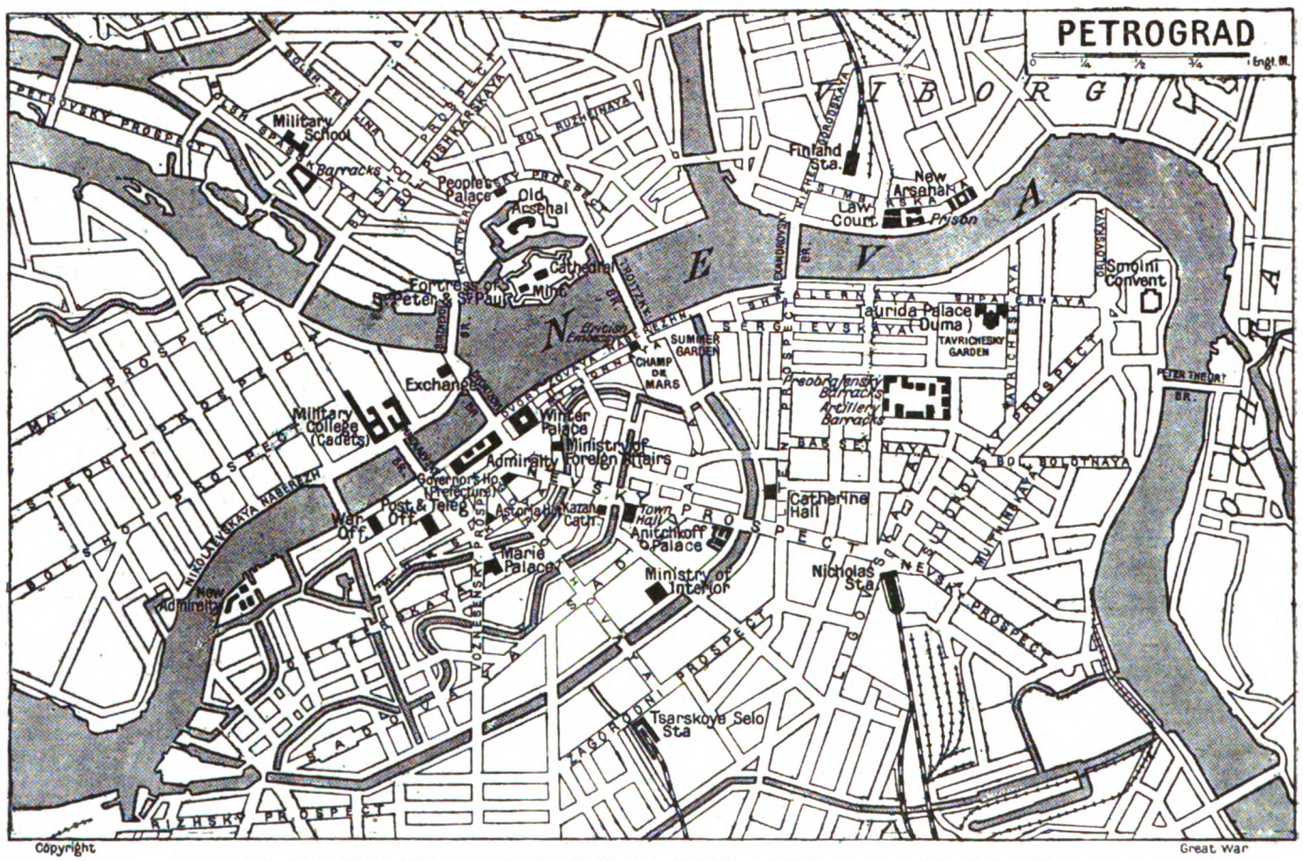
April. In the Saratov Province, for example, where a remote German settlement had spread along the Volga, there were serious attacks on landowners, led by soldiers who had deserted from the garrison towns. Yet, after the peasants had forcibly occupied the lands, they found they could not sow them, owing to lack of seed and badness of weather. Consequently, the outrages only tended to reduce the harvests for 1917. It is scarcely too much to say that all the blunders and deliberate errors for which the old bureaucracy was responsible were exceeded by the wild visionaries and the treacherous elements of the Petrograd Commune. The fanatics were ready to wreck their country in the hope of getting an opportunity to build the paradise of their dreams out of the ruins.

The patience of the members of the Provisional Government was marvellous. The men of the Duma, the Council



CAPITAL OF THE NEW DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT OF EASTERN EUROPE.

Plan of Petrograd, showing streets and buildings which were the scenes of notable events during the Revolution of March, 1917: The Taurida Palace, home of the Duma, where the Provisional Government was set up; the Fortress of St. Peter and St. Paul, the British Embassy, the Winter Palace, afterwards appropriated to national uses; the Arsenal, Barracks, and thoroughfares at the corners of which barricades were built during the street fighting.

of Empire, and the Zemstvos had been trained in endurance by their long struggle with their old enemy the corrupt bureaucracy, and they met their new internal foes with the same patient confidence in the ultimate soundness of the nation. There were occasions when they were tempted to abandon Petrograd for the ancient capital of Moscow and try to reduce the Commune to reason before Hindenburg could strike. It is doubtful whether any French or British Committee of Safety would have delayed to take forcible measures when the armies were behind them.

The Russian Provisional Government, however, recognised that a large part of the disorder was due to the uneducated minds of honest men intoxicated by one of the most successful Revolutions in history. So they waited, anxiously but not without hope, for the people to come to their senses. Happily, one of the German commanders on the Russian front intervened, on April 3rd, 1917, in a manner that greatly helped to sober the popular mind. In the salient of a bridge-head on the Stokhod River some divisions of General Brussiloff's southern army were holding debates on political matters and leaving their lines in a criminal state of weakness.

The Germans were well aware of what was going on. With a favouring wind they rolled cloud after cloud of poison gas over the Russian fire-trench, flung out a heavy curtain fire over the political meeting, and stormed down to the river. The larger part of a Russian army corps was killed or captured, losing guns and a large amount of ammunition. Treachery, incompetence, and faction among the beaten troops were the causes of this serious reverse. Yet it was, in a paradoxical way, a moral victory for the Provisional Government. It brought home to every Russian soldier and citizen the danger of indiscipline and disorganisation. All the other troops in the firing-line became alarmed and turned more willingly to their officers for direction. They also became angry with the idle garrisons in Petrograd and in other bases, and volunteered to conduct military police operations in the cities, and compel the Revolutionary soldiers to take a turn in the trenches.

Two days after the Stokhod reverse the Cossack League met in the capital. The soldier delegates from the front and the representatives of all Cossack armies swore to support the Provisional Government and to continue the war to a victorious peace. The Cossacks held brilliant parades in the streets and marched to the British Embassy, and there declared that Russia would be faithful to her Allies. The next day delegates from the First Russian Army also came to Petrograd. They protested against the anarchical propaganda which the Communists were conducting without the consent of the Provisional Government, and affirmed that the Government was the sole organ of national direction until the new Constituent Committee was elected. This, however, was not the case.

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Troops in the Liteini Prospect halting on their way to the Duma. Right: Arrival of prisoners of the Duma. By order of the Provisional Government many adherents of the old régime were arrested, and some of them were brought before the former at the Taurida Palace.

The Taurida Palace, the home of the Duma, was naturally the focus of general attention. Large crowds gathered round the building to witness the many spectacles of historic interest provided by the coming and going of Ministers, the passing of troops, and other events incidental to the establishment of the Democratic Government. There, too, the crowds were addressed from time to time by members of the Provisional Government

STIRRING SCENES IN PETROGRAD DURING THE REVOLUTION.

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HOMAGE TO THE DEAD.
At the public funeral of those who fell in Petrograd. Second from left: M. Rodzianko (President of the Duma).

The Provisional Government was still compelled to divide all exercise of power with the Petrograd Commune. The Communists pretended they were only acting as a sort of legal opposition, but as their method of opposing every measure they disliked or commending any action they required was to prepare for civil war, they remained in many ways the forcible controllers of the national policy.

Each side was organising for armed conflict. The Communists were trying to steal men away from the armies and hinder the output of munitions that might be used against them. The Constitutionalists were approaching the men through their officers and their factory managers. The confusion of voices was worse than that of a genuine General Election. Rare were the cases in the rear where munition makers stood steadily to their task, as they did in the famous Ochta Works on the Neva. Rare also were the instances in which divisions in the rear of the armies were not troubled by some preacher of German Socialism.

Lenin's return through Germany

On April 9th the wilder spirits of the Commune were excited to further excesses by the arrival of a political exile, Lenin, who had long exercised marked influence over the Revolutionary forces. Lenin had come to Russia with thirty companions by a sinister route, travelling from Switzerland through Germany with the gracious help of the Prussian autocracy. His manner of arrival in Russia was somewhat similar to the manner of Casement's arrival in Ireland. He at once showed himself worthy of all the attentions paid him by the Prussians. He denounced Great Britain, France, and Italy, and urged that instant peace should be made separately with Teuton and Turk.

CROWD AT THE GREAT GRAVESIDE IN PETROGRAD.
Those who had fallen in Petrograd in establishing the Revolution were buried near the suggested site of the new Houses of Parliament. Members of the Government, M. Miliukoff (marked with an x), released victims of the old régime, soldiers, and populace mingled at the graveside.

Behind Lenin quickly massed all the treacherous forces of the system of Social Democracy founded in Germany and spread through Europe. Swiss, Dutch, Danish, and Norwegian Socialists conferred with German and Austrian Socialists, and, with certain Russian Socialists, drew up proposals for peace. It was arranged that Alsace and Lorraine were to be left to the mercy of the Kaiser, together with the Posen province of Poland, and that the Russian Baltic provinces, peopled by Slav races, were to be surrendered to Prussian masters.

Treacherous proposals for peace

Constantinople and the Straits were to become a Turkish protectorate with Germany as the practical protector, while Serbia was to be merged in the Austrian dominions. Finally, as a concession to British sea-power, Belgium was to be evacuated, on condition that the Belgian people did not maintain an army.

These proposals of the Social Democratic International groups were the meanest and blackest concatenation of treacheries ever attempted in the annals of mankind. Upon every Socialist of neutral and Russian nationality engaged in the proceedings they stamped such infamy as was likely permanently to alter the International Labour system. Some of those concerned may have been sincere fanatics, and others blind dreamers; but the nature of the proposals proved that the men who tried to carry them through were servile agents of the Hohenzollern and the Hapsburg. There were, however, some Continental Socialists unwilling to act as betrayers of liberty and humanity. In Sweden, for example, though the Government was pro-German, the working classes were faithful to the cause of democracy, and their Socialist leader, M. Branting, stood out strongly against Russia concluding a separate peace.

Meanwhile, Petrograd was shaken by another popular agitation. Great Britain was assailed by the wildest slanders and the basest lies. All the machinery of disloyalty formerly employed by Rasputin and the reactionists was revived and expanded by many of the delegates of the Workmen's and Soldiers' groups. The British, French, and Italian democracies were violently condemned as the worst enemies of the human race because they were bent on fighting for a victorious peace. Then the German view was adopted that Great Britain was the only Power eager to continue the war for the profits she could make out of it.

The leading members of the Provisional Government had to interrupt their work of reorganising the country in order to conduct a campaign of oratory on behalf of Great Britain. This led to another approach to civil war. After some of the Ministers had explained that the British Fleet saved Petrograd in August, 1914, and that the British Army relieved the pressure upon Russia in 1915 and 1916, reference was made to the apparently gratifying fact that with British help the grand ambition of the Russian race would be achieved and the holy city of Constantinople become again the centre of the Orthodox religion.

On April 7th, 1917, Professor Paul Miliukoff, speaking as Foreign Minister, stated that the occupation of

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Constantinople and the Dardanelles was essential to his country. He pointed out that the neutralisation of the Straits would leave Russia weaker than she was before, and compel her to think perpetually about the fortification of the Black Sea coast and maintain a more powerful fleet in the Black Sea.

His views were correct, and supported by the existing military situation. Turkey was seriously weakened and Austria-Hungary half broken, so that the eventual conquest of Constantinople was practically certain if only Russia could recover her fighting strength. But, to the amazement of Professor Miliukoff and his fellow-Ministers, the reference to Constantinople almost produced a Socialist insurrection at a time when the menace of internal strife seemed to have abated. The four thousand agitators in the capital worked up a great show of popular excitement, and the leaders addressed a practical ultimatum to Prince Lvoff, the Prime Minister. So extreme was the pressure of the Communists that the published statement of the Foreign Minister had to be contradicted by a proclamation that Russia no longer aimed at extending her territory or strengthening her power at the expense of other nations.

"Free Russia" and Constantinople

The way in which the proclamation was composed clearly indicated that it had been written under outside pressure against the will of the writer. "Free Russia," it was said, "does not aim at dominating other nations or depriving them of their national patrimony or occupying foreign territories by force; her object is to found a lasting peace upon the basis of the right of nations to decide their own destiny." The last phrase, as will be observed, was turned in such a way as to prevent the Armenians in the conquered eastern province of Turkey from falling by treaty under their enfeebled oppressors. Then the second and more curious phrase appeared to leave it undecided whether the conquests made by the Ottomans in Europe were part of their national patrimony.

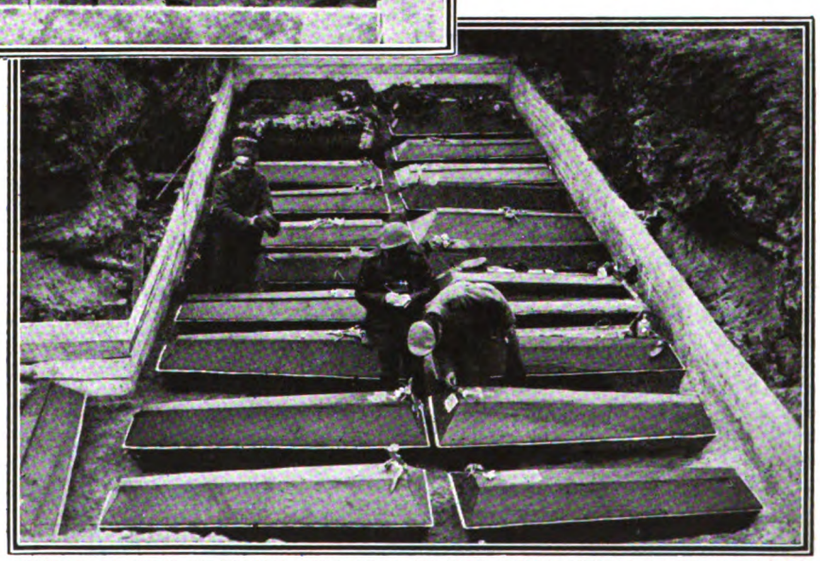
On the whole, Prince Lvoff transformed an acute domestic crisis into a masterly snare for the enemy, who had done so much to produce the crisis. All the honest men among the Petrograd agitators had joined in making the practical suggestion that the declaration of Russia's intention of making no territorial gains would increase the war-weariness of the Germanic working classes and middle classes. At this time the Russian Communists still believed that the Social Democracy of Germany was only waiting the signal to overthrow the Prussian autocracy. The Kaisers of the Central Empires were using Scheidemann, Adler, and other Social Democratic decoys to induce the Russians to make a weak separate peace, on the pretence that the German, Austrian, and Hungarian peoples would break out in violent and general revolt as soon as the Russian Socialist Republic was successfully established on the ruins of the Provisional Government.

Prince Lvoff steered the leaders of the Commune away from this booby-trap by proposing a sound and practical form of co-operation with the Teutonic Social Democracy. The free Russian people were to assist their brothers in Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Bulgaria in overthrowing the remaining autocracies in Europe. Democratic Russia had clearly shown that she was fighting only to defend herself. She had restored the liberties of Finland, arranged for the practical independence of Poland, and established political equality of all races and creeds in her dominions.

Therefore, it was soon argued by many Russian Communists as well as by all the Constitutionalists, the next step in the permanent pacification of Europe was for the German, Austrian, and Bulgarian peoples to strike for free Government and enter on peace negotiations as democrats among democrats. As a matter of fact, there was then no evidence whatever that the Teutonic Socialists could or would carry out this great task. From the international standpoint the proposal was vain. Yet it was valuable in that it served to steady the Russian mind and give the excited imagination of the Russian people a new object on which to dwell. In effect the challenge to Scheidemann and Adler to follow Cheidze and Kerensky and attack autocracy in its last centres seriously disconcerted all the Social Democratic intriguers and confused the forces of treachery in Petrograd. The first peace negotiations failed.

Prince Lvoff's statesmanship

In the second week in April a congress of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates from all parts of Russia was held in the capital, and by 325 votes to 57 the continuance of the war was advocated. But the next day the congress unanimously passed a resolution affirming the necessity for the Commune to maintain control over the Provisional Government. The Russian people were asked to rally round the Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, as these were the only power capable of counteracting any reactionary movement! The Provisional Government was to be supported only so long as it carried out the policy of the four thousand Petrograd delegates and the



AT THE GRAVES OF THOSE WHO FELL IN THE REVOLUTION IN PETROGRAD. Taking a record of the names of the dead. View of one of the four graves, showing the arrangement of the coffins. Above: French officers at the graveside. Among the people who paid homage to those who had died in the cause of freedom were many representatives of Russia's Allies.

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DOOM OF THE IMPERIAL EAGLE.

The potency of symbols on the imagination was proved anew by the fact that one of the first things the Russian Revolutionists did was to hack down and destroy the double-headed Imperial eagles and other emblems of Tsardom that had hitherto decorated the Government buildings.

thousands of new delegates elected by other small and irresponsible groups of idle workmen and deserting troops in other towns. Meanwhile, according to the modest programme of the delegates, the election of the Constituent Assembly was to be hastened and all the voting was to be controlled by the multitudinous members of the Commune.

"If we can overcome you by the ballot, we shall not use the bullet. But——" Such seemed to be the implied menace of the fiercer section of delegates against the members of the Provisional Government. The delegates were then apparently confident that they could obtain a majority in the civilian population, and were doubtful only about the men of the active armies. These, they thought, ought to be ordered to vote separately, so as to avoid the danger of their turning the balance against the peacemongers and the Anarchists in constituencies where there might be close contests. In the middle of March the Army, in the opinion of the Communists, had been the complete incarnation of the national will. But by the middle of April it had ceased to be so.

Even the Guards Regiments in Petrograd were then tiring of political debates and organising battalions for the front. The German Fleet was reported to be moving in force into the Baltic, preparatory to a great amphibious operation in the rear of the Russian north-western army. Many soldiers, wasting their time in garrison towns, began to feel the call of patriotism and inclined to resume their duties. By a gigantic effort Great Britain and France had held the principal German armies down to the Hindenburg line in the west, and, assisted by the prolonged winter, had given free Russia time to recover from the disorder of a mighty internal explosion.

Yet the time thus strenuously won by her Allies had been extremely short for all the strengthening work Russia had to do. The Provisional Government, while carrying on an incessant and intense struggle with the Communists, had to improvise a new Civil Service in place of the vicious, ineffectual, and often treacherous bureaucratic system. When the representative organisations of the county councils and urban councils were rapidly extended and linked with village systems and co-operative systems, there remained a vast administrative machine to clean, repair, and restaff. In many positions, that were notoriously corrupt, it was not sufficient to remove the old chiefs and appoint able and patriotic men. The subordinates were often worse than their old superiors, whom they had assisted in ill-doing.

Many of these subordinates had to remain in the Civil Service and the State Railways and industries because they were too numerous to replace and they knew their work better than new men. In this connection there was a special source of trouble in the lowest branches of the bureaucracy. Many of the honest and embittered men working at the base of the old Government machine, like Omar Khayyám, wanted "to grasp this sorry scheme of things entire" and shatter it to bits, and then "remould it nearer to the heart's desire." That is to say, they preferred the impossible to the possible. They became some of the wildest agitators in the Commune.

In the last week of April, 1917, the general situation still was doubtful. The Communists and the Constitutionalists were still arrayed against each other, and working vehemently for a victorious majority in the future Constituent Assembly. The Germans and the Austrians were gathering against the new-born democracy for a terrible trial of strength, and only the Army and Navy leaders were in a position to estimate if free Russia would prove more powerful than enslaved Russia. In many ways the position was similar to that obtaining in Republican France immediately before the Battle of Valmy. Owing to the Commune, the Russian democracy had not had time or proper opportunity to organise itself for defence. It had foes within as well as foes without, and its internal enemies were its gravest danger.

Foes within and without

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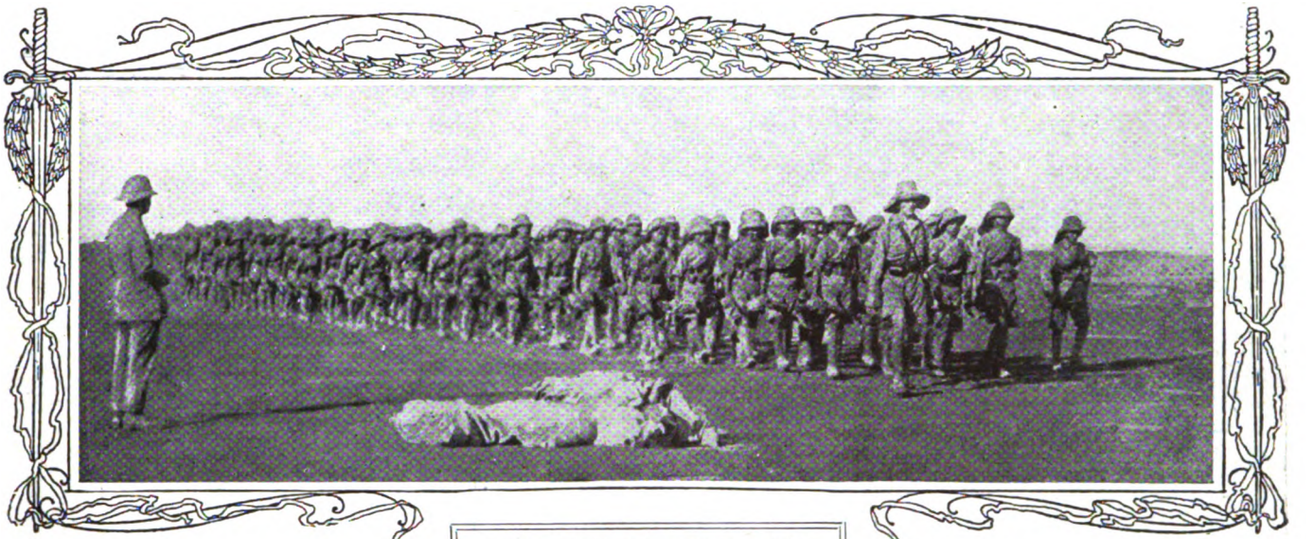

A GURKHA DRAFT IN MESOPOTAMIA.

CHAPTER CLXXVI.

MESOPOTAMIA: THE VICTORIOUS ADVANCE TO BAGDAD.

By Edward Wright.

Serious Consequences of Kut Disaster—Emperor of Abyssinia Goes Over to the Enemy—Ottoman Advance into Persia—How Sir Percy Sykes Saved Southern Persia—Princes of Arabia Rise against Turks—Reorganisation of India Command and Mesopotamian Forces—Battling with the River Floods and Building the Railway of Victory—Germans Weaken the Turks, thinking that Indo-British Army is Stalemated—Sir Stanley Maude's Unexpected Drive on Turkish Flank—Preparations for an Ottoman Sedan on the Tigris—Brilliant Turkish Tactics in Hassan Bend—Recovery of Liquorice Factory and Advance against Shumran Position—Fierce Demonstrations at Sanna-i-Yat—Turkish Commander Completely Misled—Forcing of the Tigris and Envelopment of Main Turkish Forces—Terrific Pursuit of the Broken Enemy—Glorious Night Watch by the Arch of Ctesiphon—Cavalry Overtake and Pierce the Enemy at Laj—Magnificent Courage of Lancashire Men in the Diala River Action—Heroic Stand in an Improvised Fort—Smashing In of Turkish Front and Turning Movement Across the Desert—Occupation of Bagdad and Pursuit of the Divided Turkish Forces—Turks Prepare a Trap between Diala and Adhaim Rivers—Trappers are Trapped, and British and Russian Armies Unite—Continuing Battles Along the Upper Tigris and Capture of Holy Places of Samarra and Kerbela—All the Bagdad Railway Line Taken from the Turks—Ancient Babylonia Becomes a British Possession—End of Teutonic Dream of a Bagdad-Berlin Empire—Profound Depression in Germany and Recovery of British Prestige Throughout the Islamic World.

THE surrender of the Indo-British garrison of Kut-el-Amara on April 29th, 1916, with an account of which Chapter CXXXIII. closed, had serious consequences. In both Asia and Africa the prestige of British power declined. In Egypt the success with which Senussi and Ottoman attacks were repelled helped to mitigate the effects of the double disasters in the Dardanelles and Mesopotamian campaigns. Yet the victories achieved against the armies of the British Empire by the strongest of Mohammedan Powers had political results surpassing their direct military value.

Some of the men round the young Emperor of the barbaric Christian State of Abyssinia were so extravagantly impressed by the Turkish successes that they tried to enter into league with the Ottomans and Teutons, with the aim of making a flank attack upon the Sudan. In Persia there was a force of rebels and native and European mercenaries who became more active and mischievous, thinking that the power of the British had been irremediably broken, and that the Germans, with a large Turkish army, would sweep through Persia, crush the Russian and British troops there, and invade India. There were signs of unrest in various directions, and the faith of many native leaders in the permanent might of the British Empire was severely tested by all manner of political and religious intrigues.

FIELD-AMBULANCE IN MESOPOTAMIA.
Many ingenious methods were devised for transporting casualties in outlying theatres of the war. In Egypt and Mesopotamia bucket-seat saddles borne by camels were adopted for slightly-wounded men.

Happily, the main structure of British influence in Asia and North-Eastern Africa resisted temporary defeat and incessant plotting. The British race profited by the traditions of tenacity it had established in the Sudan, in South Africa, and in Flanders. In Abyssinia, in Persia, in Afghanistan, and in Arabia loyal rulers and princes felt that the nation which had avenged Gordon would avenge General Townshend.

The Turks themselves, though inflated by victory, did not turn upon the outworn and suffering British and Indian troops that had failed to relieve the Kut-el-Amara garrison. The 7th Division and the 13th Division were held up by the Sanna-i-Yat position. Repeatedly the same troops had assaulted the enemy's lines and done all that men could do to overcome a

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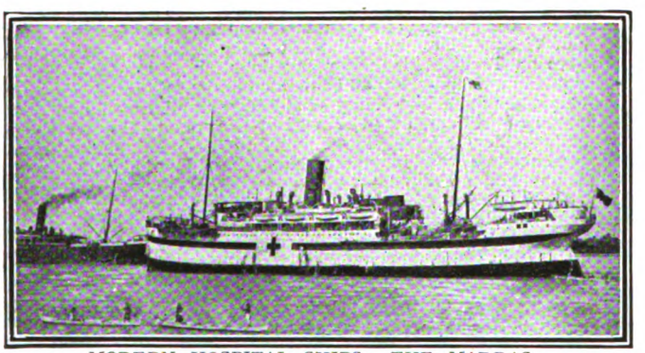
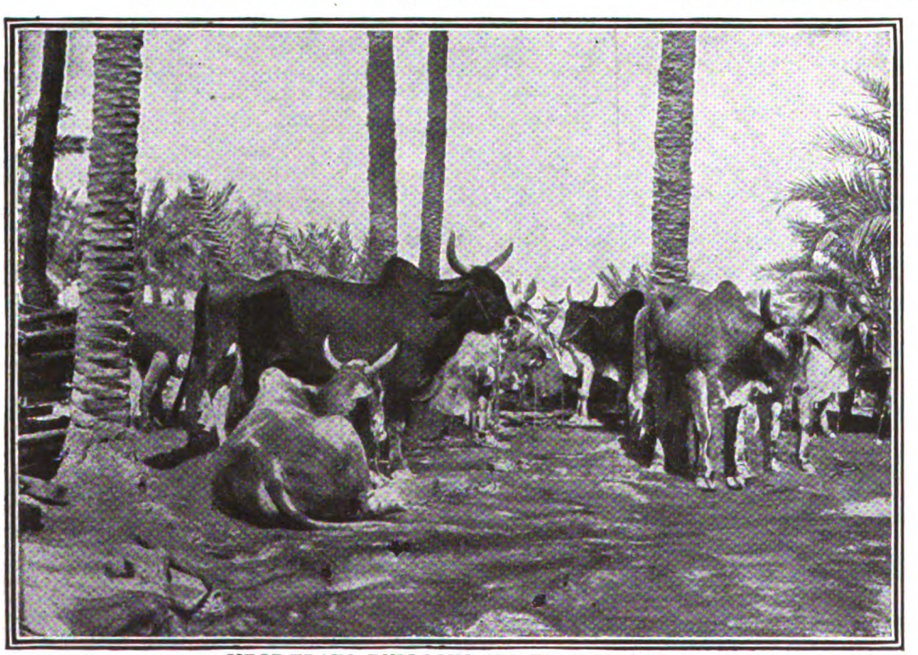
OLD-TIME TRANSPORT ADAPTED TO MODERN NEEDS.
Camels on war service, with their Arab drivers, somewhere on the shores of the Tigris. On every hand in Mesopotamia old and new jostled one another, and of the former the "ships of the desert" were once again requisitioned for transport purposes.



MODERN HOSPITAL SHIPS: THE MADRAS.
On the Tigris modern hospital ships, with the Red Cross and green band on their white hulls, became familiar objects to the natives. This photograph shows the Madras arriving at Basra.



SIEGE-TRAIN BULLOCKS UNDER THE PALMS.
Mild-eyed bullocks, picturesquely suggestive of peaceful Eastern indolence, drew Western 5 in. guns, and at the end of the march were tethered beneath the palms to chew the cud in philosophic patience. Meanwhile, the next task for which they were fitted was being prepared for them.

determined foe and the exceptional climatic and physical obstacles. Shortage of river transport, for which the Indian Government was responsible, had made it impossible to augment the insufficient rations on which the troops fought, and as the result of battle losses, sickness, and exhaustion, the limit of human endurance had been reached.

There was then a grand opportunity for the Ottomans and their Teutonic directors to complete their success in Mesopotamia by breaking and routing the forces under Sir Percy Lake. Apparently the Turks had no faith in their own power of making an offensive movement. Instead of advancing against the baffled Indo-British army of relief, they abandoned part of the ground they had held and resumed a purely defensive attitude. On May 19th, 1916, the Turks retired from their advanced positions by Es Sinn, on the right bank of the Tigris. This withdrawal was followed up, and by the evening of the next day most of the right bank of the Tigris was clear of the enemy as far as the Hai River, which connects the Tigris and the Euphrates between Kut-el-Amara and Nasiriyeh. Turkish rearguards only remained to cover the bridges over the Hai River, which was in flood and unfordable.

Stalemate on the Tigris

The immediate effect of this unusual retreat, which followed upon a brilliant success, was to throw upon the British forces the burden of the offensive. Naturally, no offensive was attempted. The troops were too exhausted, too poorly supplied, and the flooded marshland in the angle of the Tigris and Hai was so dangerous as to render it difficult or impossible to hold any ground gained. The large angle of water and marsh was a trap. Any British force that entered it without firmly securing its position and communication was liable to be cut off by two sudden Turkish thrusts from the Tigris and the Hai.

It was stalemate in Mesopotamia. Neither side was in a position to make any further movement; the Turks because they dared not, and the British because they could not. The enemy, however, was far from idle. The stalemate he had established on the Tigris was only part of a grandiose scheme of action which he at once attempted to carry out. As soon as all British action was checked in the direction of Bagdad, and when the Turkish defences had been greatly improved from Sanna-i-Yat to Kut-el-Amara, a considerable number of Ottoman troops marched against the Russian army under General Baratoff, which had driven down to Karind.

Karind was only one hundred and fifty miles from Bagdad, lying in the heart of the tangle of mountains, through which ran

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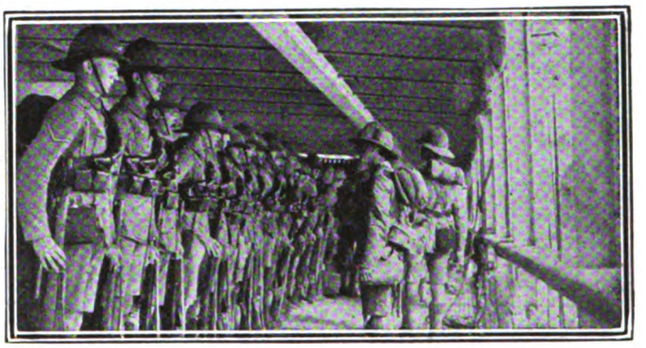
the immemorial route of trade and conquest from Bagdad to Teheran. In the early plan of the Allies it had been arranged that General Baratoff should move towards Bagdad from the north, while General Townshend advanced from the east. With the failure of the British movement the Russian column at Karind became too weak to withstand the increasing forces brought against it. The Russians fell back from Karind to Kirmanshah. There they were again assailed by part of the army from Kut-el-Amara, with reinforcements from other corps. They were compelled to abandon Kirmanshah, and in a prolonged retreat, that ended two hundred and fifty miles beyond the Persian frontier, they at last checked the great Ottoman advance and saved Northern Persia from being entirely overrun by the enemy.

WATERING HORSES IN THE TIGRIS AT THE END OF THE DAY.
Warring horsemen have spurred over the plains of the Euphrates and Tigris for at least five thousand years, but not even the Arabs, famous as lovers of horses, gave more attention to their steeds than did the British soldiers in the twentieth century.

Meanwhile, Southern Persia was also saved from ruin and anarchy and utter spoliation by an unexpected British movement. This developed into one of the most romantic episodes in the general history of the war. Sir Percy Sykes landed at Bandar Abbas, at the entrance of the Persian Gulf, some months before the fall of Kut. As originally designed, his work was only to have extended the British successes in Mesopotamia by restoring order in the disturbed regions in Southern Persia. When, however, the British successes in Mesopotamia ended in utter failure, and Turks, Teutons, Persian rebels, and neutral mercenaries endeavoured to transform Persia into a base of operations against India, the task of Sir Percy Sykes became one of great importance.

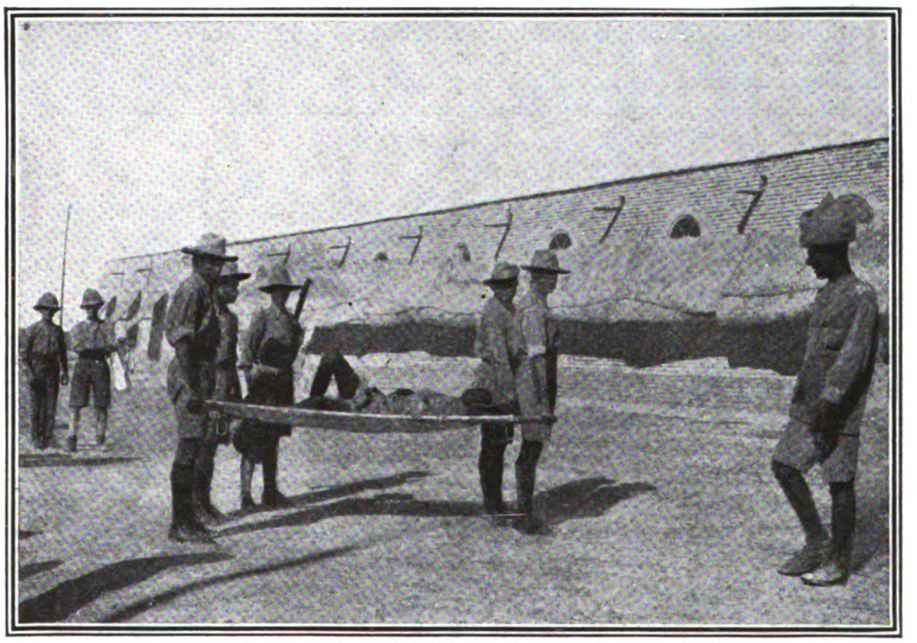
Sir Percy Sykes' great march



TERRITORIALS FOR THE TIGRIS.
Men of a battalion of the Hampshires parading on board the transport that took them out to share in the capture of Bagdad, one of the most signal victories of the Great War.

The man was equal to his work. Sir Percy had begun life as a subaltern of cavalry, and had found more scope as an explorer. After serving five years in the Army he settled in an obscure but congenial post in the Persian city of Kerman, near the desert route to Afghanistan. After exploring the surrounding waste and highlands he obtained a position as Consul-General in the still wilder and more remote Persian town of Meshed, in the mountainous angle where the deserts of Persia, Russia, and Afghanistan meet. For more than twenty years Sir Percy Sykes travelled and explored, becoming the supreme British authority on all Persian problems and the leading historian of the country.

Early in 1916 he returned to Persia at the head of a small British column, but armed with such knowledge and such power of personality as made him worth an army corps in himself. His design was to enlist, train, and arm the tribes of Persia, and transform Persia herself into a wall of defence against Turks, Teutons, brigands, and the treacherous Swedish officers of the old military police. By a



STRETCHER-BEARERS BRINGING A CASUALTY INTO HOSPITAL.
The occupation of Bagdad on March 11th, 1917, gave opportunity to the General Staff to express its satisfaction with all concerned in providing for the needs of Sir Stanley Maude's forces. Special word of praise was given to the attention that had been available for the sick and wounded.

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marvellous march of more than a thousand miles through hostile regions where the tribes had been armed by the Germans, Sir Percy Sykes saved the situation that had been imperilled by the surrender at Kut and the failure at the Dardanelles.

The gallant explorer first moved up to his old post at Kerman and connected the trade of this highland town with the sea-borne traffic at Bandar Abbas. Then, in a great march between the central mountains, he pushed on to Yezd and reached Ispahan. Thence he turned south to Shiraz and Bushire. Tribe after tribe was adroitly and tactfully drawn to the British side, until some eleven thousand young and warlike Persians were enlisted in his military police. A vast tract of fresh country was added to the British sphere of influence and connected with the valuable British petroleum fields north-east of Basra.

British influence in Persia

When the great march of Sir Percy Sykes was completed, the direct influence of the British Empire extended from the Baluchistan frontier of India, entirely across Southern Persia, to a point near Kut-el-Amara on the Tigris. At the outbreak of war British influence in Persia had reached only to Bandar Abbas at the entrance to the Persian Gulf. Only a small corner of Persian territory was still occupied by the Turks, and from this corner they were soon expelled under the combined pressure of Russian and British forces.

Thus from defeat the British peoples, by their great virtue of tenacity, rose to larger victory. Another corner in the map of the world was painted red.

Great Britain entertained no designs on the independence of Persia. That country had indeed been left as a sort of buffer State between Russian and British fields of influence. Only the overreaching intrigues of Teuton and Turk had transformed the Shiraz regions into a scene of conflict, and the Turkish success at Kut had finally made the occupation of the whole of Southern Persia obligatory upon the menaced British forces. If the Germans had not first armed the tribesmen and the Turks had not first tried to incite them to help in operations against India, this great new protectorate would not have been added to the British Empire.

In Abyssinia there was less trouble in putting down the movement against British dominion. The men around the young Emperor were so madly excited by the news of the Turkish victory on the Tigris that they went too far for their own people. They proposed suddenly and violently to turn Abyssinia from a Christian State into a Mohammedan State. This extraordinary design was suggested to them by agents of that German Empire which, before the war, had intrigued against its own Mohammedans in East Africa, and sought to use pig-breeding as a weapon of conversion, as the pig is regarded as an unclean animal by Moslems. Now, Germans of the same intriguing school endeavoured, by the gospel of Ottoman victories and British defeats, to transform the Abyssinians into a Moslem race, and league them with the Mullah of Somaliland, the Sultan of Darfur, and some discontented remnants of the old Mahdi's levies in the Sudan, for a combined attack upon the British forces holding the Nile.

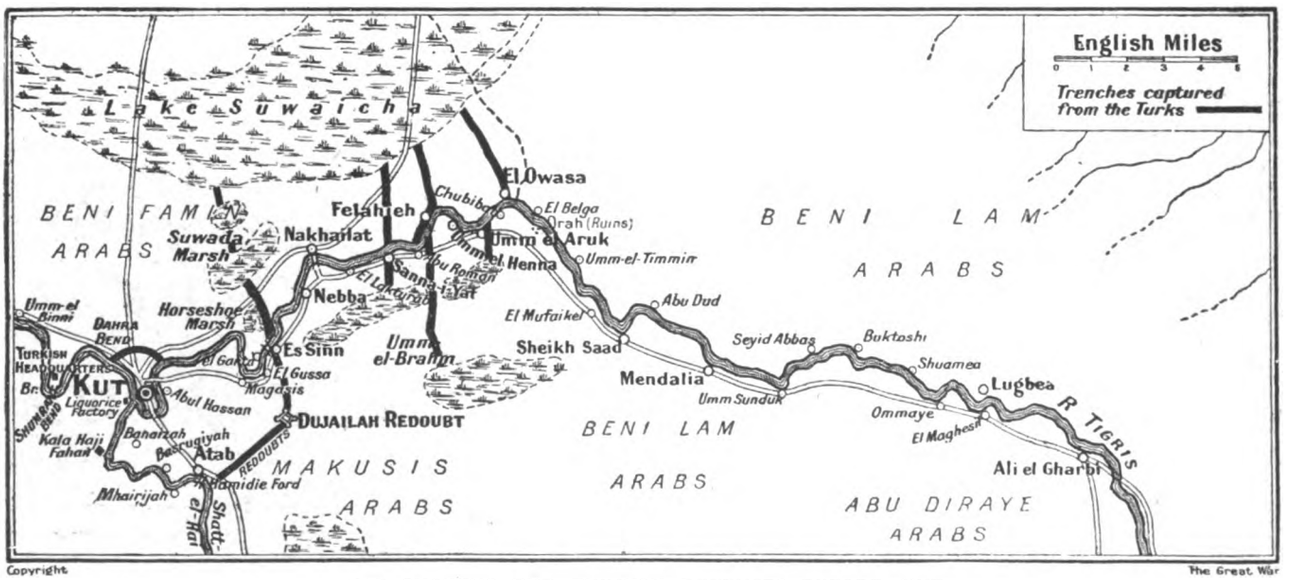
SIR VICTOR HORSLEY, C.B., F.R.S. This distinguished surgeon died of heat-stroke on July 16th, 1916, while acting as temporary Colonel A.M.S. in Mesopotamia. He volunteered for service in the previous March.

The plot, however, was almost as fantastic as Herr Zimmermann's later attempt to unite the bandit chiefs of Mexico with the great and splendid armies of Japan against the United States.

In Abyssinia the most powerful chiefs of the Christian clans turned upon the miscreant Court party, defeated the forces of the Emperor, drove him from the throne, and placed a Christian upon it. In Afghanistan the Amir loyally continued his policy of amity with both Russia and Great Britain. Neither the retirement from the Dardanelles nor the fall of Kut inclined him to become the tool of the Ottoman intriguers who plied him and his feudal chiefs with mischievous advice.

With Afghanistan standing firm, and with Persia in course of conversion from a condition of hostility and anarchy to one of friendship and order, while the Sherif of Mecca, the Prince of Nedj, and other Arabian rulers were showing antagonism to Ottoman power, the situation of the Indo-British forces in Mesopotamia improved. The immense resources in man-power in India, though still greatly restricted in operation by the poverty of cadres, were gradually employed in the neighbouring field of war. The military classes and races of India were especially suited to the climatic conditions of warfare on the Tigris and

Friendship succeeds, to hostility



MAP SHOWING THE TURKISH DEFENCES BEFORE KUT.

During the months of preparation for Sir Stanley Maude's advance on Kut-el-Amara the Turks occupied some thirty miles of lines along the Tigris. At Sanna-i-Yat their trench system formed a narrow front between the flooded Suwaicha Marsh, or Lake, and the swollen Tigris.

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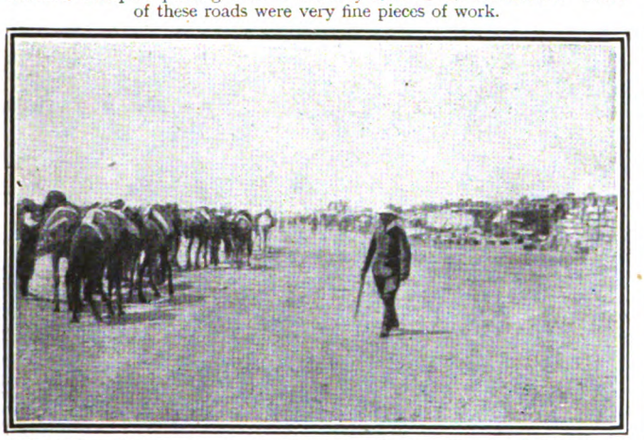
On the Bagdad Railway in the Amanus Mountains, north-west of Aleppo, and part of the Taurus range. One of the difficult tunnelling sections.

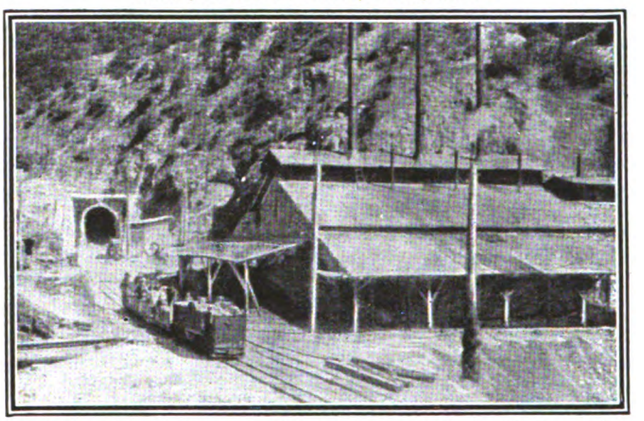
Journey of inspection via the military railway in the Amanus range, where the engineers met with most formidable natural obstacles.

Turkish transport passing over a military road in the mountains. Some of these roads were very fine pieces of work.

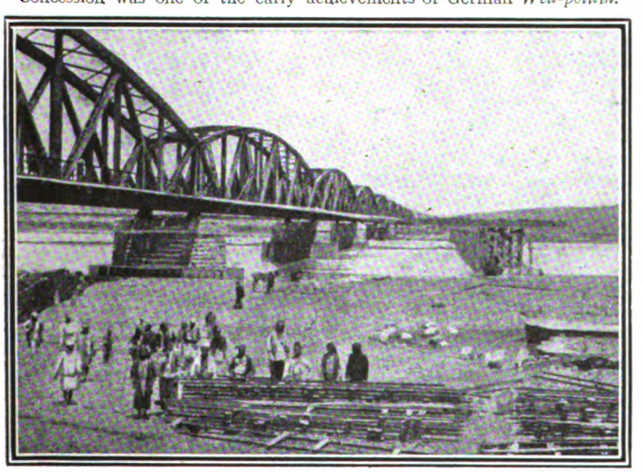
Turkish military caravan crossing a bridge at the head station of a military road in the south of Turkey in Asia.



A Turkish military camp on the Bagdad Railway. The Bagdad Railway Concession was one of the early achievements of German *Welt-politik*.



Building station of the great Amanus Tunnel. This tunnel, three miles long, was one of the greatest engineering feats of the undertaking.



Great bridge over the Euphrates near Jerablus, north-east of Aleppo. There is a steamer service from Jerablus to Bagdad.

Kurd navvies between Adana and Aleppo. Between Konia and Bagdad, 1,117 miles of the total 1,509 were working at the end of 1915.

SCENES ON THE AMANUS (OR ELMA DAGH) SECTION OF THE BAGDAD RAILWAY.

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BOUND FOR BASRA.
Wounded soldiers being removed from an ambulance by Indian Red Cross orderlies for the passage by steamer to Basra.

Euphrates. Less resistant to the heat of the desert than the native Arabs, they were at least as well able to bear the tropical temperature, the sandstorms and plague of insects as the Ottomans of the Anatolian Highlands.

At first some of the younger Indian troops scarcely showed the same qualities as their veteran countrymen, many of whom had fought in France and Egypt and on the Gallipoli Peninsula. Their training had been short, and their military experience had to be gradually won. Opposing them was a picked force of the finest fighting race on the Asiatic mainland.

Mesopotamia thus became the great testing place for the soul of the young new India that had grown up under the fostering rule of the British race. Brilliant British generals, who had watched the work of the old Indian Army in the days of tragic stress around Ypres, came to the Orient to train and lead the new generation to battle. Sir Charles Monro, the former Army commander at Ypres and director of the withdrawal from the Gallipoli Peninsula, was appointed

Sir Stanley Maude in command

Commander-in-Chief. He succeeded Sir Beauchamp Duff, and from India organised victory on the Tigris. His work was closely linked with the activities of all the British armies and allied forces. It was controlled from London by the Imperial Chief of Staff, Sir William Robertson.

The result of this rearrangement was that the practical conduct of affairs was removed from the lax and fumbling hands of Indo-British administration and entrusted to men whose high ability had been proved in continual warfare of the most violent kind. Sir Stanley Maude, who succeeded Sir Percy Lake and Sir John Nixon as commander of the army of Mesopotamia, had been a colonel at the outbreak of hostilities. Then as brigadier he had distinguished himself, and been promoted major-general in 1915. After being wounded on the western front and mentioned five times in despatches he went to Mesopotamia with the 13th Division.

It was he who had broken the Turks in the Henna position on April 5th, 1916, and endeavoured to save General Townshend at the last moment by storming the Felahieh lines, through which

RED CROSS SLEDGE.
With linen covers for protection from sand, sun, and the flies, these sledges provided fairly comfortable means of conveyance for the wounded over the Mesopotamian sands.

EARTHWORKS ON THE TIGRIS.
Dug-outs with sand-bagged parapets afforded a striking contrast to the palms and ruins along the shores of the Tigris.

his men victoriously passed. Again, he had launched the Lancashires and North Lancashires, Welsh Fusiliers and Wiltshires into the enemy's front at Sanna-i-Yat, but failed to get completely through, owing to some troops losing their direction. Of all the generals in the baffled army of relief, Sir Stanley Maude had shown most skill, and came, in circumstances of hopeless difficulty, nearest to decisive success.

Such was the commander chosen to avenge General Townshend and restore throughout Asia and Northern Africa the prestige of the British Empire. He enjoyed many material advantages over his predecessors. Under the severe pressure of British opinion, inflamed by disclosure of scandalous neglect and lack of foresight on the part of the Indo-British bureaucracy, the measures that should have been taken in 1914 and 1915 were at last energetically carried out in 1916.

A considerable fleet of river steamers was collected. Munitions were provided of the quality and quantity required. Hospital accommodation was enlarged from

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4,700 beds in January, 1916, to 18,000 beds in August, 1916, Medical men, practised in preventive treatment and bacteriological measures, were encouraged and greatly increased in numbers. Drugs and vaccines were obtained and an outbreak of cholera checked.

The antiquated aeroplanes, outpaced and outclimbed by the German machines employed by the Turks, were replaced by more modern and powerful fighting, bombing, and scouting machines. The large guns brought by the Turks from Adrianople were outranged by new British heavy artillery, and the wonderful Stokes gun travelled to the Tigris front with fleets of motor-lorries and other aids to rapid transport. Ice plants were erected, green food was grown in abundance, and insect pests were combated; the able war correspondent, Mr. Edmund Candler, strangely distinguishing himself as a strategic genius in the battle against Beelzebub, the god of flies.

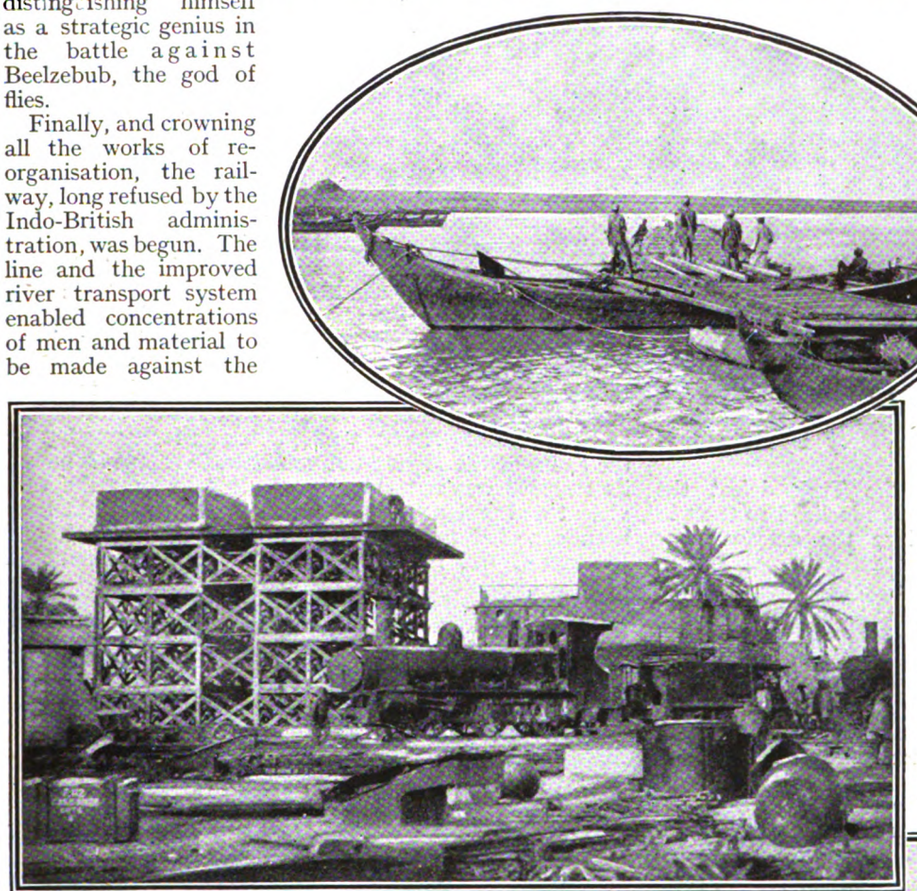
Finally, and crowning all the works of reorganisation, the railway, long refused by the Indo-British administration, was begun. The line and the improved river transport system enabled concentrations of men and material to be made against the enemy, with a rapidity to which he could not reply by means of the incomplete Bagdad Railway line. As Lord Kitchener had avenged Gordon by driving a railway towards Khartoum, so the engineers of Sir Stanley Maude avenged Townshend by driving a railway towards Bagdad. The speed with which the river line was constructed was unparalleled in overseas warfare. Able and determined men organised the railway of victory along the Tigris.

Before, however, the railway was built, it was necessary to roll back the great river floods, of which the ancient tradition comes down to us in the early chapters of the Bible. At Basra, by which a constant stream of troops and stores poured, ground space was won for camps, huts, magazines, and hospitals. A great embankment was raised from Magil to Shaiba. From the main embankment another rampart against the waters branched off to Basra. This was followed by further works on a total front of twenty miles.

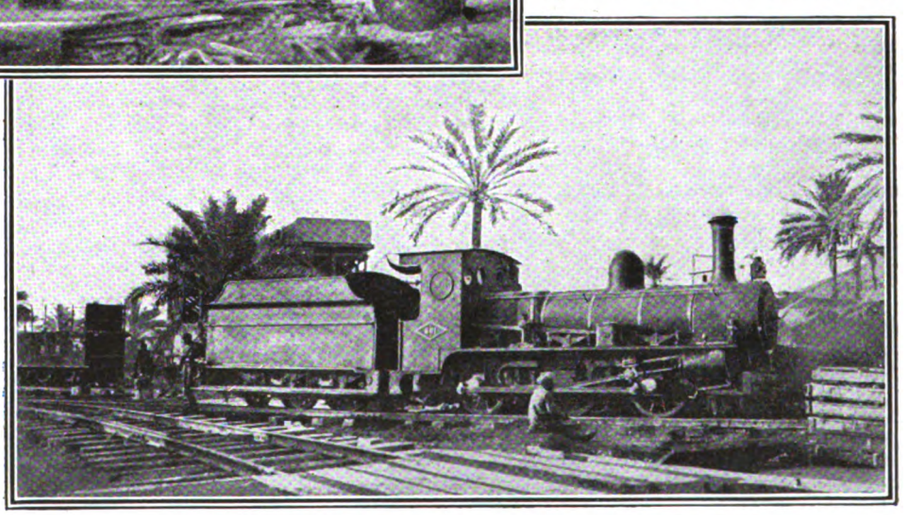
Transformation of Basra

Wharves were constructed by which ocean-going steamers could stop and unload. Large waterworks were made at the port and the towns on the upper reaches. Direct wireless communication was established with London, and Basra was transformed into one of the great seaports of the world, exceeding in importance, if not in romantic picturesqueness, the glories it had enjoyed in the days of Sindbad the Sailor. Then it had been the great Moslem gate to the Orient, trafficking in spices, silk, and pearls, and jealously guarding its secrets of commerce from the barbaric European world. In those days Mesopotamia was so fertile and so well peopled that the farm-houses almost touched from Basra to Bagdad.

For thousands of years before the reign of Haroun-al-Raschid the great desert between the rivers had blossomed like the rose. Vague swells of buried mud-bricks, veiled in blown sand, dimly remained to show where lived the first dynasties of the world, men who were masters of both the Mediterranean Sea and Indian Ocean. Some of their ancient seaports had been removed hundreds of miles from the sea, owing to the enormous masses of earth brought down by the rivers since the dawn of



RAILWAY-YARD IN THE DESERT.
Only a year before this photograph was taken the spot was bare desert. In oval: Making a pontoon bridge over the Tigris.



WHERE THE RAILWAY RAN OVER ANCIENT CARAVAN ROUTES.
One of the locomotives of the Mesopotamian railway. The operations that resulted in Sir Stanley Maude's recapture of Kut, and his triumphs at Bagdad and beyond, were immeasurably facilitated by the rapid establishment of railways and other means of supplementing the slower river transport.

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CAPTURED TURKS IN THEIR FLOATING PRISON.

Turkish prisoners taking exercise on board a steamer in which they were interned at Basra. Many of the thousands of Turks taken by Sir Stanley Maude during his advance were sent down the Tigris to this port.

civilisation. Eden after Eden had flourished and faded, conqueror after conqueror had triumphed and vanished. The tall cane-brake grew where illimitable levels of wheat had shone. The lion prowled where sheep once had grazed. Palaces and temples, hanging-gardens and millions of happy homes had fallen into the dust. The last inheritor of the ancient paradise of the earth—the Arab—had seen the land laid waste by tribe after tribe of Mongols, and had been thrown back to primitive savagery by his fellow-Mohammedan—the Turk.

The Arab had finally watched the Turk defeat the Briton. For a generation he had been inclined to trust in British power, and half to believe the extraordinary promise of a renaissance of Mesopotamia through British agency. But when General Townshend's column turned back from the great arch at Ctesiphon, many Arab tribesmen lost their faith in a British regeneration of their country, and, going over to the apparent victor, helped the Turk to pursue and surround the Indo-British force. The gigantic transformation of Basra, carried out with a speed like that of the miracles performed by a magician of "The Arabian Nights," served once more to impress the imagination of the tribesmen.

As the great effort of organisation proceeded with equal intensity of achievement at Amara and other distant river towns, the tale of wonders spread across Arabia through Nejd to Mecca. No doubt the news was also carried northward to Bagdad, Mosul, Aleppo, and thence to Constantinople. The Turk and the Teuton, however, appear to have been somewhat incredulous of the reports conveyed to them by numberless spies. They did not believe that the great works were being achieved in time to have any decisive effect upon the course of the war.

The Turkish military authorities, inflated with conceit in their victorious power, neglected to strengthen their Tigris front, and spent men by tens of thousands in helping the Austrians in Galicia. They made also another vain adventure in the direction of the Suez Canal, and assisted the Bulgarians around Salonika, while maintaining a strong line of battle against the Russians in Armenia and pursuing their wild plan of invading India through Persia. According to a German allegation, made in a belated manner after the disaster, the Turkish Staff conducted the later Mesopotamian campaign according to its own views, and did not submit its problems in strategy to the successor of Von der Goltz. Seeing, however, that both Falkenhayn and Hindenburg greedily and selfishly took large Turkish forces away from Turkey, and exhausted them against the south-eastern Russian army under General Brussiloff, it would appear that the Germans misled the Turks.

Germans mislead the Turks

It was the General Staff of Germany that misappreciated the situation on the Tigris. The enemy's military authorities either overlooked the older lessons in British tenacity, or concluded that time would not allow the disaster at Kut to be retrieved. A very strong Ottoman force was left on the banks of the Tigris; but considerable as was its power, its strength was not properly adjusted to meet the very violent and prolonged effort which the British might have been expected to make. Falkenhayn, Hindenburg, and Ludendorff did not understand the British mind and

TEUTONIC LEADERS OF THE TURKISH RED CRESCENT.

Contingent of Turkish Red Crescent ambulance men marching in the desert with German officers and doctors at the head of the detachment. Above: Building a desert portion of Germany's dream railway from Berlin to Bagdad. The dream of this railway as an important factor in Germany's progress to world-power was shattered by Sir Stanley Maude's victories at Bagdad and beyond.

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character. They did the ordinary things, while Sir William Robertson, Sir Charles Monro, and Sir Stanley Maude were strenuously preparing extraordinary feats.

Seven months and a half were silently spent by the Mesopotamian army in organising the territory it occupied, speeding-up methods of transport, collecting reinforcements, and devising improved means of warfare. The ground abandoned by the enemy between the Tigris and the Hai was gradually consolidated and strongly occupied, in a manner permitting swift concentration against the long stretch of Turkish fortifications.

The Turks then occupied some thirty miles of lines along the loops and bends of the Tigris. At Sanna-i-Yat their deep and intricate trench system formed a narrow, profound front between the flooded Suwaicha Marsh and the swollen Tigris. On the opposite bank was a large patch of water-logged ground extending close to a second zone of strong defences at Es Sinn. At Es Sinn was another swamp, the Suwada Marsh, on which the second zone of Turkish fortifications rested. The low land was badly water-logged by winter floods, hindering operations in the cool season when battles could best be fought.

CAVALRY HORSES THAT HAD PLENTY TO DO.

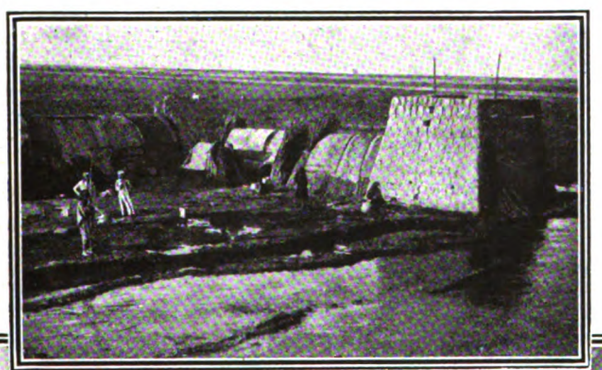
Horses of British hussars embarked on a barge for conveyance up-stream. In the final advance upon Bagdad the British cavalry did much successful work, extending their raiding operations on wide flanks and sometimes far inside enemy territory.

Feint attack on the Hai

Sir Stanley Maude, however, crept upon the enemy in the night of December 13th, 1916. From Imam Ali Mansur, a force of cavalry and infantry marched in the darkness across the seven miles of desert to the fords of the River Hai, an almost stagnant hidden river edged with scrub. The infantry rushed the Turkish outposts and threw a pontoon bridge across the stream near Atab. Then the cavalry also crossed the Hai as dawn was breaking, and swept along the western bank of the river to a point two miles from Kut. Thereupon the infantry in turn again advanced and entrenched in a large bridge-head on the ground they had won, while the cavalry made a sudden raid towards the Shumran bridge on the Upper Tigris, nine miles beyond Kut. All these surprise operations were carried out with slight casualties, and perturbed and confused the enemy.

It was against the distant Shumran bridge, well behind Kut and far in the rear of the principal zones of the Turkish defences, that Sir Stanley Maude intended to make his main attack. Apparently, he considered that the Turkish commander would regard the operations across the Hai as a feint, designed to distract him and induce him to weaken his forces at Sanna-i-Yat. This was exactly how the Turkish general looked at the matter. On the night of December 14th his pontoons at Kut were bombed by the British Flying Corps, and so wrecked and scattered that the Turks had to ferry their troops across the river.

When the enemy was thus temporarily lamed, the Indo-British forces on the Hai pressed onward, and won all the ground within a quarter of a mile of Kut. From their new camp the attacking troops were able to see the townspeople gazing from their roofs. The line of white houses, thrown out against the dark palm-groves, could have been reduced in a day to a heap of mud-bricks had the British gunners been ordered to bombard. But though their guns were within three miles' range of Kut, the town was not attacked. All the head of shell was poured upon the eastern Turkish front of Sanna-i-Yat, where the bombardment began on



SOLDIERS OF THE SULTAN WHO FELL PRISONER TO THE BRITISH.

Turkish prisoners lined up to have new clothes distributed to them. In the series of operations which began on December 13th, 1916, and ended with the capture of Bagdad on March 11th, 1917, a large number of Turks were taken prisoner; 7,000 were reported up to February 28th. Above: An Arab village on the Tigris. Much of the Mesopotamian lowland is water-logged, and habitations are few between Basra and Bagdad.

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December 14th. This was done in order to lead the enemy to think that the movement across the Hai was only a preliminary diversion.

The cavalry that had crossed the Hai extended its raiding operations twenty miles inside the enemy's territory, breaking bands of hostile Arabs and capturing the important position of Gassab Fort, where cattle and grain had been stored. The enemy's river communications were also raided ten miles behind Kut, and some of his bridges destroyed. The Flying Corps co-operated admirably with the horsemen and, using a ton of bombs on a single journey, sank enemy steamers and exploded ammunition dumps.

By Christmas the army of Mesopotamia was in high spirits, confident in its increased strength and in the skill of its commander. The Turks, however, were also in good fighting form, and as full of dogged courage as in the days of Plevna. On January 9th, 1917, an Indian division made a sudden superb attack on the Turkish lines in the bend of the Tigris north of Kut. Here, in a position known as Mohamed Abul Hassan, both ends of the loop were stormed by Indian troops. They advanced through the morning mist, and, with very few casualties, occupied the eastern mounds of Kut and the river-bank, at a point nearly a day's march behind the Sanna-i-Yat lines.

VIEW OF THE MAIN STREET IN MODERN BAGDAD.

All the streets are narrow and filthy in Bagdad, an architecturally ugly town described as being "a little like Cairo, a little like Lourdes, a little like Monte Carlo, and a little like Clapham Junction."

The position of the Turkish garrison seemed hopeless. It had the swollen Tigris at its back, with no bridge and only some primitive basket boats as communications. The British guns hammered the enemy into a narrow area; but instead of breaking or surrendering, the hard-pressed Turks made an unexpected counter-attack along some of the river nullahs and recovered part of the lost ground. The Indian division attacked again in the evening, and again won all the ground. The battle continued all the night and the next day. Though the Turks fought on splendidly, they once more were penned by the evening into a narrow triangle on the river-bank. But the following afternoon, when the attacking division was closing for the final assault, the Turks made a most gallant sally.

Turks' dogged courage

They broke into both flanks of the Indian line, in the face of a terrific tempest of artillery, machine-gun, and rifle fire. Though thrown out with heavy losses, they continued to make sorties and counter-attacks. "It seems to me," said a British private taking part in the action, "the old Turk doesn't know he is beaten until he is dead." For nine days the force defending Mohamed Abul Hassan held out in the river loop. Then the Turks buried their dead in their trenches, filling up all the earthworks, and when their surrender was expected, slipped away in the darkness in boats and coracles to their main position on the left bank of the Tigris. The British divisional commander thought the Turks had been digging themselves in deeper against his artillery fire. When day broke, the enemy had vanished, leaving no works to serve as cover for the Indian troops when they advanced toward the river-bank. By general consent the action at Mohamed Abul Hassan was regarded as a Turkish rearguard victory. Seldom had the Ottoman fought with more skill and determination.

Garrison vanishes in the night

On the other hand, the attacking troops were handled in scientific fashion. Economy in life was the rule on the British side. The attacking trenches were gradually thrown forward, while the enemy was driven back by hurricane gusts of high explosives from trench-mortars and field and heavy artillery. More than a thousand dead Turks were found in the bend.

While the Turkish commander was massing east of Kut against the river loop he had lost, the Indo-British forces resumed their operations west of Kut, across the Hai. After working some days in getting their guns and munitions forward, they opened an intense bombardment against the enemy's position south-west of Kut. Screened by the barrage, the attacking infantry stormed a position known as the lunette in the Dahra bend. The lunette extended from the end of the Hai River to the right bank of the Tigris, between Kut and the Shumran bridge. The enemy withdrew from his firing-trenches when the bombardment began, and lost a large stretch of his first line and a considerable portion of his second line. As soon, however, as the Indo-British force began to occupy the lost ground, the Turkish commander began launching counter-attacks. For two days and three nights the contending troops swayed to and fro. Twice the Turks recovered the ground from which they had been dislodged, only to be again blasted and bayoneted out of their lines. In one place the Turks erected a barricade of their dead as a protection from Indian and British bombers.

With the same economy of life as was observed in the conquest of the eastern river loop at Kut, the thrust into the western Dahra bend was maintained. All the lunette was occupied on a front of two miles and a half by January 28th. By February 3rd the mouth of the Hai River was controlled by the attacking force. The Turks then retired to the liquorice factory, famous for the gallant exploits of two battalions of General Townshend's forces during the great siege. The group of buildings was surrounded by a moat, and formed a large and magnificent machine-gun position. Using the factory as a flanking fort, the retreating Turks occupied a line of works extending westward for four miles, and rejoining the Tigris at the Shumran bridge of boats. The boat bridge was soon wrecked by British guns, the enemy's shipping shattered, and a considerable amount of his grain captured by a cavalry raid. Then the liquorice factory, that had been held by General Townshend throughout the siege of Kut, was stormed in a single

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The conqueror of Bagdad: Lieut.-Gen. Sir Frederick Stanley Maude, K.C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O

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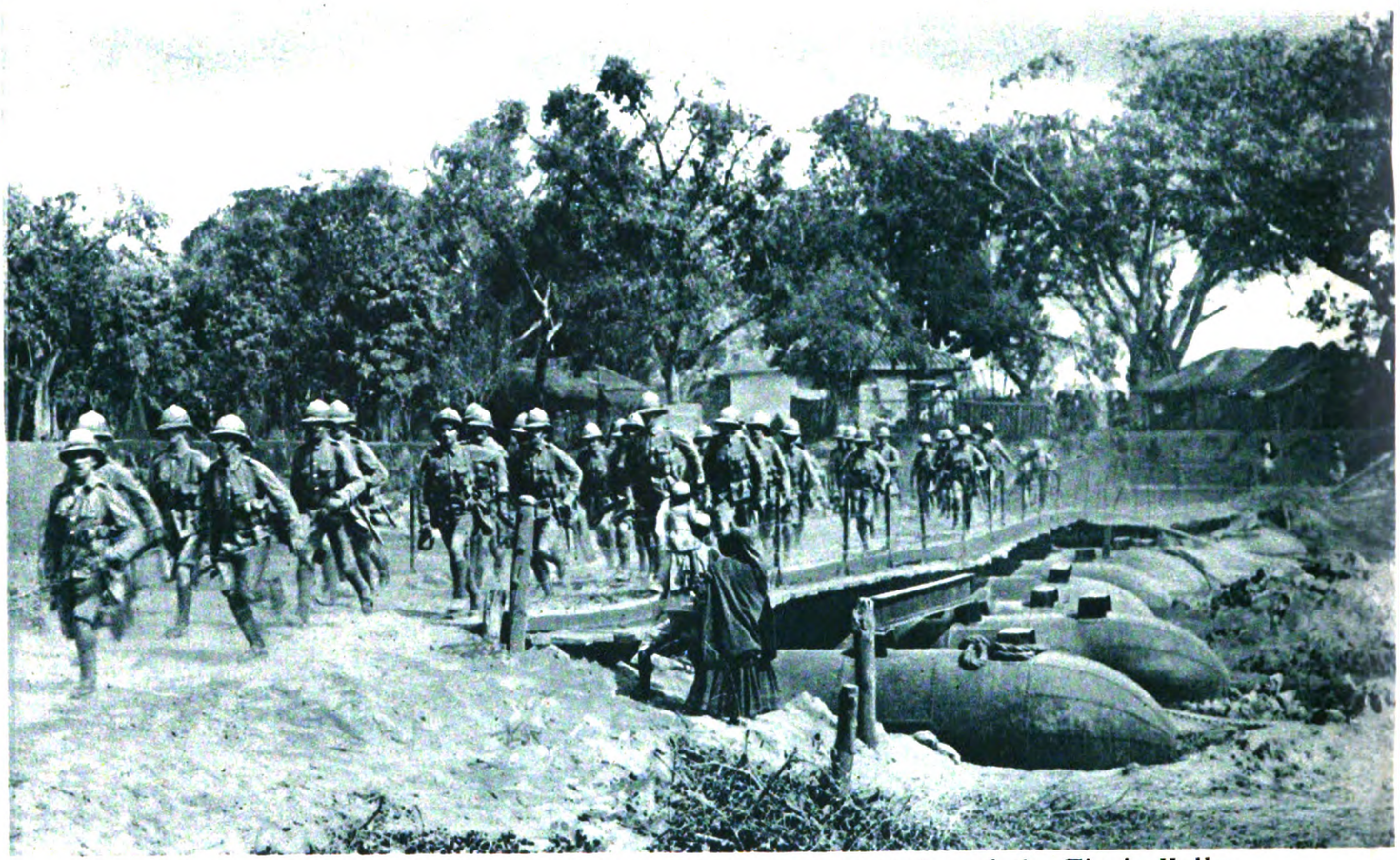

Troops crossing a pontoon bridge over a marshy section of the Tigris Valley.

Station on the Tigris bank used by the river transports carrying small detachments.

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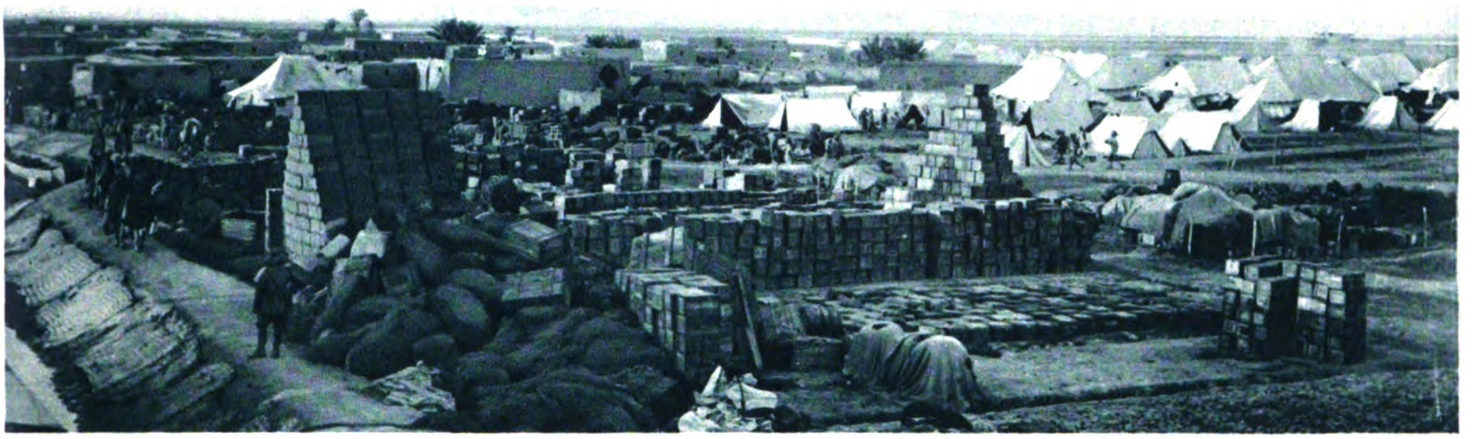

British airman flying over Sheikh Saad on the way to Kut-el-Amara.

Camel supply-train passing through abandoned trenches on the way to Kut.

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General view over Bagdad, " Queen of Cities " of the East, captured March 11th, 1917.

The Bridge of Boats across the Tigris at Bagdad, looking westwards to the warehouse quarter.

Arabs unloading the sailing boats which ply the Tigris with cargoes of grain and fodder.

Palm-grove encampment of the cavalry attached to General Lake's Kut relief force.

Picturesque scenes in the victorious advance to the old capital of the Caliphate.

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operation on February 10th, the enemy being pushed back half a mile closer to the river in the critical Dahra bend.

The distance between the Turkish front at Sanna-i-Yat and the Turkish rear at Shumran in the Dahra bend was thirty miles. It was more than two days' march for an army of the modern type, dragging a large amount of heavy artillery and constricted in its march to the river road between the Tigris and the northern swamps. The Ottoman commander was risking something like a Sedan; for it was clear that, if his lines were pierced in his rear at Shumran, his main body of troops would be enveloped.

Occupation of Shumran bend

The British pressure on the Dahra bend was resumed on February 15th, in circumstances resembling the earlier attack on the Mohamed Abul Hassan river loop. On this occasion, however, the defeated Turkish garrison was not allowed to escape by a clever ruse. First the enemy's right flank was driven in, then his right centre, and while he was making weak counter-attacks, his left centre was broken and two thousand prisoners were taken. The pontoons by which the Turks endeavoured to escape across the river were smashed by shell fire, and the bend was occupied as far as Shumran.

The enemy commander still persisted in regarding this instant and formidable threat to his rear as a feint intended to weaken him at Sanna-i-Yat. His German airmen may have informed him, as the result of their reconnaissances, that the long British line beyond the Hai River showed no menacing concentration of men, guns, and material. The transport arrangements of Sir Stanley Maude's army were, in fact, concealed from hostile eyes. The enemy checked all river traffic from Sanna-i-Yat, and his own movements by water were hindered from Shumran onward. Both sides had to rely on road transport, and the Turks occupied the better road. For a week all the British preparations for a swift movement were quietly yet vehemently made. In the meantime the main Turkish forces were fiercely held in the trap they had made for themselves between the flooded Tigris and the Suwaicha and Suwada Marshes.

On the afternoon of February 17th the long-impending operations against the Sanna-i-Yat position were begun. A strong frontal attack was delivered, and the enemy's two first lines were carried. The Turks immediately counter-attacked, according to their custom. Their first rush was completely shattered, but their second wave broke into the right flank of the assailants. Thereupon, the left flank also withdrew in the evening, leaving the enemy in possession of all his lines. Yet the effect of this preliminary demonstration in force was not at all vain.

After the interval of reorganisation the Sanna-i-Yat position was more methodically reduced on February 22nd. Two lines of trenches by the Tigris were suddenly carried. This local success provoked the enemy to counter-attack. He had been carefully trained in this method of trench-holding by the German officers sent to instruct him in the latest advances in warfare. The Germans had learned the methods from the French, who held their front lines feebly, and relied largely on the speed of fire and semi-automatic action of their light artillery to beat an attacking force into bayonet-fodder for their counter-attack.

The Ottoman officers did not always appreciate the rationale of the modern counter-attack. They regarded it superstitiously as a certain recipe for victory, whereas it had become rather an outworn artillery trick, easily countered by a force with superior heavy guns and flying trench-photographers.

Sir Stanley Maude's brigadiers photographed and measured the Turkish lines and instructed their gunners in the exact ranges. A few registering shots were tried. The infantry, under cover of a strong but limited curtain of shell fire, occupied the first Turkish line. The Turks brought all their guns to bear on their lost works, and, while a fierce artillery duel opened, counter-attacked. Six times they counter-attacked, losing thousands of men. The heavy, long-ranged British artillery, joining with the lighter guns, mowed down the brave but ineffectual enemy. Once, through sheer power of manhood and mass of sacrifice, the Turk almost touched success. In the end, however, he was beaten. His counter-attack method had been turned against him and used to exhaust him. Two of his Sanna-i-Yat lines were consolidated by the victors.

This was the subtly decisive and indirect winning stroke in the conquest of Mesopotamia. The Ottoman commander was entirely deceived. He reinforced his front at Sanna-i-Yat when, thirty miles distant against his rear, the main struggle gently opened in the Shumran bend. Just before daybreak on February 23rd covering parties were ferried across the Tigris. Britons and Gurkhas they were. The Britons got within a few yards of the river-bank held by the Turks before a single outpost spied the leading boat. Machine-gun fire and musketry fire then broke out against the boat, but the British guns across the river helped to stamp down all opposition, and the enemy pickets were captured.

THE CITADEL, BAGDAD, WHERE GENERAL MAUDE HOISTED THE UNION JACK.
The military quarter of Bagdad is situated on the left (the eastern) bank of the Tigris, at the end of the town farthest up-stream, between the Government offices and the cemetery. It comprises the lofty Citadel, a military hospital, and cavalry barracks to the rear inland.

The Gurkhas crossed farther down-stream, and, meeting with stronger resistance, conducted a fierce little action before they gained the other bank. After getting through a strong machine-gun fusillade the Gurkha boats were attacked with grenades as the men were landing.

Gurkhas cross the Shumran bend

There was a bombing match between boat and river-bank, in which the hardy mountaineers of Nepal bore down the Turks. Then, hanging on under an intense artillery fire, they joined up with the British regiment that had extended from its crossing point up-stream. Britons and Gurkhas advanced through the Shumran peninsula, sweeping the Turks before them, and covering the engineering work on the Tigris.

The great river was a thousand feet broad, with a flood

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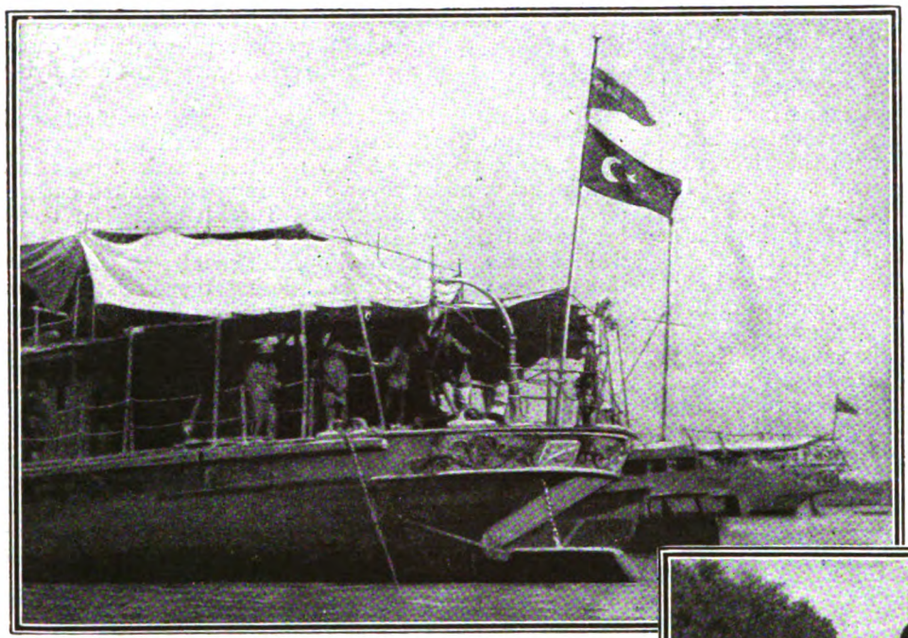


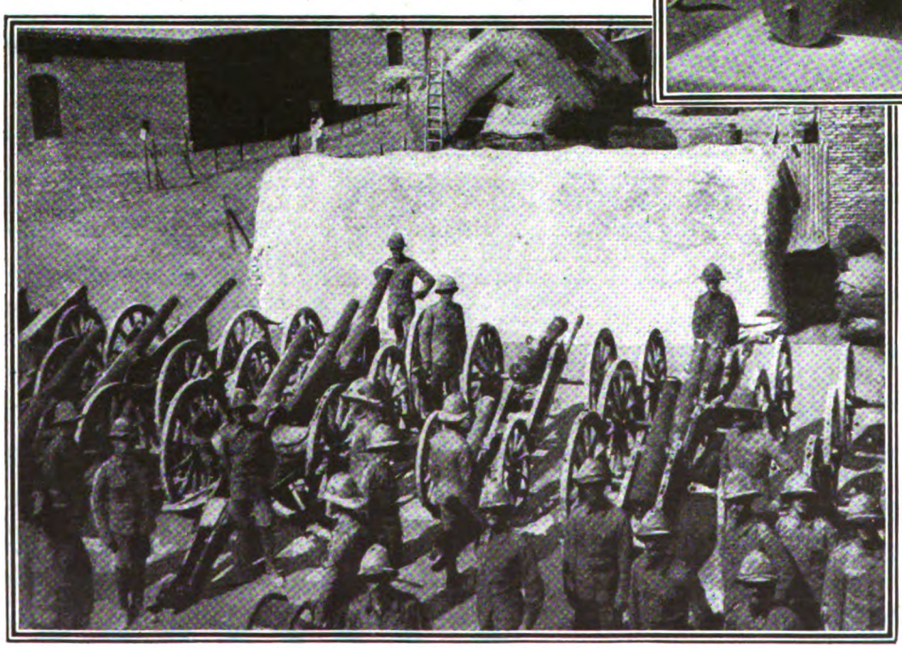
SYMBOL OF BRITISH SUPREMACY.
When the Turks intervened in the war they commandeered this British vessel, then trading on the Tigris, and used her as a transport. She was recaptured by the British during their pursuit of the Turks to Bagdad, and the Union Jack was hoisted above the Turkish Crescent.

current running at five knots. The sappers drove in their first shore anchorage at half-past eight. By half-past four the Tigris was bridged and an army was crossing it. Turkish guns swept the point of crossing, but with little effect. One pontoon only was hit, and that was not sunk. The tremendous speed with which the bridge was thrown across the river was the grand surprise. The enemy thought the slow work of ferrying small parties over would go on all night and the next day. Consequently, where he had expected to meet with patrols he encountered an army.

In preparation for the sweep for the Shumran peninsula the British guns on the southern bank had been massed in a large arc. The Turkish guns were soon beaten down, and the British and Indian infantry stormed forward in the night of February 23rd, and, when day broke, the ridge across the neck of the peninsula was conquered and occupied. Well within gunshot of the ridge was the immemorial river road running from Bagdad to Kut. Two days' march beyond was the front of the Ottoman army, still blindly fighting in the Sanna-i-Yat position, where the third and fourth lines had been stormed by an Indo-British division.

The breaking blow had not yet been struck, yet one of the great decisive battles of history was

QUAINT TURKISH ORDNANCE.
The Turks lost two-thirds of their artillery, captured by the British or thrown into the Tigris by themselves. This quaint gun was among the British spoil.



GUNS THAT WERE TWICE TAKEN FROM THE TURKS.
In the first Battle of Kut, in September, 1915, General Townshend captured these guns from the Turks. Then when the heroic defenders of Kut had to surrender in April, 1916, the Turks again got possession of their lost guns, though it was only for a time. In February, 1917, Sir Stanley Maude recaptured them when he took the town.

already won. In the year 1638 the Ottoman conqueror, Murad IV., had driven in triumph through Bagdad, passing under an ancient tower built by the old Caliphs of Mesopotamia. The vaulted gateway running through the tower had been walled up immediately after the barbaric conqueror passed through. The rough wall, strangely contrasting with the finished and lovely Arab work it stultified, still stood as a symbol of the imprisonment of the Arab spirit, but the guns that roared over the Shumran bend, ninety miles distant, were opening all the gateways of Mesopotamian civilisation. Between daybreak and nightfall, on February 24th, 1917, the

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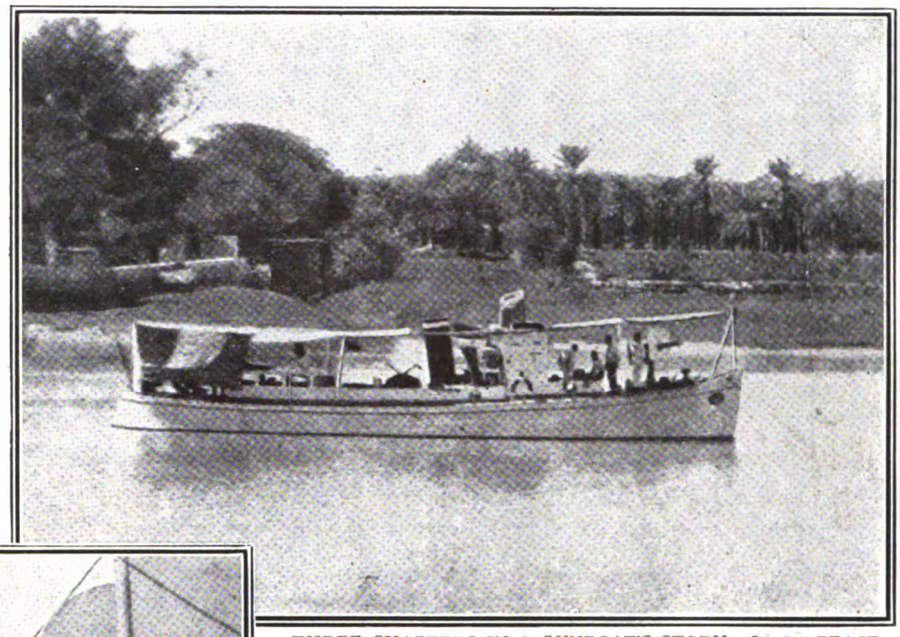
enveloped Ottoman army of Irak was destroyed.

At eight o'clock in the morning a strong force of Indo-British cavalry manœuvred against the flank of the Turkish line of retreat. At the same time the Indo-British infantry drove from the Shumran bridge upon the fugitive enemy, and, taking him unawares, inflicted upon him crippling losses. Then while cavalry, infantry, and gunners were already chasing the Turk north-westward towards Bagdela, on the way to Bagdad, Sir Stanley Maude's eastern forces broke fiercely upon what had been the Turks' front and was now their scattered rear.

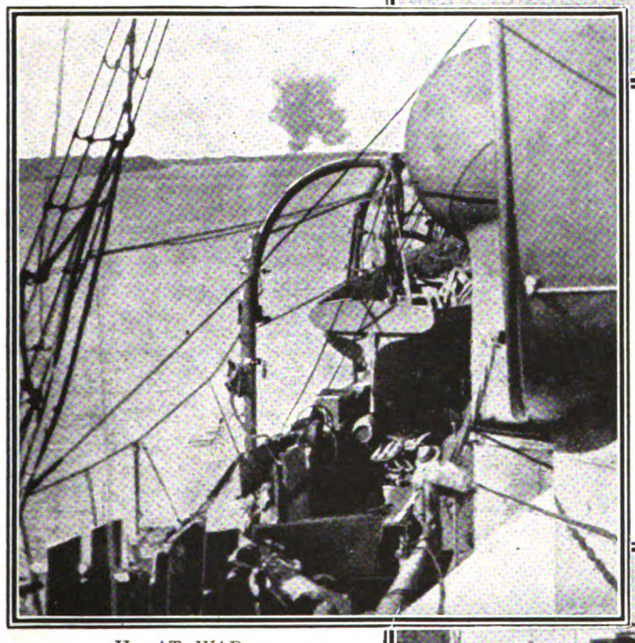
Like a gigantic pair of pincers, of which the handle rested on the Hai River, the points of the widely-separated Indo-British army closed upon the breaking enemy. He fled into the desert, into the swamps and the cane-brakes. His magazines went up in flames, his guns were flung into the river, and, as he ran from position after position, British gunboats steamed up the Tigris with decks cleared for action, and acted as pursuing cavalry. Group after group of the fugitives leading the rout was overtaken by British machine-gunners in flying machines.

The recovery of Kut became an unimportant episode in the triumphant march of victory. Like the recapture of the British gunboat, the Firefly, which had been lost on the retreat from Ctesiphon, the occupation of the famous little river town, though in itself a romance, was almost lost to sight in the tremendous drama that was now being enacted. The victors had no time to pause when the jaws of their vice came together near Kut, leaving but remnants of the Turks reduced from an army into a mob. Upon the rapid organisation of the pursuit depended the immediate fate of Bagdad. Men, horses, and engines were worked to the utmost energy in order to reap the full harvest of victory.

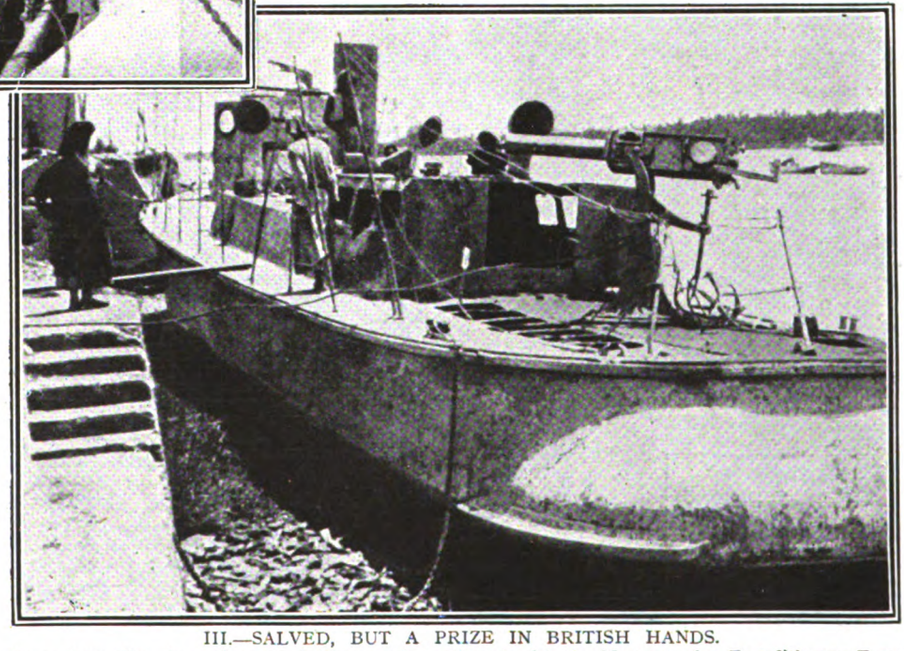
The line of the Turkish flight was intersected by numerous stream beds and irrigation ditches, and dotted with peasants' huts. Under all this cover the Turks fought a series of rearguard actions. In the night of February 24th a strong Turkish force, with artillery, was discovered in



THREE CHAPTERS IN A GUNBOAT'S STORY. I.—IN PEACE.
Turkish gunboat lying at anchor in the Tigris before the Ottoman Empire was beguiled by Germany into alliance with the Central Powers—a picture of halcyon days of peace upon the river.



II.—AT WAR.
Fired by shells from a British warship, the gunboat burned fiercely, the dense smoke being visible miles away.



III.—SALVED, BUT A PRIZE IN BRITISH HANDS.
Some time after the action, the British naval contingent with the Mesopotamian Expeditionary Force salved and captured the vessel and put her under repair. A shell had penetrated to her oil-tank, causing the conflagration shown in the centre picture.

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MAP ILLUSTRATING THE OPERATIONS ROUND BAGDAD.

By the end of April, 1917, the Indo-British forces under Sir Stanley Maude operating in the ancient country of Mesopotamia had reached to Feluja, on the Euphrates, about forty miles west of Bagdad, to Samarra, about a hundred and fifty miles north of that city on the Tigris, and had linked up with the Russian forces at Kizil Robat, not far from the Persian frontier to the north-east.

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a series of entrenched positions fifteen miles west of Kut. It was clear that this rearguard was covering the withdrawal of guns and stores from Baghela, farther up the stream. But early in the morning of February 25th the British gunboats and Indo-British cavalry and infantry swept in and around the last strong hostile rearguard.

The cavalry enveloped, by a ride round the river marshes, the northern flank of the Turks. The gunboats steaming up the river, in an artillery duel with the hostile guns, obtained a field of fire on the enemy's rear, where British airmen were watching him. As the rearguard shook under the menace of complete envelopment, the infantry charged and broke down all resistance. Thereupon, the general flight of the enemy went on in increasing confusion and disorder. Although only 4,300 prisoners were taken between February 24th and February 27th, the blow to the enemy's strength was tremendous.

The beaten troops had been the pick of their race—veterans from the Gallipoli and Ctesiphon fields of victory. Many of them had fought to the death, their total losses probably reaching 30,000. Those who had died fighting were the cement of the Army. When they vanished nothing was left but a panic-stricken mob. This mob, by the evening of February 27th, passed through Azizie, on the north bank of the Tigris, fifty-five miles from Kut and forty-five miles from Bagdad.

The trail showed the changes in the Turkish mind. At first a continuous battlefield stretched from Sanna-i-Yat to Imam Mehdi. The ground was pitted with shell-holes and strewn with dead troops and shell-cases. Farther westward there were few dead Turks, but many dead mules and horses and dying animals exhausted in the flight. Along the roadside lay live shells flung from the limbers to lighten the burden. Rarer became the intervals where the guns of the gunboats and horse-artillery had shelled a Turkish rearguard and made another scene of battle.

Across the undulating desert, broken by mounds and ruined canal-banks, the pursuit continued by the tree-fringed river from Azizie to Laj, twenty miles nearer Bagdad. A force of Turkish infantry, on March 5th, endeavoured to check the pursuit at Laj. Covered by the thick haze of a sandstorm, the leading body of British cavalry rode through the nullah in which the Turks had entrenched and compelled them to abandon the position. On March 6th the farthest point attained by General Townshend in his advance was reached.

At Ctesiphon once more

For one tropical, starry night the grievous burdens of the day—scorching heat, lashing sandstorm, desert thirst, and intolerable fatigue—were lightened by visions of ancient grandeur mingled with prospects of a great modern achievement.

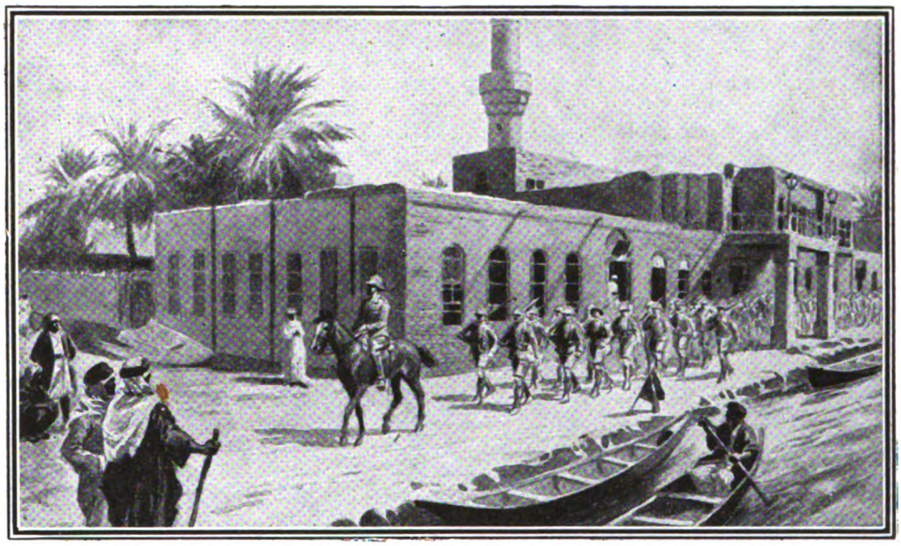
By the edge of a reed-grown marsh rose the huge vault and gigantic eastern wing of the Palace of Chosroes, the fire-worshipping Emperor of the Mediterranean and Indian Ocean. Where the Great King had sat in glory, heir of the dominions of Alexander and his Macedonian captains, there the small heroic expedition of Townshend had won victory and then retreated, as fresh Turkish reserves from the Russian front reinforced the half-shattered Ottoman army that had vainly defended the approaches to Bagdad.

Once more British and Indian troops, excited by victory, lighted their camp-fires round the mighty arch built by the race of fire-worshippers, of which the last remnant had become the Parsees of the new Indo-British Empire. No doubt there were some Parsees in Sir Stanley Maude's host of Christian, Moslem, Hindu, and Arab troops. Far back in time their thoughts must have ranged as they gazed upon the most imposing ruin in all the world, built by their forefathers in the days when Persia had vanquished the power of Rome.

Russians capture Kirmanshah

The thoughts of the British troops must, too, have been bitter-sweet. Their fellow-countrymen were captives of the barbarous Turk; them they could not yet rescue. Nevertheless, they could soothe their sufferings and exalt their pride of race by a march of conquest which made a new chapter in modern history.

The situation was in some ways similar to that which obtained when General Townshend camped by the Palace of Chosroes. For the second time the Ottoman army in Irak had been hammered up the Tigris, from the Suwaicha Marsh to the Diala River. It had retreated with the utmost rapidity, with the same design as before, which was to get in touch with large reinforcements hastening from the Turkish forces in Persia and the Turkish reserves near Mosul. Immediately on the fall of Kut the Turks in the heart of Persia began quickly to retire. General Baratoff, acting in concert with General Maude, pressed the retiring enemy, and in the first week of March recovered the important provincial capital of Kirmanshah, commanding the main caravan route between Bagdad and Teheran. The Russians were then one hundred and sixty-seven miles from Bagdad, and the British merely fourteen miles.



KUT: WHERE AN EARLIER DEFEAT WAS SPLENDIDLY AVENGED.

British troops in Kut-el-Amara, on the Tigris. Captured by General Townshend on September 29th, 1915, Kut was then besieged by the Turks, and after an heroic defence surrendered on April 29th, 1916. Nearly a year later, on February 24th, 1917, it was brilliantly recaptured by Sir Stanley Maude.

Consequently, the Turkish army in Persia was in danger of having its chief lines of communication cut above Bagdad if it stayed to offer any opposition to General Baratoff's advance. The fugitives from Kut were dragging with them another mass of fugitives from Persia. Neither of the retreating forces could help the other. The only hope of both was that the general Turkish reserves from Mosul would again arrive in time to strengthen the broken forces near Bagdad and check the British advance.

Sir Stanley Maude, however, was overwhelmingly strong and surpassingly swift. His means of river transport were incomparably superior to those possessed by General

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LANDING OF BRITISH SAILORS ON THE TIGRIS.

In Sir Stanley Maude's advance up the Tigris to Kut, and the subsequent rapid pursuit of the Turks to Bagdad and beyond, gunboats of the British Navy rendered valuable assistance to the land forces not only from the river, but also by means of landing-parties.

Townshend. His railway on the lower course of the Tigris set free a large fleet of vessels for immediate battle service up-stream. While the infantry was camped at Ctesiphon the cavalry bivouacked near the Diala River, within gunshot of the suburbs of Bagdad. The retiring Turkish rearguard, which had been pierced by the cavalry, fell back across the Diala, and destroyed the bridge at the point where the tributary stream joins the Tigris.

On the morning of March 7th the manœuvring of forces for the Battle of Bagdad opened. The Indo-British cavalry, with two columns of infantry, began to work round the right bank of the Tigris River, so as to make an enveloping movement on Bagdad from the south-west. At the same time a direct frontal attack was organised against the Diala stream line, which was held by the main Turkish forces and strengthened by fresh troops brought by railway to Bagdad

The operation was a double movement like that conducted east and west of Kut. The enemy was assailed front and rear, so that if he resisted too strongly the attack on the Diala line, a rapid concentration on his flank would lead to envelopment. A frontal attack alone would not have succeeded. The ground was too favourable to the enemy's defensive. The Diala stream was three hundred and sixty feet wide, and screened by houses, trees, and walled gardens. The cover enjoyed by the enemy's observers, machine-gunners, and sharpshooters made it impossible to repeat the Shumran tactics and bridge the river secretly and swiftly.

At any unusual point of embarkation a road and ramps would have been required for bringing up the pontoons, and the enemy would have ascertained from these preparations where the passage would be attempted. The bridge, therefore, had to be constructed openly, and completed by sheer hard fighting. The old bridge-head site was chosen by reason of its convenience. and on the night of March 7th the first pontoon was lowered over the ramp in bright moonlight. The watchful Turks, massed in the houses on the opposite bank, turned their machine-guns and rifles on the launching-party and shot them all down. The second pontoon was caught in the middle of the stream and the crew killed. The third nearly reached the opposite bank, the men rowing with calm, fierce courage, but it was sunk by a bomb. The fourth crossing-party was annihilated in the same manner. Still there was no holding back. Band after band of volunteers came out into the moonlight from the brigade, and the struggle went on across the stream until the loss of available pontoons prevented all further attempts.

The gunners had not been able to help. The pursuit had been conducted with such speed that they had no time to register on their targets. The work of getting the exact ranges was carried out on March 8th. Then, again, in the clear moonlight night the river battle for the bridge-head was resumed. The new curtain fire of shell made for success. The explosions, though apparently injuring few of the concealed enemy machine-gunners and sharpshooters, had an important indirect effect. The dust raised by the shells formed so thick a fog that ten boats were able to cross and secure a footing. Only when the dust died down were succeeding crossing-parties slaughtered with the same deadly precision as on the previous night.

Lancashires' splendid exploit

In all some sixty Lancashire men crossed the Diala and, joining up, began bombing along the bank. The Turks, finding how small was the landing-party, pressed it in on either flank between two woods. In ordinary circumstances the little detachment, surrounded on three sides by thousands of foes, and cut off at the back by the moonlit, bullet-swept river, would have been exterminated. Happily, the river embankment had been broken by a

GALLANT GURKHAS ON THE SHUMRAN BEND.

One of the most brilliant episodes preceding the capture of Kut in February, 1917, was the bridging of the Shumran bend, seven miles beyond that town. Two Gurkha regiments effected a crossing in the face of strong opposition by means of an heroic bombing attack on the bank.

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former flood, and, instead of repairing the mud wall, the Arabs had constructed a new interior embankment, of crescent shape, behind the breached rampart.

Their recent work was a perfect lunette from the military point of view. The Lancashire men at once manned the chance fort, and held it against strong and repeated attacks all the night, all the next day, and the following night. At midnight on March 9th the Turks, by mass attack, reached the top of the embankment, and with one more determined rush would have carried the fort. The Lancashire men were reduced in number to forty, and their ammunition was running out. Yet with steady courage they economised their bombs and cartridges, killing or wounding men at every stroke. They threw the Turks off the parapet, and when the main force at last crossed the river to their help, the lunette was still held, with a stock of ammunition consisting of one hand-bomb and one clip of cartridges. The Lancashires on the Diala achieved one of the finest feats in the entire range of the war.

DIFFICULTIES BY THE WAY: MESOPOTAMIAN PALM-GROWN SWAMP.
Contrasting desert and swamp were among the obstacles to the Mesopotamian advance. In some parts of the water-logged country along the Tigris the troops pursuing the Turks had at times to wade almost waist-deep through morass-like stretches of country.

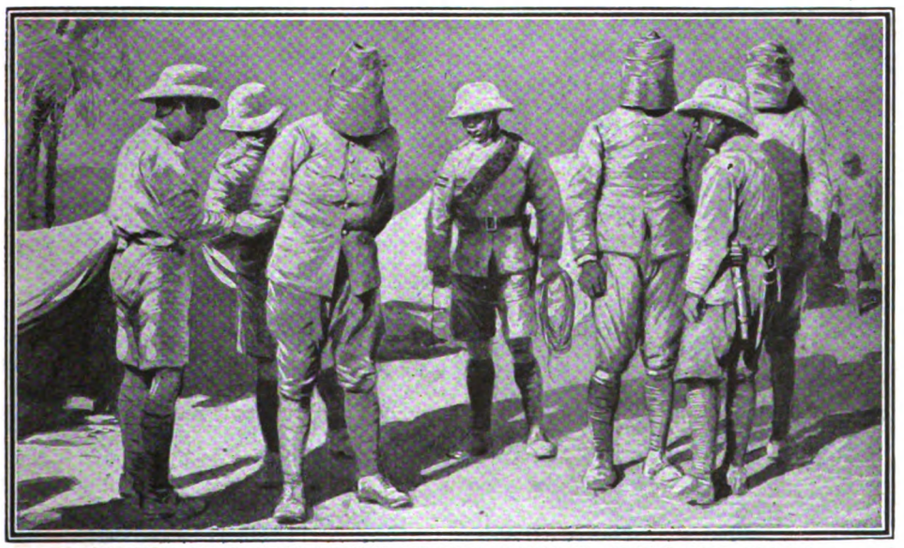
Meanwhile, on the last night of the ordeal, the Turks at length showed signs of anxiety at the progress of the cavalry and the infantry columns working south-west of Bagdad. They began to withdraw their machine-guns from the Diala. Fresh Indo-British parties crossed the stream, and by slipping through the Turkish rearguard, gained dead ground, outflanked the Turks on both sides, and captured a company of them. One crossing up-stream was so unexpected that a Turk was bayoneted as he lay stretched at full length, covering the opposite bank with his rifle.

Union Jack over Bagdad

By the morning of March 10th the brigade was across the Diala, and pursuing the Turks into the palm-groves of Saida. The guns quickly followed, and raked the palm-groves with shells before the infantry went in with the bayonet. The Turks then retired northwards to an entrenched line four miles from the Tigris. This line was attacked on the flank and also assailed in front, and to avoid envelopment the enemy again fled, leaving the victors to enter Bagdad from the east. Thus the frontal attack on the capital of Mesopotamia succeeded, despite the fact that the Ottoman commander had received reinforcements enabling him to offer a stubborn resistance.

The flank attack was equally successful. On the night of March 7th, when the first terrible crossing of the Diala was checked, the Indo-British cavalry, with its two infantry columns, threw a bridge across the Tigris and swept up the right bank of the river towards the road from Aleppo to Bagdad. In great heat and blinding dust-storms the troops marched eighteen miles through the desert, and found the enemy strongly posted south-west of Bagdad. Immediately attacking, they forced the Turks back two miles. Then on March 10th, in a stinging, choking, blinding gale of sand, they pressed their advantage and again turned the defending forces out of a new position only three miles from Bagdad. Broken on the Diala and driven in by the Tigris, the Ottoman army abandoned Bagdad and, in two confused lines of flight along the railway and along the Diala, separated into divergent, hurrying crowds, one seeking help from the north, the other hoping for aid from the west. On March 11th, 1917, the Union Jack flew from the citadel of the city of "The Arabian Nights."

As the vanguard entered, crowds of Arabs, Jews, Persians, Armenians, and Chaldeans came out to meet the dust-covered, red-eyed, weary victors. Children danced before the troops; women put on their festival dresses and clapped from roofs and balconies; the streets were lined with cheering crowds. Some Kurds, however, were looting the bazaars at the farther end of the town, and battalions had at once to be detailed for police work against the last of the marauders of the Ottoman Empire.



TURKISH PRISONERS TAKEN IN THE ADVANCE ALONG THE TIGRIS.
Gurkha guards making sure of Turkish prisoners before sending them back through the British lines. These prisoners were blindfolded by having their caps reversed and the back flap pulled down over their faces. Their wrists were then securely bound behind them.

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MAP OF THE TIGRIS FROM KUT-EL-AMARA TO BAGDAD.

It was on February 24th, 1917, that Sir Stanley Maude recaptured Kut and started in pursuit of the retreating Turks. A fortnight later the victorious Indo-British army under this brilliant leader entered Bagdad.

The joy of the townspeople was most genuine. The oppression they had endured was as savage as that of the Mongol era. It had become brigandage on a vast scale, though townsmen and soldiers were nominally fellow-countrymen and largely fellow-Moslems. The despoiled and downtrodden people of Bagdad hailed with delight the prospect of coming under the orderly and progressive administration of the race that had built up Egypt and made India strong and prosperous.

On the day of victory, however, little time could be given to the affairs of the city. Only a few battalions could be spared to deal with the looting Kurds and guard the streets. As at Kut, the immediate pursuit of the enemy was the task of supreme importance. General Maude had in fifteen days advanced a hundred and ten miles, fighting rearguard after rearguard, crossing the Tigris three times, and engaging in two great pitched battles. The country through which he worked was destitute of supplies, but such was his organisation that he not only fed his army on the march, but arrived in Bagdad with ample resources for rapid, continuous action.

When Bagdad was occupied, the Indo-British cavalry pressed onward along the left bank of the Tigris, and, by another extraordinary effort, reached in less than twenty-four hours a point thirty miles upstream from Bagdad. Sweeping along the railway line, the cavalry, with considerable assistance from the British gunboats, got another good day's march behind the rear of the Turkish forces, which were retiring on the right bank of the river. These forces consisted of the remnants of three Turkish divisions. They were overtaken by infantry on March 14th, and again broken at the railway-station of Mushadiya and driven in full flight towards Samarra.

While these operations were proceeding up the Tigris, another strong Indo-British force pursued the second Turkish army that was retreating up the Diala River, in order to unite with the enemy forces retiring from the Russians in Persia. The fighting along the northern tributary was difficult, as the country was intersected with numerous canals and rivers, most of which had to be bridged. The region through which the Russians were operating was also against rapid movement, as the old caravan route ran through narrow mountain passes and great stretches of snow. The town of Kizil Robat, on the upper reach of the Diala tributary, was fixed as the junction-point of the Russian and Indo-British forces.

At first it looked as though the Allies would effect their junction without any great difficulty, and combine to crush the defeated and scattered Ottoman divisions. Someone on the Turkish Staff, however, kept a clear and active head. Probably he was a German commander sent in haste to the scene of disaster. For the plan he made was somewhat similar to that devised by Frederick the Great in an extreme difficulty. He tried to trap that portion of the Indo-British army which had been detached, after the conquest of Bagdad, to move northward up the Diala towards the Persian frontier and link up with General Baratoff's vanguard.

Clever Turkish attempt defeated

Collecting the three divisions that were retiring along the Tigris on Samarra, he stiffened them with reinforcements. Then he brought them back along the road to Bagdad towards the Adhaim River, which ran at an interval of thirty miles, roughly parallel with the Diala stream. The Turkish force retreating before the Russians was ordered to entrench, and while conducting a containing movement northward to send all the troops it could spare southward to co-operate with the Turkish force on the Upper Diala.

The scheme was that this combined force should close down from the north against the British and Indian troops on the Diala, while the re-formed Turkish divisions on the Adhaim River advanced westward and likewise attacked the Indo-British. Cleverly as the converging attack was planned it did not succeed. The British commander also followed the methods of Frederick the Great. He detached

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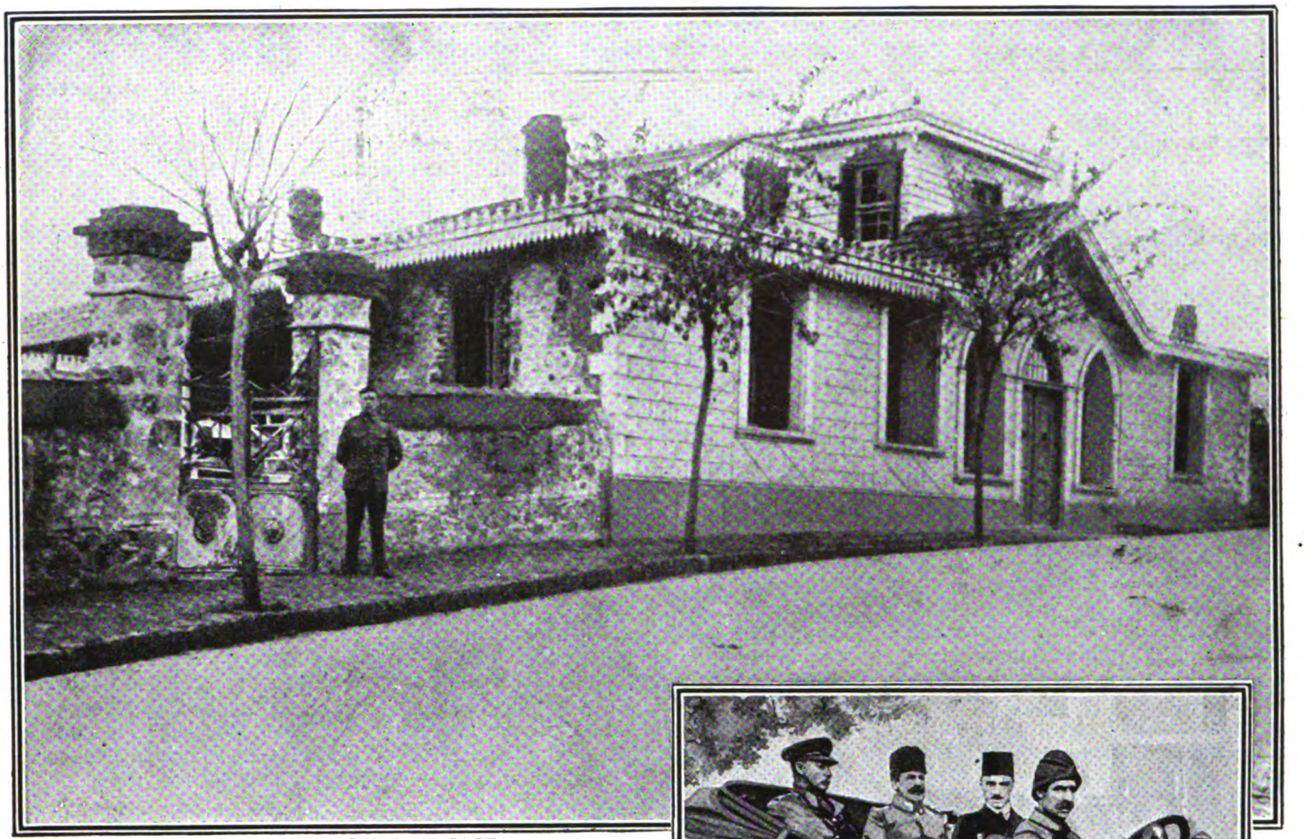
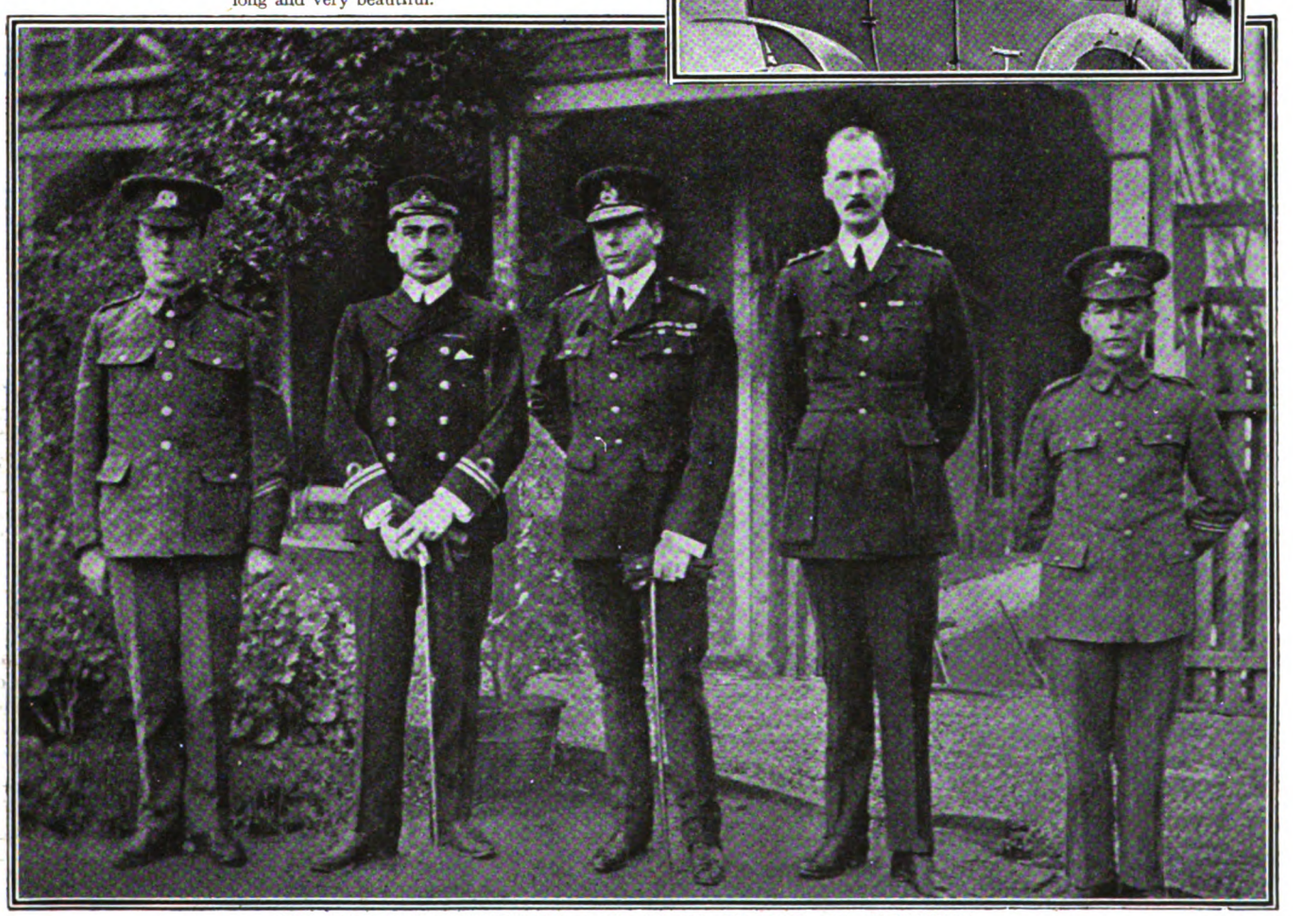


NO BARS, BUT STILL A CAGE.

Sir Charles Townshend's house on Prinkipo Island. It stood on the cliffs with a view over the sea, and had a garden a quarter of a mile long and very beautiful.



SIR CHARLES TOWNSHEND, THE HERO OF KUT, IN CAPTIVITY.

Full of admiration of Sir Charles Townshend's heroic defence of Kut-el-Amara, the Turks treated him with honour and assigned him quarters on Prinkipo Island, near Constantinople, where he was allowed full freedom. Left to right: Corporal Boggis (orderly), Tewfik Bey, General Townshend, Captain Morland, Private Hoskyns. Above: Sir Charles Townshend driving with the Commandant of Constantinople.

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a small force that countered the northern body of newly-combined Turks near Deli Abbas. With his main strength he met the forces coming from the Adhaim River line and broke them, so that they fled back over the river on March 29th. This cleared the way for the junction of the Allies. On April 2nd the Indian Lancers and the Cossacks met at Kazil Robat, and the victories of Kut and Bagdad were consummated by a union of the two allied armies, who then formed an uninterrupted line of front protecting Persia from invasion.

Much still remained to be done before the concentrated Ottoman forces were decisively broken. These forces were strengthened with fresh troops and placed under a new commander with talent and character. There was, indeed, a report that Mackensen, the ablest of all German generals, was coming to Mesopotamia to retrieve the fortunes of the Turks. He probably sent a very able man from his Staff, and promised to come himself as soon as affairs on the Danube allowed. Certainly the enemy needed assistance, both moral and material. The spirit of the Turkish infantry was, for the time at least, remarkably low. This was proved in the series of actions between the Diala and the Adhaim, which occurred after the junction of the Russian and British armies.

On April 10th Sir Stanley Maude, by drawing in his detachments on the right bank of the Diala River, lured the Turks to return to the rich region of Deltawah, only thirty miles north of Bagdad. The following night the British commander made a night march from the Tigris, struck the surprised Turks on their flank, and drove them back for many miles with heavy losses. But for a mirage that screened the battlefield in a critical moment the enemy would have been trapped and annihilated. Again, on April 18th, the Turkish divisions operating from the Adhaim River were attacked on two sides, one thrust being delivered by the Tigris and another across the northern tributary. The Turks were routed, and only saved their guns because the horses of the British cavalry were completely exhausted by the heat. Fifteen hundred prisoners were taken, and the enemy's losses in dead and wounded were in proportion. Yet the total casualties of the attackers numbered only seventy-three. Clearly the Turks in Mesopotamia knew that they were beaten. Scarcely any fight was left in them, and only the tropical weather and the waterless condition of the desert prevented another long and victorious march by the army of Mesopotamia.

By the end of April, 1917, Sir Stanley Maude was master of the Euphrates as far as Feluja, where one of his columns had pushed across the rivers intersecting the desert. All the Bagdad Railway, stretching seventy miles to the terminus at Samarra, was also conquered. The broken Turkish forces were pushed nearly a hundred miles away from Bagdad, in spite of the terrible heat in which the pursuit was continued. Ancient Babylonia was a British possession, and the famous Moslem shrines of Kerbela and Samarra were recovered from the Turanians.

To the green-robed Persians Kerbela was as sacred a spot as Mecca. For there Hussein had perished in circumstances that led to the great schism in the Mohammedan world. Then at Samarra, under a dome of gold, slept the Imam of Allah—the mysterious prophet, who was expected by the Persians to rise again, when the time was ripe, and establish righteousness throughout the earth. Under British protection, these homes of the Shiah faith, which had been looted of their treasures by the enemy, served strongly to attach the Persian people to the Allies and complete the work carried out by Sir Percy Sykes and General Baratoff.

Revival of the Arabs

The succession of diverse defeats incurred by the Ottomans took from them all their practical means of religious control. The Orthodox Moslems recovered the shrine of the Prophet, while the Shiahs were rejoicing in liberty at the shrine of Hussein. In the heart of Arabia the direct descendant of Mohammed, the Sherif of Mecca, had proclaimed the independence of his people and become King Hussan of the Hedjaz. He formed a league with other independent princes of Arabia whose territories were nearly as large as India. By common action against the Turk the Arab race organised itself. Clear signs could be seen of one of those great movements of the Arab spirit which in the past had been turning-points in the annals of both Asia and Europe.

In many ways the decision achieved at Kut and confirmed at Bagdad was of far-reaching consequence. Not only did it restore the prestige of British arms in Asia and Northern Africa, but it weakened the reputation of the Germans even more profoundly than it depressed the spirit of the Turks. Some years before the date when the Teuton definitely determined to break the peace of the world, the British Government tried to placate them by allowing them a large sphere of influence in the Near East. The Germans then devised their Berlin-Bagdad route, and continually put pressure upon the British Government to gain the control of the Persian Gulf. For some years their apparent design was merely one of commercial expansion towards their chosen "place in the sun" at Bagdad. Beneath their engineering and commercial designs, however, was a military plan for an overland route of advance to India, with the practical absorption and reorganisation of the great potential fighting power of the races of the Ottoman Empire.

British prestige restored

The British Government was at first inclined to think that the movement was intended against Russia. But the attack was really directed against the tropical possessions of the British Empire. Austria-Hungary entered into league with Germany, and, acting as the spear-head of that Central Europe that aimed to dominate the earth, began to thrust through Serbian territory in the design to prepare the way for the Berlin-Bagdad movement. From 1909 to 1913 Europe shook with preparations for war and threats for war, because the eyes of the Teutons were fixed on the strange, distant, and romantic goal of the city of "The Arabian Nights." In the end it was the Austrian pressure on Serbia, made with the view to annexing the railway corridor to the Orient, that directly brought about the awful conflict of all the Great Powers of the world.

The Germans then had, of course, more practical and immediate schemes of conquest than they had previously entertained in regard to Mesopotamia. They had estimated that a generation of quiet, gradual work would have been required to consolidate themselves on the Tigris and the Euphrates.

When, however, their great armies in Europe were checked, and a peace by negotiation seemed to them the best way out of their difficulties, Bagdad again became one of the great bases of their hopes of permanent expansion.

Germany and Austria-Hungary were to unite in forming a Central Europe State, to reach through the railway corridor of Serbia, Bulgaria, European Turkey, Asia Minor, Arabia, and the Persian Gulf. These countries were to form an economic and military confederation. Mesopotamia was to be developed by German engineers and agricultural experts, and made the granary of the Teuton-Ottoman Bund and the future base for operations against the communications of India and Egypt.

All this was little more than a dream, yet it was ever present to the German mind. After every severe check in the principal theatre of war the Germans resumed their boastings of the Berlin-Bagdad line.

The world continually rang with German voices spreading the fame of Bagdad. Immense, therefore, was the moral effect when the city of ancient enchantments was taken by Sir Stanley Maude.

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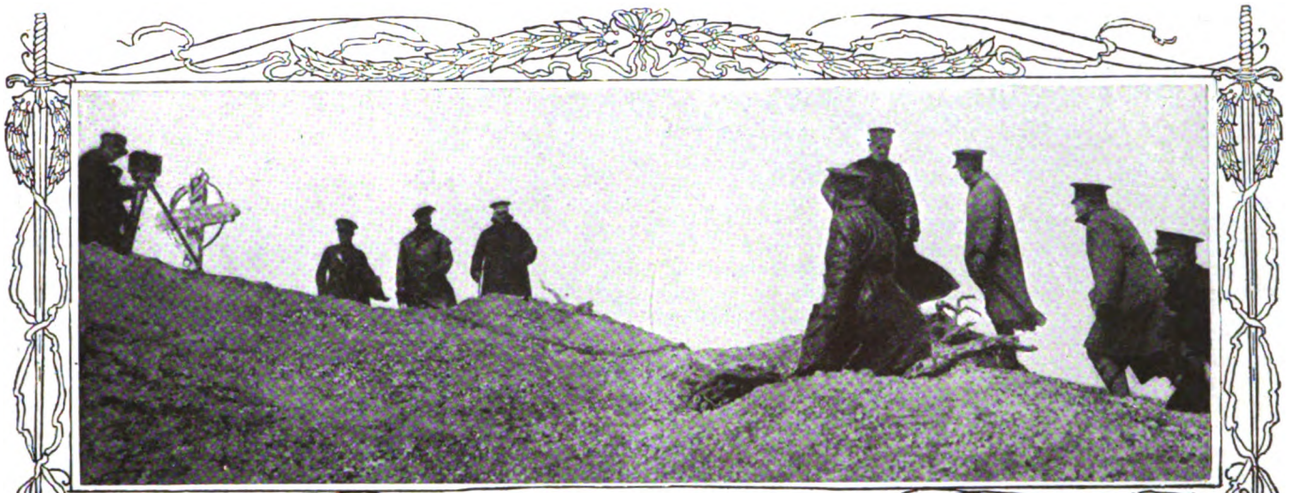

SPANISH OFFICERS ON THE WESTERN FRONT.

CHAPTER CLXXVII.

THE INTRIGUES AND TRIALS OF NEUTRAL EUROPE.

German Intimidation of the Smaller Neutral States—Anti-German Feeling Among the People of Holland Coincident with Pro-German Sympathy among the Jonkheers and Leading Merchants—Dutch Army Mobilised to Meet a British Invasion of Holland Artfully Suggested by the German General Staff—Holland Perturbed by American Proposal to Stop Superfluous Exports—Political Isolation of Sweden Before the War—Reactionary Coup d'Etat by the Swedish Aristocracy—King Gustav's Proposal for an Anti-British Scandinavian Union Declined by the Kings of Norway and Denmark—The Transito Established in Sweden by Great Britain—Trouble Over the Parcels Mails—The Closing of the Sound—Effect of the Russian Revolution Upon the Swedish Reactionaries—Norwegian Democracy Benevolently Neutral Towards the Allies—Friction Over the Blockade Problem of the Export of Norwegian Copper to Germany—Passive Responsiveness of Denmark to Pressure—Purchase of the Danish West Indies by the United States—Sincerity of All Neutral Socialists Tested by the Russian Revolution—German Intrigues in Switzerland—Cleavage between the French-Swiss and German-Swiss—The Stegemann Case—Economic Pressure by Germany upon Switzerland—Overtures for a Commercial Rapprochement between Great Britain and Spain—Reactionary Noble and Clerical Forces in Spain Reinforced by the Organised German Population in that Country—Subtle and Persistent German Intrigues in Spain.

FROM the spring of 1915, when the course of Germanic intrigues in the neutral world was described in Chapter LI. (Vol. III.), to the spring of 1917 no decisive change of conditions occurred in the Scandinavian countries, Switzerland, Holland, and Spain. At intervals the Germans made threats of invasion against Norway, Switzerland, and Holland. These threats, however, were designed only to terrorise the small neighbouring neutral States, make them submit to the effects of submarine piracy, and compel them to yield further under the economic pressure of the Teutons. So long as the countries bordering on Germany continued to feed the German armies their existence was tolerated by the enemy. Their absorption into the Middle Europe system was temporarily postponed, owing to circumstances over which the German General Staff and Marine Office had no proper control.

In Holland, in Sweden, and in German-speaking Switzerland there was some partial inclination to unite with the Central Empires. In Holland popular feeling ran against the Germans. Only the landed gentry and the large business interests linked with the German export trade saw any solid and permanent advantages in the proposed scheme of military, political, and economic serfdom. The ancient nobility of Holland—headed by the Bentinck family—had sent sons as volunteer officers into the German Army, and some of their older men, occupying important positions in the Dutch Army, made no secret of the fact that they desired to see a general triumph of German arms. A Dutch general was on Mackensen's Staff.

THE KING OF SPAIN.
Alfonso XIII. became protector, in Germany and Austria-Hungary, of the interests and subjects of several belligerent countries.

THE QUEEN OF SPAIN.
Victoria Eugenie Julia Ena Maria Christina, daughter of Prince and Princess Henry of Battenberg. Born October 24th, 1887.

The Dutch Jonkheers sympathised with the Prussian Junkers for selfish class interests. There was no national base for their policy. Quite the contrary. They were disturbed by the growth of democratic and socialistic activities among their own populace, and hoped eventually to obtain the help of a victorious and reactionary Prussia in repressing and chaining down the Dutch working classes.

A considerable number of Dutchmen of the upper middle class took the

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same view. Not only did they want as docile and serf-like a proletariat as Prussia possessed, but they required a mighty and prosperous German Empire, to which they could continue profitably to act as export agents. Their principal port, Rotterdam, was the grand outlet of the immense industries of the Rhine basin. Anything that damaged the Germans damaged also the Dutch. On the other hand, anything that injured Antwerp profited Rotterdam; and, among other things, the German occupation of Zeebrugge, the great new base for Belgian ocean traffic, gave considerable relief to some menaced Dutch mercantile interests.

Pro-German party in Holland

Members of leading Dutch business houses would have lost nothing if the Germans had succeeded in dominating the world. They would have amalgamated on fair terms with German business houses, and become prosperous partners in the supreme Teutonic system, bringing in their rich East Indian plantations as a great asset of the new partnership.

On the whole, therefore, the *haute bourgeoisie* of Holland inclined to the same policy as the Jonkheeren. The farming class did not worry about any policy, being content to enjoy its advantages of making enormous profits out of the ineffectual British blockade. Agricultural Holland, built up by exports to Great Britain under the British Free Trade system, was transformed into a huge factory for transforming American cattle-cake and fodder into highly-priced provisions for German soldiers and munition makers. All that the ruling and influential classes of Holland feared was that Great Britain would intervene and forcibly stop the huge leak in the blockade of the Central Empires.

[*British official photograph.*

INSPECTING THE RUINS.

Spanish officers visiting a wrecked village retaken by the British on the western front.

British official photograph.

AT A TRENCH ENTRANCE.

British Staff officer explaining the construction of modern trenches to the Spanish visitors.

[*British official photograph.*

SPANISH OFFICERS VISITING THE WESTERN FRONT.

Members of the Spanish Mission in a mine-crater; an aeroplane was passing overhead. A number of Spanish officers were taken round part of the British front in France to study the actual conditions of modern warfare.

The attempt to control the commerce between the Netherlands and Germany by means of an oversea trading trust, directed by a British commercial attaché at The Hague, was farcically inept. Dutch newspapers openly proclaimed that the means of control had failed. The strong pro-German party of Jonkheers, merchants, and farmers at last became alarmed by their own success in helping the enemy.

By March, 1916, Sir Edward Grey was commonly regarded in the Netherlands as the most Machiavellian statesman that ever existed. It was supposed he had let the Dutch treat him as a blind weakling, until he had accumulated against them an overwhelming case for warlike action. The loss of the rich plantations of Java and Sumatra and the capture or internment of Dutch shipping were, so rumour ran, only part of the price that Holland would have to pay. The great new national armies of the British Empire were ready for action, and Lord Kitchener, so the Dutch Staff apparently believed, intended to kill two birds with one stone—invade Holland and turn the flank of the German forces.

A farce with a moral

The Dutch Army actually mobilised to meet the attack. On March 31st, 1916, the General Staff requisitioned the railways and strengthened the personnel at strategic stations. All leave for military and naval officers and men was stopped. Guns were expedited to the coast and the defences of the estuaries of the Scheldt and Rhine were reinforced. On the Stock Exchange there was a general slump in prices, steamship shares falling in an especially heavy manner. Some liners postponed their

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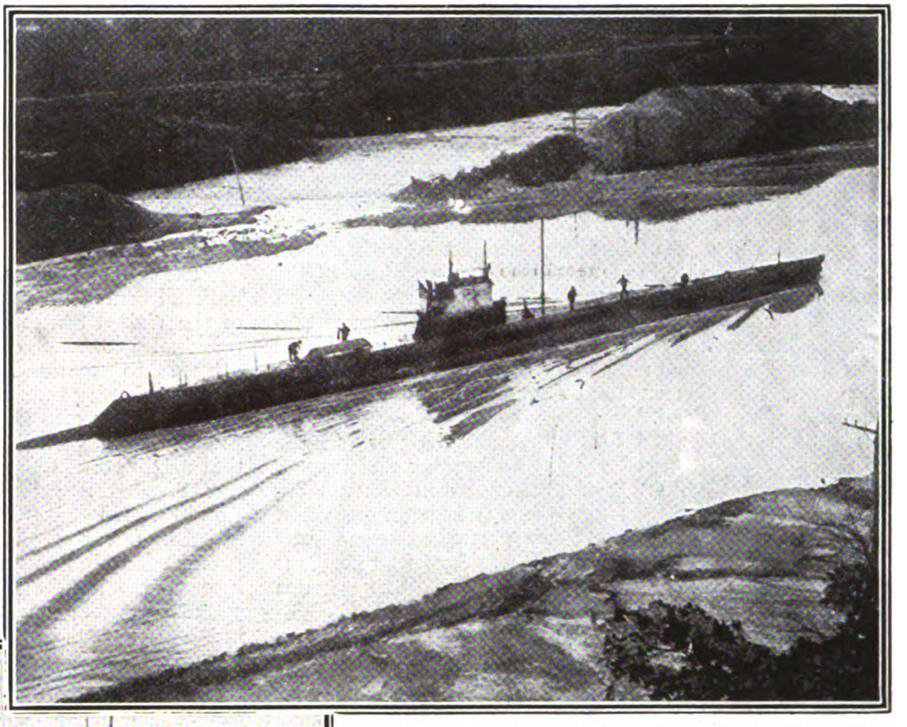
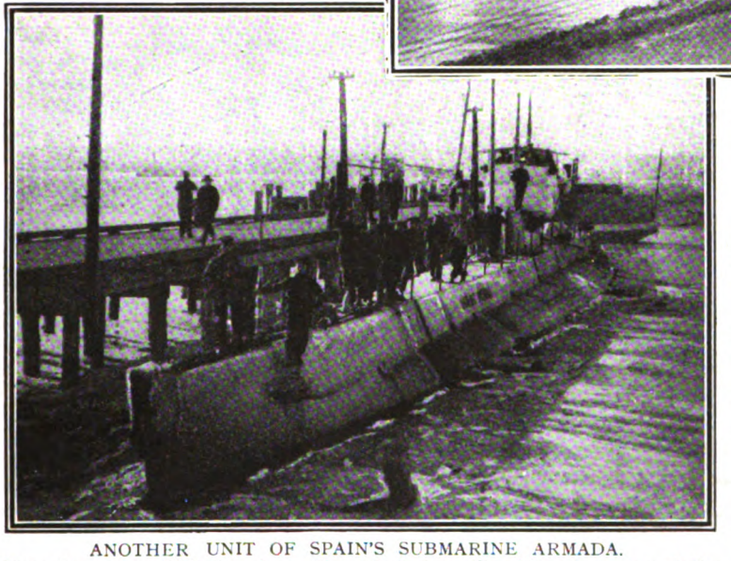
sailings, and there was a furious run on the banks. A secret session of Parliament was held, and the general perturbation continued for more than a week. Very gradually, as the anxiety of the people calmed, the reason for all the military, naval, and political activity was revealed. The German General Staff had warned the Dutch General Staff of a British attack near the mouth of the Scheldt, and had suggested that if Holland did not feel strong enough to oppose the disembarkation of the British Army, the German forces in Belgium would undertake the task.

The affair was an historic farce with a moral. It indicated the weight of German influence upon the uneasy mind of the Dutch governing class. The larger part of the Dutch Press was then rabidly hostile to Great Britain, who was accused of tyrannic endeavours to reduce the Netherland nation to a condition of vassalage. When, for example, the Tubantia was torpedoed by a German submarine, the "Niewe Rotterdamsche Courant" insinuated that the liner had been sunk by a British submarine. Then, after the Berkelstroom was openly torpedoed by the U18, in inhuman circumstances, the same organ of the Dutch merchant classes mildly remarked that the incident would tend to tell against the general sympathy felt throughout Holland for the German people.

At the opening of the campaign of Germanic piracy, in 1917, seven Dutch steamers were torpedoed on leaving Falmouth, after an assurance had been given by enemy authorities that the vessels would not be attacked. Some were outward-bound in ballast to neutral ports; one was returning to Holland with wheat for the Dutch Government. All were destroyed. Yet the majority of the directing and influential classes did not lose faith in their neighbours. Only the Dutch Radical groups, with the circles represented by the "Telegraaf" and "Handelsblad" newspapers, remained concerned for the honour of their country and the free development of civilisation.



SPANISH SUBMARINE IN AMERICAN WATERS.
Preparing for eventualities, Spain, while preserving neutrality, ordered new submarines from American yards. One is shown here passing through the Cape Cod Canal, Massachusetts.



ANOTHER UNIT OF SPAIN'S SUBMARINE ARMADA.
The submarines which American shipyards built to Spanish orders were of the 800-ton type, 200 feet in length, with a cruising radius of 5,500 miles. They attained the latest and highest standard of submarine construction at the time of being laid down.

In so far as the Dutch working classes were organised for political action in the interests of labour their influence was employed to promote the intrigues of the Prussian masters of Middle Europe. Mynheer Troelstra, the leader of the Social Democrat movement in the Netherlands, co-operated with Herren Scheidemann and Ebert and other Socialist jackals of the Kaiser. In July, 1916, he welcomed them in a German speech to a conference at which an attempt was made to revive the international organisation as an instrument for obtaining a German peace. He also took an important part in arranging, in 1917, a Socialist conference at Stockholm, in which the Russian Revolutionists were to be tempted to break with the democracies of France, the United States, Italy, and the British Empire and make a separate peace with the autocracies of Germany and Austria.

In addition to Dutch Socialism, Dutch religion was transformed into a political weapon against the Entente Powers. A leading politician, Dr. Kuyper, was the head of a Calvinist league directed against "atheistic and revolutionary France." The leader of the league applauded the destruction of the Lusitania, and said the victims had been punished for trying to act as a shield to the cargoes despatched by American armament firms. Alongside the Protestant pro-German force was an equally powerful Roman Catholic group, directed by Cardinal van Rossum and the Archbishop of Utrecht. Dutch priests and ministers at times proclaimed from the pulpit the righteousness and glory of Germany's war.

Religious political intrigues

Only a powerless minority of Dutchmen retained the independent spirit of their forefathers, and their chief spokesman, the editor of the "Telegraaf," was at last imprisoned by the Netherlands Government for the crime of publishing his opinion of the scoundrels of Germany. Virulent attacks upon Great Britain and France by men of the school of Dr. Kuyper were not checked by similar police

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proceedings. It seems to have been thought, after the panic of March, 1916, that Great Britain could not afford to take any action which would throw Holland into the arms of Germany and make the North Sea coast, from Groningen to the Scheldt, a new base for submarine operations against all ships trading to the British Isles. The calculating Dutchmen reckoned that the German submarine menace was their protection, and the means by which they retained their East Indian colonies and over-sea imports. The ships they lost by German attacks represented the cost of insurance against British action. Most of the lost ships did not belong to members of the Teutonising party. The menace of German absorption did not trouble the majority of the directing and commercial Dutchmen. As one of them put it, in a veiled sneer over the misfortunes of the heroic Belgians: "After all, it would be better to be annexed and alive than independent and dead."

Not until the United States entered the war did the governing and trading classes in Holland become perturbed. What perturbed them was the American proposal to stop all superfluous provisioning of countries bordering on Germany, by reducing the supply of American grain and cattle food to the proportion required for home consumption. America had been providing Dutchmen with food, while the Dutch sold their own produce at famine prices to the Germans. The peril of a stoppage of superfluous American imports upset the Dutch people far more than anything they had suffered in the German submarine campaigns. The Dutch heart was hard and so was the Dutch head, but the Dutch purse was extremely sensitive to the shocks of war. Enormously fat it had grown, and as it covered the remnants of the Dutch conscience as well as riches accumulated by years of national smuggling, the intervention of the United States and some of the principal countries of South America seemed to many Dutchmen a far greater calamity than any German atrocities in Belgium.

Effect of American action

Sweden was also sobered in the spring of 1917, by the American scheme of restricting exports to neutral States that neighboured Germany. For thirty-four months of the war Sweden had been a potential ally of the Central Empires. On several occasions there was danger of a Swedish advance through Finland towards Petrograd. If Great Britain had not entered the struggle, and if Russia, France, Belgium, and Serbia had fought unaided, the action of Sweden would probably have been belligerent in August, 1914.

SENOR MAURA ADDRESSING A VAST MEETING AT MADRID FOR MAINTAINING NEUTRALITY.

In the Plaza de Toros, Madrid, Señor Maura, ex-Premier, under the motto of "No human power shall make us deviate from neutrality," addressed a crowd of twenty thousand people on April 29th, 1917. He declared that Spain must continue to maintain absolute neutrality, but that her international policy after the war should favour a rapprochement with the Western Powers. Above: Señor Maura speaking.

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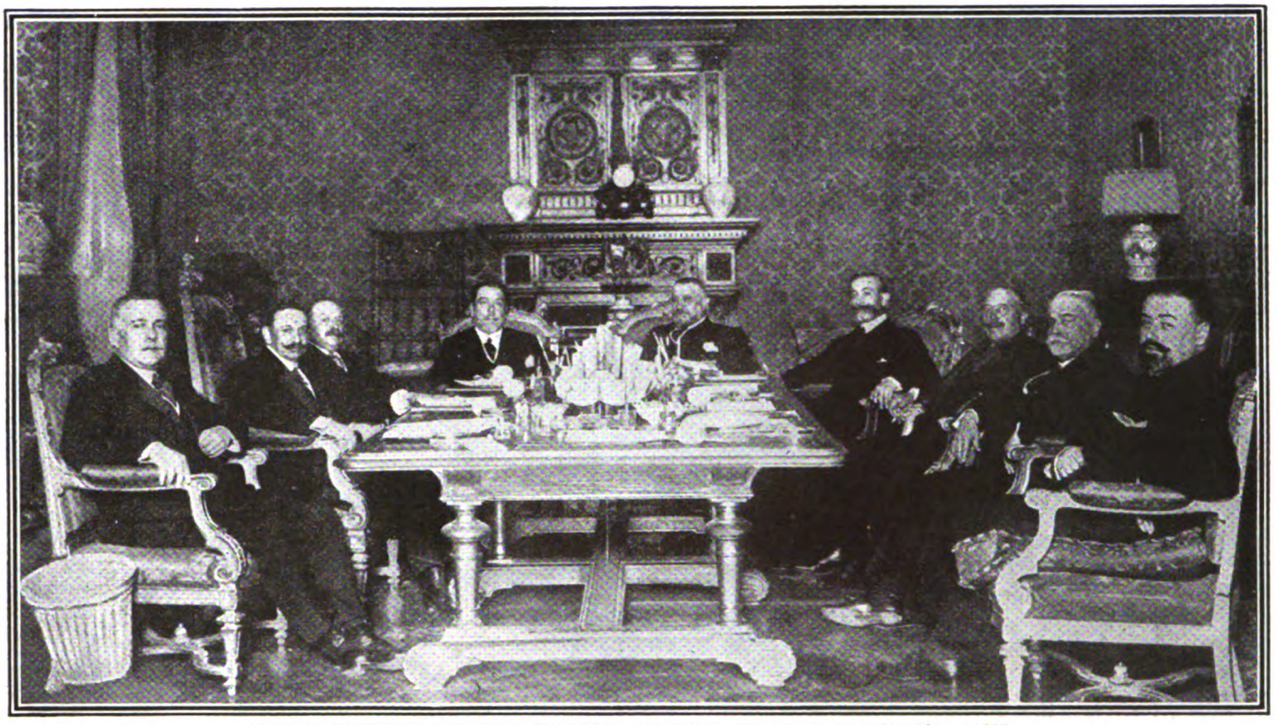

FIRST MEETING OF THE SPANISH CABINET, FORMED APRIL 19TH, 1917

From left to right: Señor Juan Alvarado, Minister for Foreign Affairs; Señor Garcia Prieto, Premier; Señor Ruis Valarino, Minister of Justice; Señor Julio Burell, Minister of the Interior; Señor José Franco Rodriguez, Minister of Public Instruction; the Duke of Almodovar del Valle, Minister of Public Works; General Aguilera, Minister of War; Admiral Miranda, Minister of Marine; Señor Santiago Alba, Minister of Finance.

It is now possible to trace, in the domestic history of Sweden, one of the great preparatory steps to the outbreak of the universal conflict. In the year 1913 Sweden was outside the field of influence of both the Central Europe Alliance and the Triple Entente. She was governed by a Liberal Ministry, which was absorbed in internal problems and poised between a sweeping Labour movement and a violent Conservative reaction.

The King was married to a German princess, and admired the Prussian system of repressive government. He forgot that he was the great-great-grandson of a common soldier in the army of the French Revolution, and being alarmed by the prospect of a Swedish Labour Ministry, he favoured the plan for a *coup d'état*, which was carried out in March, 1914, by the Swedish aristocracy and their supporters.

A great mob of peasant farmers was organised by the large landowners to demonstrate against the Government. Thereupon, the Liberal Ministry was dismissed, and a reactionary group established by means that were not above criticism. Looking at the affair in the light of the war, there can scarcely be any doubt that the Swedish aristocracy knew something about the plans of the German General Staff, and seized upon the powers of government in the design to resume the struggle with Russia that had ended at Poltava. The Swedish nobility had formerly grown rich and powerful from the spoils of war. It was largely formed of German adventurers from the Baltic provinces afterwards conquered by Russia. It had fought under Gustavus the Great and Charles XII., and had exhausted Sweden for centuries by rapid and inordinate conquests which could not be held.

Memories of the days when Sweden lived on the spoil of Germany, Poland, and Russia stirred in the minds of the descendants of the old adventurers. It was their ancestors who had first taught the Prussians that war could be made a profitable business affair. They themselves, however, were a chafing military caste, with aims larger than their resources. They needed to conquer new lands for recruitment. The population of their country had been reduced to five and a half millions, possessing an Army of some two hundred thousand men, to which another three hundred thousand could only be added in special circumstances.

SENOR GARCIA PRIETO.

Chief of the Spanish Democratic Party and President of the Senate, Señor Prieto became Premier, April 19th, 1917.

These special circumstances were principally of a moral nature. The recalcitrant working classes, with socialistic views, and the angry middle classes, with democratic opinions, had first to be converted to a common faith in aggression, similar to that with which the German people went to war. This could have been done had action been taken solely against Russia, on the plea of liberating Finland from government by the knout.

The affair, however, became difficult to conduct, when it was clearly evident that Germany was massing only against the democracy of republican France. M. Branting, the leader of the Swedish Socialists and chief of the largest political group, was a champion of France, and an upholder of the French rights over Alsace and Lorraine. His influence over the working classes was too great to be contemned, especially when it was also seen that Sweden might be suffocated by an Atlantic blockade if she actively moved against the Grand Alliance.

For some months the Swedish camarilla was foiled by the force of circumstances. Their Government, under Herr Hammarskjöld, whose sympathies were openly German, had to let "I dare not" wait upon "I would." With a remarkable amount of assistance from Swedish publicists belonging to the Swedish Court party the Swedes were inundated with

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German news and views and verbosities. Well-known British men of letters were not allowed to give addresses explaining the cause of the western democracies. The machinery of administration, education, and social influence was directed entirely to the effort of convincing the Swedish people that the *coup d'état* had been carried out in their own interests, and that it was their duty to advance the cause of liberty on the Prussian system. They were told that the age of democracy had passed and the age of organisation had arrived. This meant that they had to work as long as their masters thought fit, that they would be shot down if they tried to strike, and also march against Russia in order to ensure the destruction of the French democracy.

Swedish animosity against Britain

The stubborn Swedish working men could not be convinced. They made neither threat nor movement. Yet their attitude was such that the reactionary Government was still afraid to strike at Russia in the critical weeks in the summer of 1915 when all the Russian armies were in retreat

When, however, the Swedish Government saw that, as a matter of fact, the recovery of the Russian power of offensive largely depended upon the transit of munitions through Swedish territory there opened a long, intense, and yet quiet struggle between Great Britain and Sweden.

The Swedish reactionaries acted as though they desired to bring about armed conflict, but so that it would seem to have been forced upon them by the "maritime tyranny" of Great Britain. The interruption of the huge Swedish traffic in contraband in the Baltic, by the British submarine operations of 1915, was one of the motives for the Swedish action.

The King of Sweden invited the Kings of Denmark and Norway to a conference, and endeavoured to induce them to combine in forming a Scandinavian union to battle against British sea-power.

The constitutional monarchs of Denmark and Norway refused to take common action with the Swedish reactionaries. In the first place, they could not bind their democratic peoples. In the second place, they were less afraid of Great Britain than of Germany. In the third place, their western coasts would have been exposed to British attack, while the coasts of Sweden would have continued to remain fairly well protected so long as the German Fleet was in being.

After the Queen of Sweden returned from Germany, where she publicly prophesied the triumph of German arms, her husband and his Ministers openly began to play their part in the Teutonic plan of action for 1916. The British Government arranged, with considerable difficulty, a Swedish system of controlling imports, similar to the systems established in Switzerland, Holland, Denmark, and Norway. The control was loose and leaky, and allowed enormous profits to be made by devious methods of contraband traffic.

Yet the Swedish Ministers fought furiously against the Transito, as the control system was named. When borne down by the pressure of public and political opinion, they nevertheless introduced in the act of legislation a clause that undid everything the ruling opinion of the country desired to establish. It was, for example, made illegal for a Swedish importer of British goods to inform the British manufacturer of the names of the person or persons to whom the goods would ultimately go. Not improbably, therefore, the goods would have gone to Germany.

MARQUIS CORTINA.
In April, 1917, the marquis negotiated a commercial agreement between Great Britain and Spain for the exchange of certain commodities.

In the debates on the affair it was clearly revealed that the intention of the Swedish Ministry was to encourage the entrepôt traffic in contraband between America and Germany.

Failing to obtain complete success in regard to the Transito, the men who were intriguing for war selected another point of dispute with Great Britain, and narrowly missed the declaration of hostilities which they desired.

Contraband in Swedish mailbags

In December, 1915, a Danish steamer, Hellig Olaf, was brought to Kirkwall for examination of the Swedish parcels mail she was carrying from the United States. One third of the parcels addressed through Sweden were found to contain contraband of war destined for Germany. The parcels of contraband were put in the Prize Court, and the remainder of the mail was forwarded to Sweden.

OLD FRIENDS AND COLLEAGUES IN SPANISH AFFAIRS.
Count Romanones (on the right) who, failing to persuade his Cabinet to join the Allies, resigned the Premiership. On the left: His old friend and colleague Señor Juan Alvarado, Minister for Foreign Affairs in Señor Prieto's Government.

The action of the British naval authorities was undoubtedly sound in international law, but the Swedish war party thought it gave a fit opportunity to make the case the ground for their long-contemplated struggle with Great Britain.

By way of reprisal, the British parcels mail for Russia was detained while passing through Sweden. The mail was detained until August, 1916.

Then, when releasing most of the parcels, the Swedish Government refused to allow the further transit of the mail.

The transparent intention was to stop all transport of munitions to Russia over the land route through Sweden to Finland. There was a rough, slow traffic route through Northern Norway to Finland—but without a railway, and employing reindeer sledges, available only for small parcels—in the critical winter months when Archangel was ice-bound. The new Russian ice-free port near Kola was not ready, and the Murman railway was still in course of construction.

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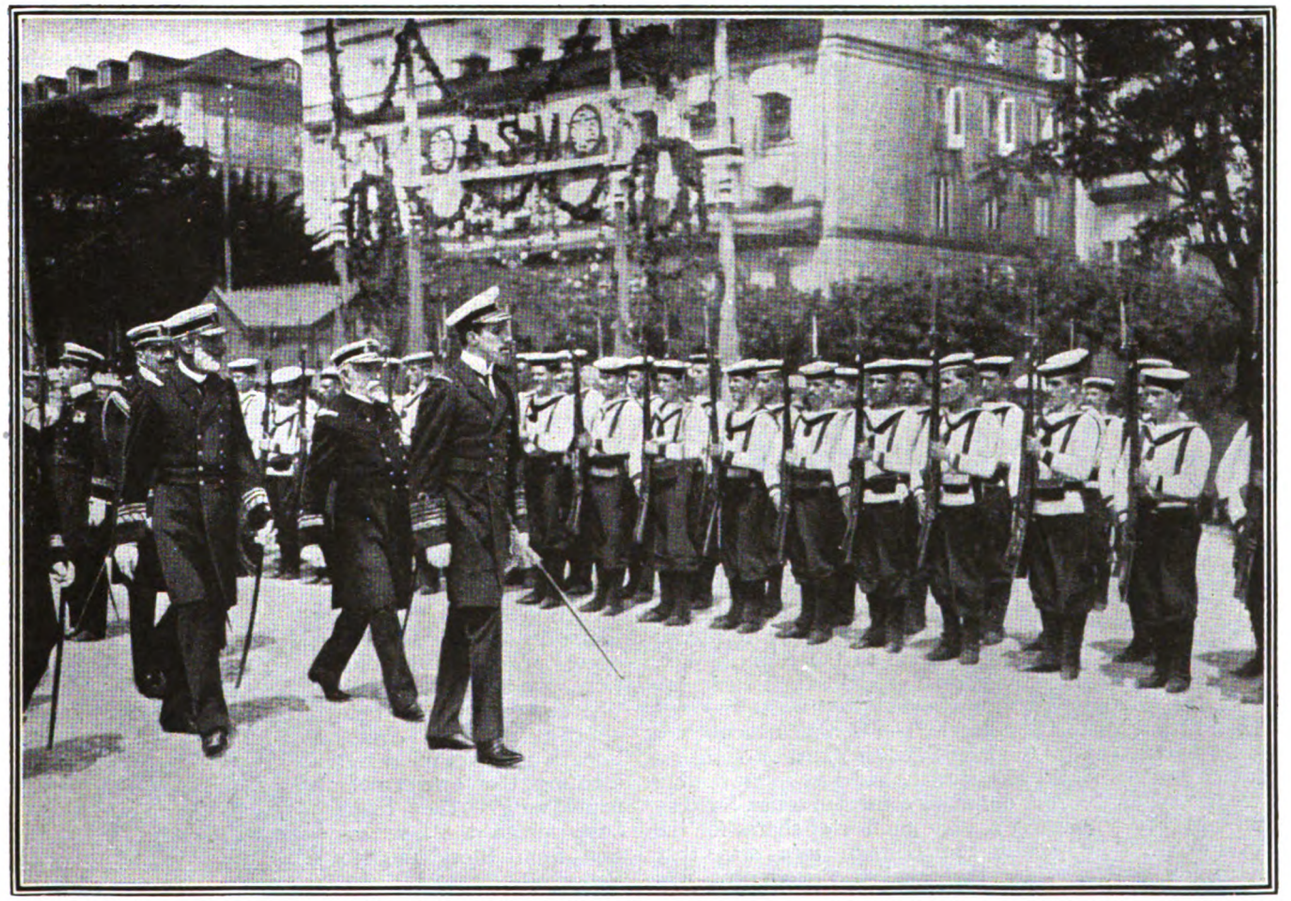
Regiment of the Spanish Queen's Lancers engaged in tactical exercises in the presence of King Alfonso in the Cerro de los Retamares. In Spain, by the Army Law of 1911, personal military service was obligatory on all, with but few special exceptions; three years being spent with the Colours, five in the Second Portion of the Army, six in the Reserve, and four in the Territorial Reserve. The war strength of the Army was 400,000 men.



Review of Marines at Santander, on the Bay of Biscay, by the King of Spain. The Spanish Navy, which had been destroyed during the Cuban War of 1898, was being rebuilt and reorganised in 1917, at the commencement of which year it consisted of three modern battleships of 15,700 tons and one old one, three modern cruisers and four old ones, eight torpedo-boat destroyers, twenty-four torpedo-boats, and ten gunboats.

KING ALFONSO OF SPAIN WITH SOME OF HIS SEA AND LAND FIGHTING FORCES.

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THE QUEEN OF HOLLAND.
Under Queen Wilhelmina's guidance, Holland showed impartial kindness to interned soldiers of all nations.

trying to make the forbidden passage. It was against the victors of the Battle of Jutland that the mine-layers and warships of Sweden acted.

The Swedes helped to hold the Baltic until the German Navy had recovered its strength. Not until May, 1917, was there any movement by Sweden to open the Kogrund Channel. Foreign merchant ships and steamers trading between foreign ports were shut out from traffic through the inner Falsterbo route on another amazing pretence that German contraband traffic would thereby be prevented.

Fine iron ore from the State mines of Sweden poured into Germany. The German Baltic ports could not make use of all the ore, owing to the lack of coal in North Germany. Therefore, a considerable portion of the ore was carried to the foundries on the Rhine coal basis by a voyage through the territorial waters of Sweden and Denmark, and behind the mine-fields of the German North Sea coast, and thence along the territorial waters of Holland to the Rhine. Yet, according to an official Swedish shipping organ, the Falsterbo passage was shut to prevent the contraband traffic of the Germans! The Germans themselves publicly praised one of the later Swedish Ministers of the reactionary school for the good work he had done in preventing a British syndicate from obtaining control of a new Swedish iron mine, by purchasing a large number of shares for the Government. Apparently, the German idea was that everything controlled by the Swedish Government was available for German use.

Closing of the Kogrund Channel

Such appeared to be the position of affairs in the critical summer of 1916, when the Russian drive into Galicia was checked and the Franco-British offensive on the Somme still left Germany sufficiently strong to overthrow the army of Rumania. Had the elections to the Swedish Landthing produced in that year the results expected by the reactionaries, there might have occurred another intervention on the side of the Central Empires.

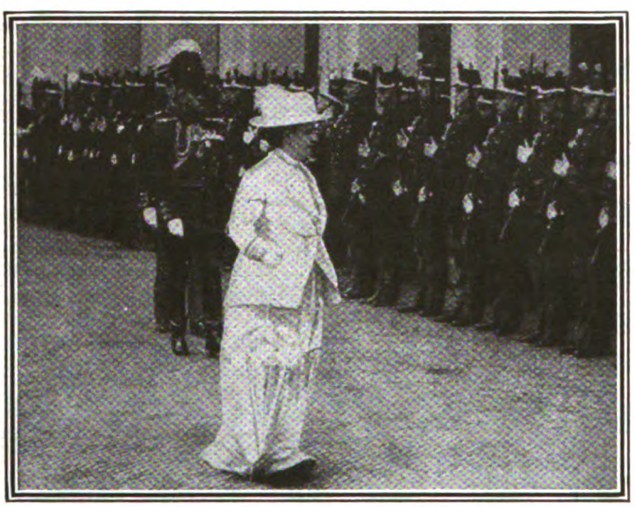
The Swedish war party conducted a campaign of a virulent character against the pacific Socialist Party. The Socialists, however, though divided into two schools, showed great political power, and by balancing the reactionary group, left the Liberals as the deciding factor in the assembly. By combining on any vitally important matter the Socialists and Liberals could clean out-vote the promoters of the former *coup d'état*.

Swedish Socialists' political power

The reactionaries, therefore, were compelled to be careful and subtle in their intrigues against the Allies. They succeeded, however, in exhausting the patience of Viscount Grey, and practically every man in Great Britain acquainted with the trouble with Sweden expected a declaration of war by the autumn of 1916. The Russian bureaucracy, however, became alarmed. They protested that the stoppage of the transport of munitions through Sweden was in itself sufficient to destroy the striking power of the Russian armies.

The ways of Russian authorities in the days of Rasputin, Stürmer, and Protopopoff were dark and tortuous. It is possible that Protopopoff had then arranged for peace and alliance between the autocracies of Russia, Prussia, and Austria. Belated hostilities against King Gustav of Sweden, who was a promising embryo of an autocrat, were likely to be upsetting, especially if Great Britain, a Liberal Power, opened the action. A long-distance British blockade from the gateways of the Atlantic might have quickly produced such discomfort among the Swedish population as would lead the angry Socialists to rise in insurrection. Then an insurrection in Stockholm might have had a contagious effect upon the Revolutionary forces in Petrograd. The oppressed Finns were already in a fiercely Revolutionary frame of mind and assisting the enemy in many ways. They could have spread the insurrection from Stockholm to Petrograd.

However this may be, the British Coalition Cabinet, under Mr. Asquith's



A ROYAL INSPECTION IN HOLLAND.
Queen Wilhelmina reviewing some of her troops. The war strength of the Dutch Army in 1917 was about 200,000 men—a small defensive force against possible aggression by the neighbouring might of Germany.

THE DUTCH PRINCE CONSORT.
Though German by birth and sympathy Prince Henry of the Netherlands preserved a correct demeanour in a very difficult position.

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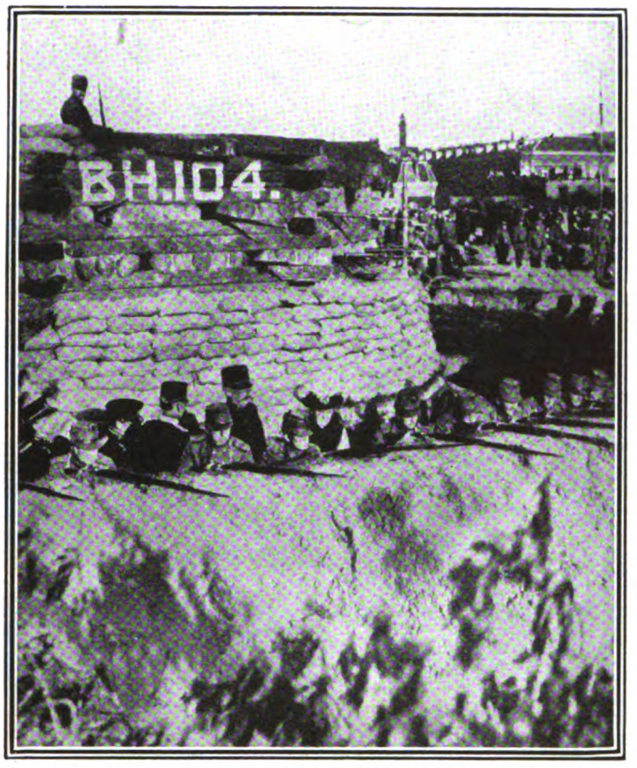
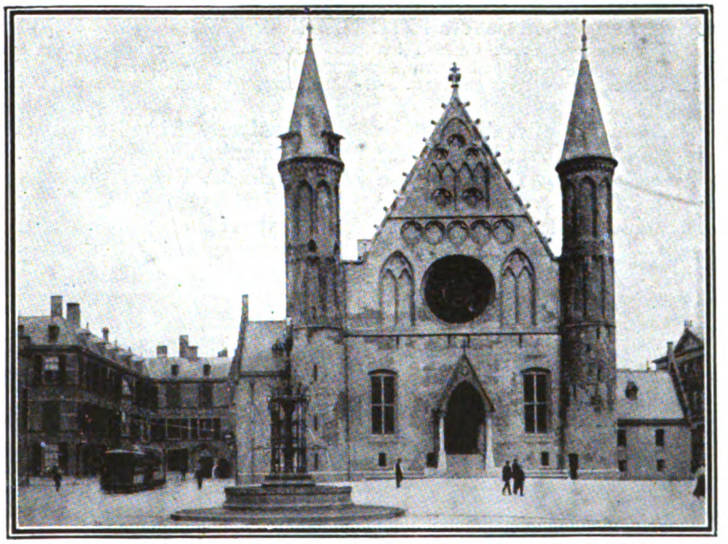


QUEEN WILHELMINA WITH HER SOLDIERS AT LEYDEN.
The Queen of the Netherlands with some of her chief military leaders at a sham fight at Leyden. Her Majesty is seen in the centre of the photograph. They are in the outer defences of a large block-house.

GUARDING NEUTRALITY ON THE DUTCH FRONTIER.
Representative men of the Dutch Frontier Guards, equipped in the new steel helmets, which were called into being among neutrals as well as among belligerents by the conditions of the Great War.

and Lord Grey's guidance, had to use more patience and quietly exact more pressure in regard to Sweden. British exports to Sweden and Swedish exports to Great Britain were prevented by Government action on both sides. Traffic between the two countries in cotton and woollen goods, timber and iron ore, and other merchandise diminished. A great stoppage of coal imports occurred in Sweden, which the distant German mines, of inferior quality, were unable, in spite of great effort, to remedy. Avaricious Swedish exporters had denuded their land of stock, crops, and farm horses for the benefit of Germany. The universal failure of harvests in the autumn of 1916 aggravated the results of the impoverishment of Swedish farms. The wealth of the farmers could not be transformed again into live stock and grain. Denmark, Norway, and Holland were in a similar condition of vital penury. All had oversold into the German markets, and possessed no rapid means of recovery. The unusually prolonged and severe winter of 1916-17 told on the small remaining stocks of sheep, hurt the more delicate breeds of cattle, and diminished the store of fodder. Great Britain added to the natural and economic difficulties of Sweden by holding up some grain-ships.



THE BINNENHOF—HOUSE OF PARLIAMENT—THE HAGUE.
The Dutch Parliament (the States-General) is composed of two Chambers. The Upper, or First, Chamber contains fifty members, elected by the Provincial States from among the most highly assessed inhabitants of the eleven provinces, and from high functionaries mentioned by law. The Second Chamber numbers one hundred deputies, who are elected directly.

The Swedish people had to be placed on rations. The rations were afterwards reduced, and food riots began to occur. The leaders of the reactionary party then openly prepared for war on the ancient plan of preventing intestinal struggles by action against any foreign nation within reach. They asked the Landthing for a large sum of money to enable stronger measures to be taken for the preservation of neutrality. The Liberals and Socialists did not consider that more armament was necessary for purely pacific purposes. They did not, in fact, think that anything of a pacific nature was intended. So they combined and voted down the proposals of Hammarskjöld's Ministry.

King Gustav intervened and tried to effect a compromise between the warlike anti-British camarilla and the peaceful anti-German majority. Herr Hammarskjöld, however, was, after long negotiations, compelled to resign. Another Ministry was formed, under Royal influence, again from the reactionary group. Most of the new Ministers, however, had no record of hostile actions against the Western Allies. Ill-service was done to them by the German Press Bureau, which indicated every incident in their education in German universities or in their past political career that made them likely to prove agents of Germany.

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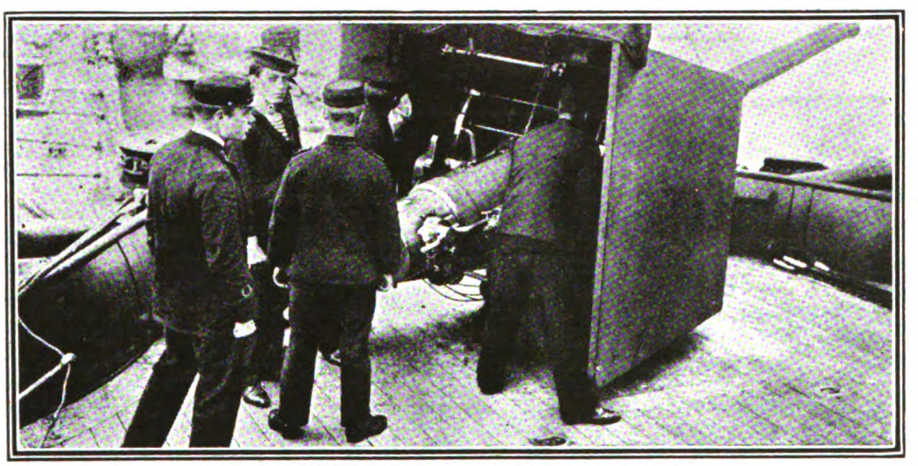
Undoubtedly the Swedish King, backed by the Swedish nobility, exercised power in establishing the new Ministry. By the middle of March, 1917, the reactionary party of Sweden and the Scandinavian counterpart of Constantine of Greece had other things to think of besides their struggle against British "navalism." The spirit of Revolution was again loosened in Europe and clothed in such might as had not been seen since the fall of the Bastille. The disturbances of 1830 and 1848 were but ripples around the seats of despotism compared with the flood of popular passion in which the remote descendant of the Viking Rurik had been submerged.

Relaxation of the tension

The Royal descendant of the French lawyer's son, Bernadotte, had in strange vanity modelled himself upon the Hohenzollerns. He possessed a military caste, largely of Prussian origin and exuberant with the Prussian spirit. He lacked, however, a Liberal Party similar to the National Liberals of Germany, and his Socialists were not of the same plastic quality of character as the majority of German Socialists.

Rumour ran, in April, 1917, that some Swedish naval men and soldiers were inclined to side with the people in a hunger born revolution. A month afterwards there were discussions in the Congress of the United States on the policy of imparting new and deadly rigour to the British blockade of Germany by depriving Scandinavia and Holland of all imports not actually needed to feed those neutral States.



GUN PRACTICE ABOARD A DUTCH BATTLESHIP.

On July 1st, 1916, the Dutch Royal Navy possessed seven ironclad battleships, four protected cruisers, eight torpedo-boat destroyers, thirty-eight torpedo-boats and seven submarines, besides a considerable number of coast and harbour defence vessels, river gunboats, and special service vessels.

In these circumstances the new Swedish Ministry, in May, 1917, reopened negotiations with the new British Ministry. The long period of tension was over, for the time at least, and the rations of the Swedish nation were increased. Stockholm became for a while the most agitated centre of pacifism in the world.

All the Social Democrats of the Germanic school made arrangements to meet there that they might devise means of saving the Prussian system of kindly internal government and the humane, enlightened rule of the Turkish Party of Union and Progress! At the same time the Cabinets of Scandinavia held another conference at Stockholm, at which the problem of destroying the maritime supremacy of Great Britain was not the principal topic of discussion.

The previous meetings of Scandinavian Kings and Ministers had been more menacing to the common interests of the Allies than appeared on the surface of Press comment in the western democracies. German agents had attempted to make Norway believe she was in danger of Russian attack since 1909. The Norwegians were passionately implored by the Swedish war party to co-operate with Germany in putting an end to the Russian menace.

When the war broke out the Norwegian people remained profoundly distrustful of the Russian Government, yet confident in the protecting influences of Great Britain and France. Great Britain, in particular, had been the stay of the Norwegian democracy in 1905, during the definite break with the oligarchy of Sweden. A British princess had become Queen of an independent Norway, and Norway was, moreover, related closely by language and historic tradition with the Denmark that had been maimed by Bismarck in order to consolidate German sea-power by means of the Kiel Canal.

From Denmark the enfranchised Norse people had chosen their King. Denmark retained their romantic Viking colony of Iceland and their old Faroe settlement; yet they had no grudge against the Danes, but rather affection for their kinsmen. The general result was that the majority of Norsemen refused to be frightened by the Russian bogy and sympathised with the Allies.

They were not averse to profiting by the first sham blockade which Sir Edward Grey maintained from 1914 to 1916. As readers of Ibsen will remember, the Norwegians have an average amount of original sin, and some of their pillars of society greatly increased their banking accounts by trafficking in war material with the Germans. Until the British Government entirely repudiated the Declaration of London and partly resumed the old sea rights of the days of Nelson, there was no objection to Norwegian mineral workers, manufacturers, and merchants making fortunes out of the difficulties of the enemy. The proportion of profiteers in Norway was possibly not larger than that of the profiteers in Great Britain.

On the whole, the Norwegian democracy was as benevolently neutral towards the Entente as the Swedish oligarchy was determinedly hostile. Most of the Norse shipowners and seamen became actively friendly to the Allies during the campaign of German submarine piracy. Norway possessed the largest mercantile marine in the world in proportion to population. Her modern power in shipping was indeed practical evidence of the fact that the spirit of the Vikings fully survived, amid all change of circumstances, in their descendants.

The modern Norsemen were born seamen, with their natural hardihood set off by great practical skill. There was no political reason why they should have coolly undertaken continually to run through the zones of enemy submarine activity. It would have been fairly easy for them to have restricted their traffic to American and other neutral ports, and remained spectators of the violent struggle between Briton and Teuton. American coal and American manufactures would have been high in price in Norway, yet Norway might have tranquilly existed throughout the war, at some economic sacrifice, had she tacitly agreed to observe the outrageous conditions of marine traffic which the Germans endeavoured to enforce.

Benevolent neutrality of Norway

The Norsemen, however, were not made that way. Partly out of downright pride in their manhood, partly out of a Viking zest for the profits of adventure, and largely out of indignation over the Lusitania affair and a general sympathy with the cause of the Allies, the sailors of Norway carried on. By the spring of 1917 their losses

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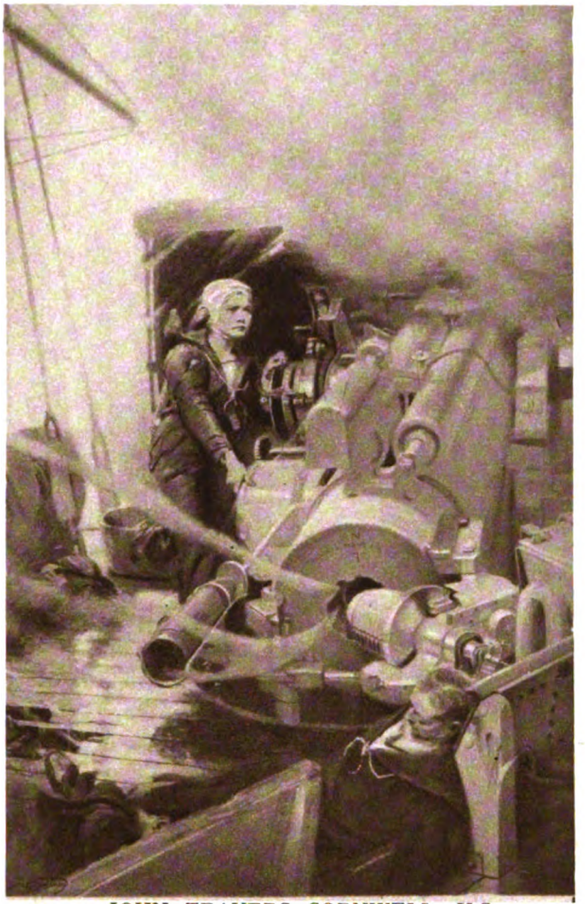

JOHN TRAVERS CORNWELL, V.C.
By Frank O. Salisbury.
First-Class Boy Hero of H.M.S. Chester.

LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR JOHN COWANS, K.C.B.
By William Orpen, A.R.A.
Sir John Cowans won high distinction as Q.M.G. of the Forces.

COLONEL ELKINGTON, D.S.O.
By William Orpen, A.R.A.
Colonel Elkington was reinstated and awarded the D.S.O. in 1916.

MAJOR WM. LA TOUCHE CONGREVE, V.C.
By J. St. Helier Lander.
Also awarded D.S.O., M.C., & Legion of Honour.

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AN ARMED MERCHANTMAN: A FALMOUTH PACKET, ABOUT 1790, BEATING OFF AN ENEMY NEAR THE MANACLES.
By C. Napier Hemy, R.A.

THE WRECKED ZEPPELIN: A GERMAN AIRSHIP BROUGHT DOWN IN THE CHANNEI
By Bernard F. Gribble.

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BATTLE OF THE SOMME: THE ATTACK BY THE ULSTER DIVISION ON THE 1ST OF JULY, 1916.
By J. Prinsep Beadle.

THE LONDON TERRITORIALS AT POZIÈRES. BATTLE OF THE SOMME.
By W. B. Wollen.

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FRATERNITÉ. *By J. C. Dollman.*

A STRAY SHOT. *By Gemmell Hutchison.*

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in ships were tremendous, and their losses in lives were considerable. During March and April, 1917, for example, they lost one hundred and thirty-six ships—an average of seventeen a week when the British losses were twenty-four a week. Having regard to the smaller tonnage of Norway, her losses were far heavier than those of the grand belligerent, Great Britain.

Still the Norsemen carried on. As already stated, Hindenburg, when in control of both the German Army and Navy, let it be known that he contemplated employing part of his general reserve in an attack upon Norway. It appeared an idle threat. That it should have influenced the Norwegians shows how the passive policy of the British in naval affairs had affected Europe. It scarcely made for the ultimate advantage of Germany that she should go out of her way to find a new enemy, in attacking whom she would expose herself to British sea-power. The distance between the Orkney Islands and the Western Norwegian coast was not very great—in fact, it was much less than the distance between Wilhelmshaven and Christiania.

Had two German army corps been thrown into Norway there would have been two army corps less in the reserve available for strengthening the front between Lens and Auberive. The scabbard that Hindenburg rattled at Norway was really empty. On his submarines only did the German dictator depend for stopping the commerce between the Norse and the British kingdoms. German submarines ranged to the northernmost part of the Norwegian coast, in the operations directed against the commerce of the Kola and White Sea ports of Russia. There was reason to suppose that the territorial waters of Norway were often employed as cover by the German submarines. The Norwegian Government, therefore, at last followed, on January 30th, 1917, a policy similar to that of the Swedish Government, and forbade all belligerent submarines to use their territorial waters. All submarines in the forbidden area were liable to attack by armed Norwegian forces.

BRITISH SAILORS INTERNED IN HOLLAND.

On the way to the camp kitchen. After the withdrawal from Antwerp, in October, 1914, one of the British naval brigades that had taken part in the defence of the city got cut off, and crossed into Holland, where the men were interned.

The Germans had not shown any indignation over the action of the Swedish Government, yet the much slighter precautions taken by the Norwegian Government provoked a tempest of angry passion in Germany. The difference between the two Scandinavian States was that the Swedes helped the Germans by taking vigorous measures against British warships, while the Norsemen only indirectly helped the Allies by policing their own waters with a view to protecting their own mercantile marine.

The interests of the Allies were likewise promoted, in an indirect and unintended manner, by a new pacific movement of Socialism among the Norwegian people. As in nearly all countries in Western Europe, there was in Norway a group of young, ambitious men who desired to succeed to the power exercised by the older leaders of the orthodox Socialist groups. The phenomena were almost universal in Europe, being, under diverse forms, an ebullition of ambition in the younger generation, who for personal motives sought for instruments to overthrow the older men who stood in their way.

Socialist movement in Norway

The same thing was going on in the South Wales coalfields and the shops on the Clyde. Happily, the younger school of Norse Socialists developed a special kind of actively passive resistance to the war. Their battle-cry was: "It is better to fall fighting in the street than to perish in the trenches!" The movement was of little importance in Norway, as no responsible man there intended to bring the nation into the European struggle.

The Norwegian movement, however, spread to Sweden, and developed in a remarkable manner. The battle-cry then had an immediate political interest. It told heavily against the secret design of the Swedish oligarchy, and largely helped to sap all the pernicious aggressiveness out of their military camarilla. The Swedish Socialist leader, M. Branting, suffered from the eruption of the ambitious spirits of the younger generation, who preached the new Norwegian doctrine. Nevertheless, the general Socialist movement for absolute neutrality throughout Scandinavia was considerably strengthened. Thus there was in warring Europe one class of conscientious objectors who directly and actively fought against Prussian militarism. The new Norse movement also had the advantage, from the Allies' point of view, that it undermined the authority of many older Scandinavian Social Democrat leaders, who were consciously or unconsciously moved by a sort of religious bias towards the race that had produced Karl Marx and Scheidemann, Lassalle and Sudekum.

Norwegian Socialism infects Sweden

In spite, however, of the general friendly feeling obtaining between Great Britain and Norway, a quarrel arose in the summer of 1916 over the blockade problem of the export of copper and pyrites from Norwegian mines to German munition works. In August, 1916, Lord Robert Cecil, as Minister of Blockade, arranged that no British coal should be supplied to Norwegian ships maintaining trade with Germany. The Norwegian skippers, however, managed to continue working across to Germany, by means of German coal and secret supplies of British coal.

A large haul of fish was despatched to Germany in the autumn of 1916 against British interests. The export of copper and pyrites, however, remained the chief matter of contention, and from the Norse mines there continued to flow, in diverse channels, a stream of copper for the manufacture of German shells. In both Sweden and Norway the copper was often made into sham manufactured articles, such as tanks that would not hold water, and forwarded to Germany as raw metal of high price.

When Mr. Lloyd George became Prime Minister means were at last adopted to bring the Norwegians clearly to appreciate the British view. No hostile measures of any

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kind were taken, but during one of the longest and severest winters on record the entire export of British coal to Norway was stopped. Owing to the season of the year, the water power of every Norwegian river and stream, harnessed to a turbine or dynamo, was reduced practically to nothing. The country people had an abundance of log-wood for domestic fires, and some of the southern towns managed to obtain a little dear and costly German coal.

But the general economic pressure of the stoppage of British coal supply was irresistible. Early in the spring of 1917 the Norwegian Government agreed to prohibit the export of copper and pyrites to Germany, and the Norwegian fish harvest was largely sold in Great Britain. The historic salt herring, which might have fed millions of Teutons, became an object of affection to the new British Food Controller. He expended a considerable amount of valuable wood-pulp in expounding the virtues of the Norse fish to unenlightened English housewives. Scotswomen needed no instruction in the matter, but the British victory over the salt herring caused much trouble in English kitchens. If the Norwegians suffered for months from lack of British coal, they had their full revenge when English folk endeavoured to obey the orders of the Food Controller and consume the enormous cargoes of salt herring which many of them could not learn properly to prepare and cook.

British coal and Norwegian herrings

The position of Denmark was one of passive responsiveness to pressure. The Danes had no wealth of iron and copper ore to provoke alternating pressure from the British and German Governments. The Danish dairy farmers were a source of vital strength to the enemy, yet they maintained a fair show of distributing their produce westward and southward, taking smaller prices from Great Britain than they obtained from Germany.

Denmark was a little nation fallen from greatness, resigned to her fate, and cynical of any profession of idealism by the belligerent countries. Her grudge against Prussia for robbing her of a part of her territory was scarcely deeper than her resentment against Great Britain for promising help in the Schleswig-Holstein War, and leaving her entirely helpless when the attack was made.

The Danes made no allowance for the fact that Lord Palmerston would have fought the Prussians, but was held back by German influence. Rather did they regard the rise of German sea-power, by means of the canal through their lost provinces, as a tardy punishment upon the British nation. They were very sorry for the Belgians in a dulled way. It seemed to them that all small things were doomed—small businesses by Trust systems and small nations by Imperial systems. They hoped for eventual salvation in a Scandinavian union, but were unable to reconcile their very democratic tendencies with the oligarchical fabric of Sweden. In the meantime, they were not only between the hammer and anvil of Great Britain and Germany in the matter of the blockade, but torn between the United States and Germany in a perplexing Colonial problem.

DR. JOHN LOUDON, Dutch Minister for Foreign Affairs.

The Danish West Indian islands, on a great traffic route to the Panama Canal, had become valueless to the Danes. The German Government saw in them a means of dominating the United States, and after the Hamburg-Amerika line established a coaling-station there, it tried to purchase the islands.

America buys Danish West Indies

The United States seemed asleep, yet was really in a state of quiet, intense watchfulness. In the European difficulties of the Great War came America's opportunity, and in the summer of 1916 President Wilson, apparently calmly unconscious of the German intrigues in the Caribbean Sea, offered to purchase the Danish West Indies. The Danish Cabinet wished to remain on friendly terms with everybody. The islands were worth nothing to Denmark; were, indeed, an economic burden; and the sum of about £5,000,000, which the United States was willing to pay, could be employed in some important social reforms by the dominant Labour Party of Denmark. It was clear that Great Britain would never permit Germany to obtain an important naval harbour and submarine base off Central America. As the United States was, at the time, a neutral country, it appeared to the Danish Government that the proposed sale was a happy solution of a grave international difficulty. The Danish Ministers underestimated the tenacity of the Germans. The matter of the sale of the islands suddenly became a tempestuous problem of domestic politics. The extraordinary amount of opposition created was a measure of the extraordinary influence the Germans exercised among the people they had defeated and oppressed. The sufferings of the Danes in the conquered frontier province had endured for two generations, and made the Danish gentry and Danish middle classes more subservient to the Hohenzollern.

The affair might have become

CHIEFS OF THE DUTCH MILITARY FORCES.
Left: General Snyders, Commander-in-Chief of the Dutch Army and Navy. Right: Major-General Bosboom, Dutch Minister for War.

ANXIOUS DAYS FOR THE NETHERLANDS.
Mr. Cort van der Linden, Prime Minister and Minister of the Interior (on the left) with Dr. John Loudon, Minister for Foreign Affairs, returning from a special sitting of the Cabinet.

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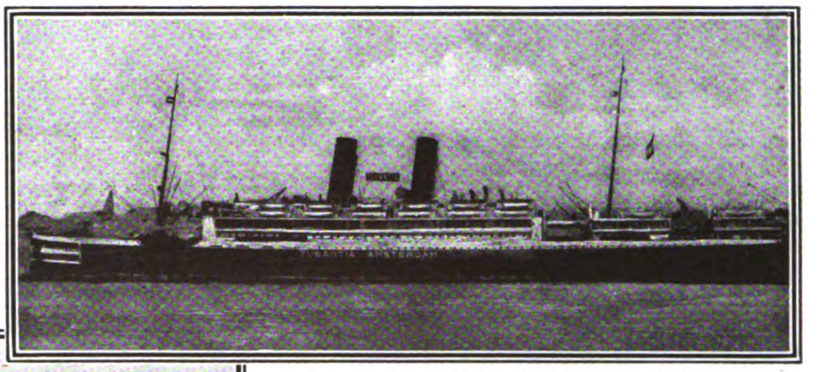
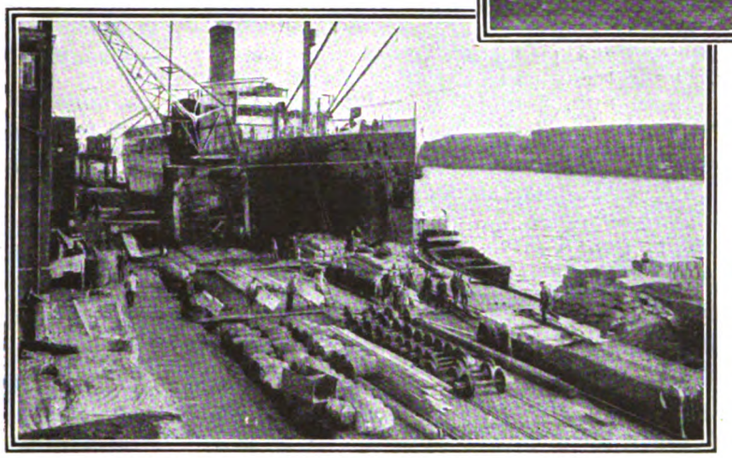
very serious, had the opposition lasted until the United States entered the war against Germany. The Germans then would have been able openly and forcibly to protest against one of their valuable private coaling-stations being sold to an enemy. Happily, the danger was avoided by means of a referendum, before hostilities opened between the Americans and Germans. The United States acquired the Virgin Islands at considerable cost, and safeguarded the eastern approach to the Panama Canal from domination by the Teutons.



DUTCH VICTIM OF GERMAN PIRACY.
On the night of March 15th, 1916, the Dutch liner Tubantia, outward-bound from Ymuiden to Buenos Aires, was torpedoed off the North Hinder Lightship by a German submarine.



BUSY CENTRE OF HOLLAND'S COLONIAL TRADE.
Commercial activity on the Java Quay at Amsterdam, to which ships bring the rich merchandise from the Sunda Islands and Moluccas, and the other large possessions of the Netherlands in the East Indies.

It must be confessed that the curious quarrel among the Danes themselves over the sale of their West Indian colonies had a disturbing effect upon British and French opinion. It revealed the extent and depth of Germanic control in Denmark, which had greatly increased during the commerce in imported war material. New vested interests of subtle and far-reaching power had been established by the first futile attempts at a British blockade, and the corrosive action of gold upon the character of an influential body of Danes became clearly evident.

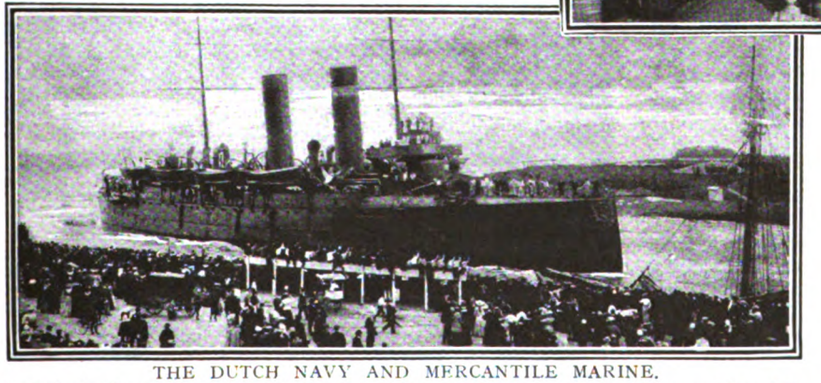
Germanic control in Denmark

The Danish Jews, who, by the brilliance of their talent, exercised an intellectual and political sway out of proportion to their numbers, were mainly German agents. Georg Brandes, the greatest of European men of letters, inclined to the enemy, and was denounced by Clemenceau and other leading Frenchmen as a renegade. Brandes' brother was Minister of Finance, and Brandes himself the director of the young Danish democratic mind.

Probably the German Jews, who were distinguished by brilliance of talent, managed to impress Brandes by frightening him with the nightmare of a triumphant Russian despotism permanently over shadowing the whole of Western Europe. It must be remembered that Lassalle and Marx, the inspirer and the organiser of the Social Democracy movement, were Hebrews, with a kind of secular Messianic appeal that touched the temperament of many men of their race. Brandes was touched by it, and though a rationalist, he regarded Germany, where Social Democracy had risen and spread, with a sentiment of piety.

The Labour Party in Denmark

Behind Brandes, in Denmark, was a ruling Labour Party, largely of Socialistic tendency, that shared in a feeling of reverence for the fatherland of internationalism. And as for the time German-Jewish capitalism was co-operating with German-Jewish and German anti-capitalism, the union of forces was of remarkable strength and scope. Some leading Danish Socialists were men of the stamp of Scheidemann; like him, they were, for all immediate practical purposes, base and cunning lackeys of the German despot. If Scheidemann was an honest but deluded man, they were honest but deluded men. If he was a traitor to the cause he pretended to captain, so were they.



THE DUTCH NAVY AND MERCANTILE MARINE.
Arrival of a Dutch armoured ship, the Utrecht, welcomed by large crowds. Above: View of the Docks, Amsterdam, showing in the foreground the buildings of the Dutch Steamship Company.

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THE QUEEN OF NORWAY.
Daughter of King Edward VII. and sister of King George V., Queen Maud's sympathies were naturally with the Allies.

The Russian Revolution was the test of the sincerity of Danish-Jewish and Danish and other neutral Socialists. They could no longer maintain the pretence that Tsarism was a greater danger to the world than Prussianism. Months before war broke out, the leading Socialists of Europe knew that an armed movement of liberty was preparing in Russia. When the war broke out they also knew that the German Staff based its plan of campaign on the expectation of a Russian Revolution, which was to leave Russia in anarchy while France was being destroyed. Therefore, the Social Democracy pretence of combating Tsarism was an hypocrisy from the outset.

The long-delayed but effective Russian Revolution left the traitorous party of Labour leaders in neutral Europe without any further means of concealing their attachment to the enemy. In Denmark the Socialist, M. Borgbjerg, came forward as the open agent of the German Government, and, travelling to Petrograd in May, 1917, presented the Communists with the offer of an Imperial German peace. Even men of the extremist school of Russian Revolutionists were thereupon moved to denounce Borgbjerg as an agent of Teutonic autocracy.

The intrigues of the Danish Labour Party in regard to the proposed Stockholm Peace Conference, and the manœuvres among the Danish gentry and middle classes in connection with the opposition to the sale of the West Indian colonies to America, combined to show that, for all practical international purposes, Denmark had become, in varying degrees, one of the neutral allies of the Central Empires. In Holland, Denmark, and Sweden strong outposts of the Prussian scheme of a Middle Europe Bund were patently established before January, 1917.

Switzerland also was, to a considerable extent, quietly won over by the enemy. The French-Swiss were outnumbered by three to one by the German-Swiss, and their forces were controlled by a German-Swiss commander, General Wille, and a German-Swiss Staff that did not trouble to conceal its sympathies with the Prussian military monarchy. The merchant patricians of Berne, Zurich, and Basle were intimately connected with the German industrial magnates, represented by the National Liberal Party, which was even more greedily aggressive than the Junker Party. The Swiss Socialist Party was similarly linked with the German Social Democrat Majority Party, and continually acted as the go-betweens of the Kaiser in intrigues with Italian and French deputies and delegates.

German influence in Switzerland

All the noble and impartial work of humanity conducted in Switzerland was created and organised by the French-Swiss. The Red Cross of Geneva was a French-Swiss invention, in the reflected glory of which the ruling German-Swiss pursued their special interests and the general interests of the Germanic races. From Germany was derived the coal, iron, and steel upon which most of the fine Swiss engineering work was based. The Swiss were the discoverers of the dynamo and several other important mechanical principles, and their turbine and oil and petrol engine manufactures were of high class. Their watch-making industry was also of great military value, as it could be transformed into a fuse-making industry for high-explosive shells.

The German design was to make the main industries of Switzerland auxiliary to their own enormous production of general war material. They increased their financial interests and commercial interests in the country, and, with the tacit consent of the Swiss Government, maintained a strong and intensive system of propaganda in the German cantons. In many notorious instances lectures and books, newspaper articles and pamphlets, vehemently ventilating the wrongs of the Belgians and Frenchmen, were forbidden by the German-Swiss censorship, while the false and abusive German attacks upon the Allies were at times positively favoured.

Propaganda by military criticism

For example, a German journalist, Herr Stegemann, made himself notorious as a supposed neutral military critic on the pro-German Bernese journal, "Der Bund." He exercised the art of concealing the defeats and exaggerating the victories of Germany, and executed many variations upon the theme that the French armies were exhausted and the British forces ineffectual. Like other journalists of the same school, his "Kaiserlich" task was to make the Swiss people still more amenable to Prussian influences by convincing them that the success of the Allies was hopeless, and that it was most profitable to make early arrangements with the assured victors.

Stegemann did his work so well that Ludendorff proceeded to make him the grand organ of pure, neutral, disinterested military criticism in Europe. The Philosophical Faculty of Berne University was a representative German-Swiss

THREE MEMBERS OF THE BROTHERHOOD OF KINGS.
From left to right: Haakon VII. of Norway, Gustav V. of Sweden, Christian X. of Denmark, blood brother of the King of Norway. The King of Sweden sought to form a Scandinavian union against Britain.

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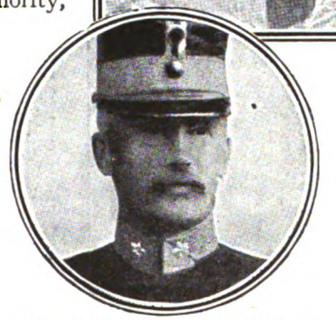
institution, for it consisted of nineteen professors, of whom eight were Imperial Germans. At a meeting at which only three Swiss but all eight German members were present, it was resolved by a majority rule that Herr Stegemann should be proposed to the Canton Council as University Lecturer on Military Science. The Swiss Commander-in-Chief, General Wille, appears to have recommended the appointment, as also did the Swiss Staff authority, Colonel Sprecher. But so widespread was the opposition to the sorry intrigue, especially in French-Switzerland, that the Berne Council refused to sanction the appointment. From the pro-German point of view the affair became dangerous when it began to excite attention in France and Great Britain and Italy.

The Stegemann case, which ended in April, 1917, was only a straw in the current of German-Swiss opinion. Floating on that current, however, were other straws, far too numerous even to catalogue, and they all showed the same trend. Brilliant exceptions, of course, occurred, among whom was the fine poet, Carl Spitteler. Seeing that in Germany itself there was a small anti-Prussian minority, it was only to be expected that a similar minority should flourish more freely in German-Switzerland.

There was, however, a military caste in Switzerland that had never been described by Freeman and other British historians of the Germanic school. The Swiss military caste was similar in character to the Prussian, only more flexible and civilised, with glorious traditions behind it. From its Hapsburg family it had given an Emperor to Austria, and from other stocks it had provided in the course of ages princes to many small States.

KING HAAKON OF NORWAY.
Haakon VII. (second from the right) riding with some of his cavalry officers When Norway and Sweden separated, Prince Charles of Denmark was offered the crown of Norway, and assumed the name of Haakon on becoming King, November 18th, 1905.



GENERAL T. O. KLINGENBERG.
General Klingenberg, chief officer in command of the artillery branch of the Norwegian Army.

The Republican system of Switzerland was the work of this fighting gentry of the Alps. They wanted no emperor or king to limit their personal independence, and they so skilfully trained and led their peasantry as to make the ancient Swiss mercenary armies the stay of any monarch or Pope that purchased their services. For centuries war was the only industry of the Swiss. The Swiss Guard at the Vatican is the historic vestige of ancient Swiss militarism, which was finally broken by Napoleon when in a state of utter decay.

With the renaissance of the German genius, under the Hohenzollern Empire, the old military class of German-Switzerland acquired fresh interest in its profession. Studying in the school of Moltke, and developing the sport of marksmanship among the Swiss people, it managed, in spite of the militia system, to make an Army of which it was properly proud. When the Kaiser, in 1913, attended the Swiss manœuvres, meeting there General Beyers, with results afterwards seen in South Africa, he also seems to have talked over some matters with certain leading German-Swiss.

The event of the Battle of the Marne, combined with the more distant menace of the pressure of British sea-power, made the German-Swiss camarilla cautious and politic. Only when the Imperial armies had definitely broken the back of France could any action be safely undertaken; for the German-Swiss caste had exceptional difficulties of a domestic kind. Not only were its working classes largely infected with French doctrines, but one-third of its forces were of French stock, and likely to rebel or secede if Switzerland attempted to march with the Central Empires.

The mobilised French-Swiss force was kept from its own frontier, and dragooned in Prussian style, to make it obedient to any commands of the German-Swiss. The French-Swiss territory was held by troops of Germanic stock. Nothing occurred, except that at intervals the Imperial forces were rumoured to be massing for a drive through Switzerland. In 1916 Falkenhayn was said to be preparing to thrust through the Alps into Italy. In the early spring of 1917 Hindenburg was reported to have gathered a large army in the Black Forest, in the design to break across the Jura Mountains and enter France below Belfort.

Switzerland menaced with invasion

Naturally, the German-Swiss leaders adopted an independent attitude on these occasions. Happily, Hindenburg's reserves were soon required to fill the gaps in the Lens-Auberive line, and Switzerland was saved from the

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dreadful ordeal of battle. There had been some scandals in regard to the authorities on the Swiss Staff communicating to German Headquarters information of the movements of French troops. Yet the national honour of Switzerland was not touched.

In addition to the show of military pressure by Germany, the Swiss were subjected to some economic pressure. It was in Switzerland that the enemy secretly set up a system of controlling neutral commerce, which was gradually and inefficiently imitated by the Allies. The Germans stipulated that the raw materials they supplied should not be used directly or indirectly for the eventual benefit of France or Great Britain. Quite early in the war they blacklisted Swiss firms that continued to trade with the Allies, and established a thorough system of espionage to strengthen their control.

When the Allies countered, by organising a Swiss society for handling French and British imports, the Germans made some savage attempts to break the new system. On June 8th, 1916, the Swiss Government was staggered by a Note from the German Government threatening that the supply of coal would be stopped unless stocks of cotton and fats were given in exchange.

STEEL-HELMETED SOLDIERS OF THE SWISS CONFEDERATION.

Her mountainous terrain was Switzerland's best safeguard against violation of her studied neutrality by Germany, who would have liked to outflank the extreme right of the French defensive line by pouring troops through Swiss territory. Nevertheless, her Army was an important factor in her safety.

The enemy hoped to obtain the contraband war material secretly, through the Swiss authorities fraudulently breaking their agreement with the Allies. The news of the Note transpired, however. The Allies stood firm, and the German coal supply was not stopped.

Economic pressure upon Switzerland

Again in January, 1917, economic pressure was brutally applied to Switzerland. Swiss imports were interdicted by Germany, and practically stopped by Austria-Hungary. This was in preparation for the revival of the submarine campaign against neutral and belligerent shipping.

On February 1st, 1917, the Swiss people were allowed one line of sea-borne import through Cette. This port was utterly insufficient for the commerce of Switzerland, and the French railways behind the French port were largely required for French purposes. The situation of Switzerland was further aggravated by the entrance of the United States into the war, with the plan, already mentioned, for placing an embargo upon superfluous food supplies to neutral States adjoining enemy countries.

For Germany insisted upon the Swiss having a superfluity of imported goods from the Allies and forwarding the stores across the Rhine. She again stopped the export of coal to Basle, and most seriously diminished the goods-train service.

At this time the Swiss themselves were beginning to suffer from a shortage of food. They had sold too much to Germany. So many tens of thousands of cattle had gone every season to feed the enemy armies that Switzerland, the land of milk, was short of milk for her own towns. Another sixty thousand head of cattle had to be apportioned to the Germans, in May, 1917, in order to obtain coal from Westphalia. This demand the Swiss resisted. Apparently the Teutons had no further prospect of winning the military aid of the German-Swiss, and were bent merely upon draining Switzerland to the uttermost, while famishing her partly by general submarine piracy effects.

Submarine piracy and the neutrals

In regard to this matter we may remark, by way of summarising the story of all the neutral States adjoining Germany, that they enjoyed incomparable prosperity during the first two years of the British blockade, but felt the pinch of misery immediately the Germans opened their submarine piratic operations in ferocious earnestness. It was not merely the murderous character of the enemy's campaign against shipping that made the difference, but the military efficiency of his system.

By the middle of May, 1917, the industries of Denmark were stagnant for lack of coal. Gas works and electric works reported they would have to close if commerce with Great Britain were not resumed quickly. The stock of petrol was exhausted, and only a small store of candles remained for lighting purposes. In Sweden political discontent increased with the increase of the general rigour of living. In Norway the Government had to adopt extraordinary measures to calm popular indignation over the condition of affairs.

In Holland there were symptoms of a similar ferment, but the defenders of Germany there tried to turn against the Allies the anger born of apprehension of the results of the U boat campaign and discomfort at the stoppage of trade. In Switzerland the disillusion of the majority of German-Swiss was profound. So profound was it that at times they were almost inclined to believe the statements in the French and British communiqués. This was remarkable. For a considerable part of German-Switzerland was not yet able to accept the Allies' version of the Battle of the Marne.

In some cases hunger has an educative effect. Germany was educating her neutrals.

Spain had the peculiar distinction, among European neutral States, of standing outside the immediate commercial radius of the Central Empires. She could not send iron ore or other contraband material to Germany without her ships running the Franco-British blockade. Some Spanish iron ore reached the Rhine foundries by way of the river passage of Holland, but this was eccentric to the main line of Spain's commerce during the war. Great Britain, France, and Italy took all that Spain could get ships to carry, and were in a position to maintain

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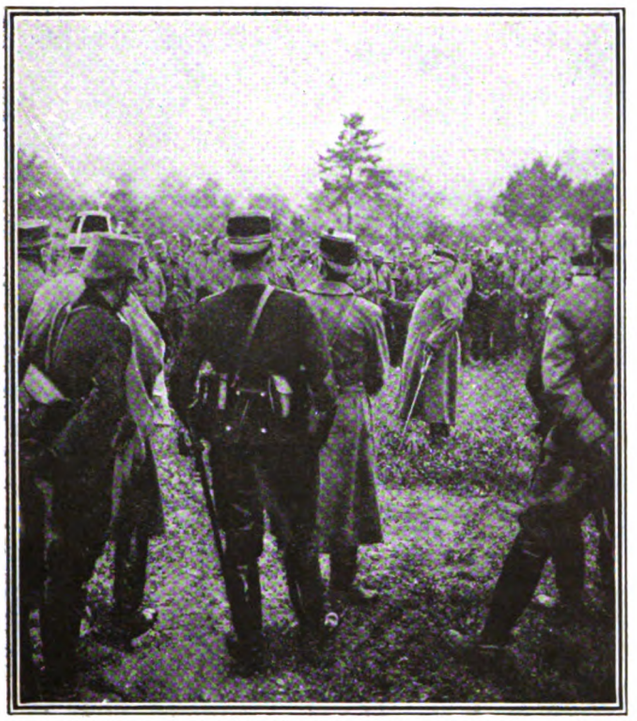
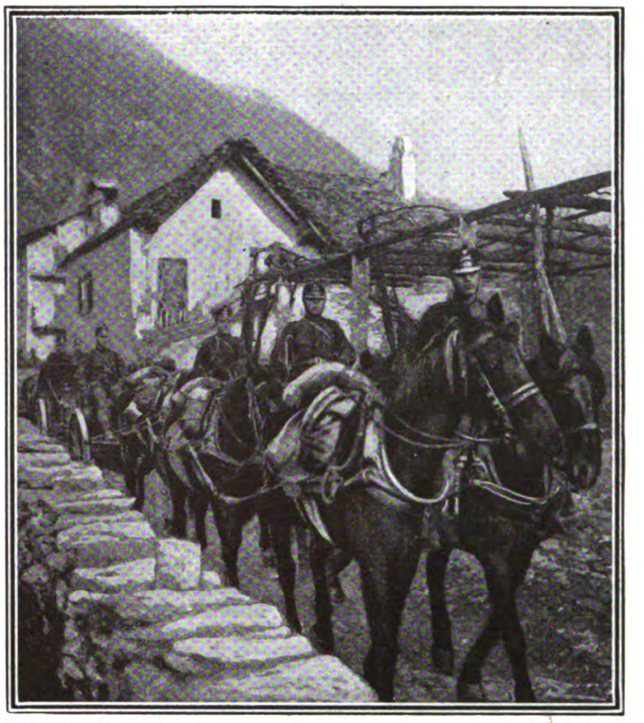
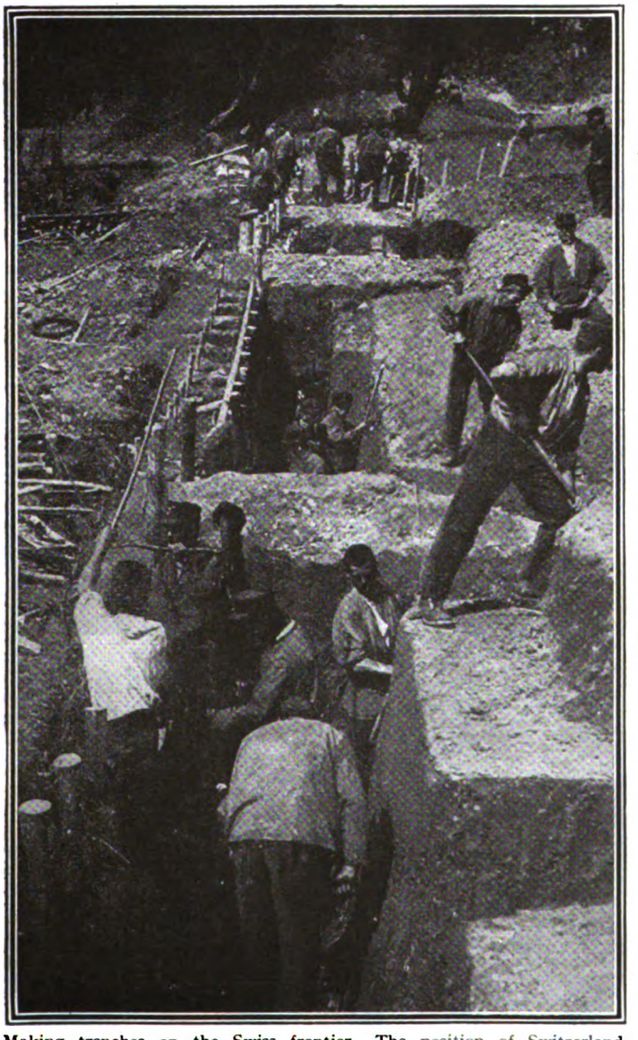


General Wille, in command of the Swiss Army, addressing a number of his officers on the subject of the military manœuvres in which they had been engaged. General Wille belonged to the German-Swiss part of the Republic.



Swiss howitzer battery marching through a village. The Swiss Army is a militia, the men of the artillery doing a recruit course of seventy-seven days during their first year of service.



Making trenches on the Swiss frontier. The position of Switzerland was a difficult one, and its Government, while maintaining strict neutrality, made full preparation for resisting any violation of that neutrality.

An anti-aircraft gun mounted on a turn-table. The Swiss erected these weapons near their frontier, in accordance with the President's emphatic decision to preserve the freedom of the country at any cost

MEN AND MATERIALS READY TO DEFEND THE FREEDOM OF SWITZERLAND.

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THE QUEEN OF DENMARK.
Queen Alexandrine, a princess of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, married in 1898 Prince Christian of Denmark, who succeeded to the throne in 1912.

permanently important commercial relations with the Spaniards.

It is true that France had recently discovered in Algeria an enormous wealth of iron ore, reputed to be of as high a quality as Bilbao ore. Bilbao, nevertheless, was closer than Bizerta and Bône to the British and Northern French coalfields, so that there was a solid economic basis for a Franco-British rapprochement with Spain.

Yet Spain remained remarkably aloof. French and Italian publicists frequently and eloquently discoursed on the solidarity of Latin civilisation. British scholars and their patrons established Chairs of Spanish Literature and exploited the common centenary of Cervantes and Shakespeare for all it was politically worth. British business men, in rather small number, drove in practical fashion at the realities of an alliance. Spain and Great Britain, it was pointed out, completed each other. Spain had iron; Great Britain had coal. Spain had large undeveloped resources; Great Britain had remarkable financial power and first-rate engineering experience. A short sea passage separated the countries, with the advantage that sea carriage was cheaper than railway carriage. "Señorita, let us have a *mariage de convenance;* it will end in love!" said John Bull.

Spain's desire to be peacemaker

Spain smiled a Monna Lisa smile. She was extremely complex. Indeed, she could not understand herself. She was wildly, fondly romantic. She wanted Gibraltar and a larger share of Morocco as a wedding portion, with the benediction of her old kinsman, Austria, and the services of her new friend, Germany, as trustee for the marriage settlement. In vain did the suitor and his circle point out they were at war with Austria and Germany. The dearest desire of Spain was to act as peacemaker and show herself the Power that shaped the destinies of Europe and mankind.

She was the motherland of the rich Spanish-American States. Her prestige over their social leaders was still considerable, although politically they were quite independent of her. The warring races—Teuton and Briton, Frenchman, Italian, and, later, Northern American—were anxious to obtain commercial advantages in Spanish-America. Each reckoned that friendship with Spain would be a help in the contest for Spanish-American trade.

It was for this reason that Spain set a high price on herself. From Germany she then received large but vague promises, all conditional upon a decisive German victory. From Great Britain came a more definite offer of a smaller kind, implying effort and sacrifice on the part of the receiver.

The Spaniards were violently divided among themselves. The Spanish aristocracy wanted an alliance with a victorious Teutonic nobility for frankly selfish reasons. Their estates and their privileges were menaced by the Socialist Revolutionary party. Therefore, they revered the Kaiser and his Junkers as the champions of their class interests, and passionately desired to see such a complete defeat of the western democracies as would establish their own authority in Spain for generations. No disinterested arguments touched the Spaniards of this order. They were realistic politicians, with their special aim clear in view.

AT THE ENTRANCE TO THE BALTIC.
On the Narrows between Denmark and Sweden. The Castle on the left is that of Kronborg, in Denmark. From Kronborg to Helsingborg, in Sweden, is but a twenty minutes' journey in the ferry steamer.

The Spanish ecclesiastics were closely allied with them in principle and in action. The Spanish Church was

CONFERENCE OF DANISH AND SWEDISH MINISTERS AT COPENHAGEN.
King Christian of Denmark in the pilot's seat of a military aeroplane. His Majesty was being shown the way in which his airmen controlled their machines. Right: A conference of Swedish and Danish Ministers at Copenhagen on March 9th, 1916. The Ministers are (from right to left) M. Scavenius, Danish Foreign Affairs; M. Wallenberg, Swedish Foreign Affairs; M. Zahle, Danish Premier; M. Hammarskjöld, Swedish Premier.

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KING GUSTAV OF SWEDEN.
Gustav V., "King of Sweden of the Goths and Vandals," was born in 1858 and succeeded to the throne in 1907.

QUEEN VICTORIA OF SWEDEN.
Daughter of the Grand Duke of Baden. Photographed as colonel of a German cavalry regiment.

CROWN PRINCE OF SWEDEN.
Gustav Adolf, Duke of Skone, Heir Apparent to the Swedish Crown, was born in 1882 and in 1905 married Princess Margaret of Connaught.

troubled by an anti-clerical movement, conducted by men of Republican temper and French inspiration. To the Spanish Clerical Party the overthrow of France was necessary for the salvation of Christendom. Strange are the political colourings of creeds. The Roman Catholic Irish priesthood, long and intimately connected with Spanish ecclesiastic institutions, was by historic accident Democratic and at last even Revolutionary in temper. It largely ran the Sinn Fein.

The Spanish priesthood was violently reactionary. To it France was Antichrist, despite the fact that, with the exception of Anatole France, most of the leading French writers, such as Faguet, Barrès, Bourget, were returning

SWEDISH GUARDS NEAR THE RUSSIAN FRONTIER.
Frontier station and guards at the Swedish seaport of Haparanda, with a distant view across the water to the Russian town of Tornea, passengers from which had just landed from a steamer.

to the faith of their fathers, and generally trying to evoke a national reversion to Catholicism. The clergy of Spain never thought of assisting the French clergy. They were absorbed in the problem of preventing the Gambettas and Combes in the Peninsula from extending their influence from Portugal and Catalonia into the Castilles and Andalusia. They badly needed a smashing defeat of France to achieve their short-sighted aim. Vehement political passion led them into the camp of the Germans. They took a large proportion of the Spanish middle-class and peasantry with them.

Aid to the reactionary forces

There can be no doubt that the reactionary noble and clerical forces in Spain would have failed to check the tendency towards a fighting alliance with the Entente Powers had they received no powerful help. Spain would gradually have followed the same course as Italy. There were, however, the extraordinary number of eighty thousand Germans in the country. Some of them were refugees from France, some were crews of interned ships, a large number were German soldiers from Cameroon, who had crossed to Spanish territory in Africa and been conveyed to the healthier climate of Spain.

They formed two army corps of able, active men, skilfully disciplined. They were sorted out according to their social attainments. Some went to the industrial centres of Northern Spain to preach Revolution, organise strikes and hold up exports to France and Great Britain. Others settled in Spanish ports, and did all they could to bedevil things there. Lonely points on the Spanish coast were occupied by the Teutons, with consequences seen when their countrymen were operating off the shore in submarines.

German activities in Spain

German financial houses in the chief Spanish cities augmented their funds and established new branches. Periodicals and daily newspapers were acquired, not only in Madrid and the other large cities, but in hundreds of small places. The Teuton combined wisdom with economy, and, appreciating the cheapness and intensive authority of small country-side papers, he obtained the control of them, and worked them with his usual energy. The local clergy and sometimes the grandees readily assisted him. In turn he organised the peasants as a modern political force.

SOLDIERS OF THE SWEDISH ARMY.
Men of the Crown Prince's Infantry Regiment taking part in field exercises. With universal and compulsory military service, Sweden had, in 1916, an Army which at war strength numbered nearly 200,000.

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The first two and a half years of the war were a busy and troubled period in Spain. The amount of unrest was amazing. Strikes occurred on little or no provocation, and there were threats of revolution, needing the temporary application of martial law. All this was extremely mysterious, because the Labour organisations sympathised with the embattled French Democracy, and produced war material for the Allies. Mephistopheles from Germany was behind all the disorders.

Spanish Cabinet changes

He was suspicious of King Alfonso. It was rather a wonder that the young patriot King was not assassinated. Perhaps the agents of the Hohenzollern considered that would have been too dangerous an example to set in the circumstances. During the period of German intrigue there was a change in the Ministry, Señor Dato being succeeded as Premier by Count Romanones, who also conducted Foreign Affairs. Two pro-German politicians were included in the Ministry, apparently by way of notification of neutrality. Their presence, however, did not lead to any lessening of the artificial Labour unrest. There were eighty thousand Germans in the country, and they had to continue doing something to earn their keep and lift *Deutschland über alles*.

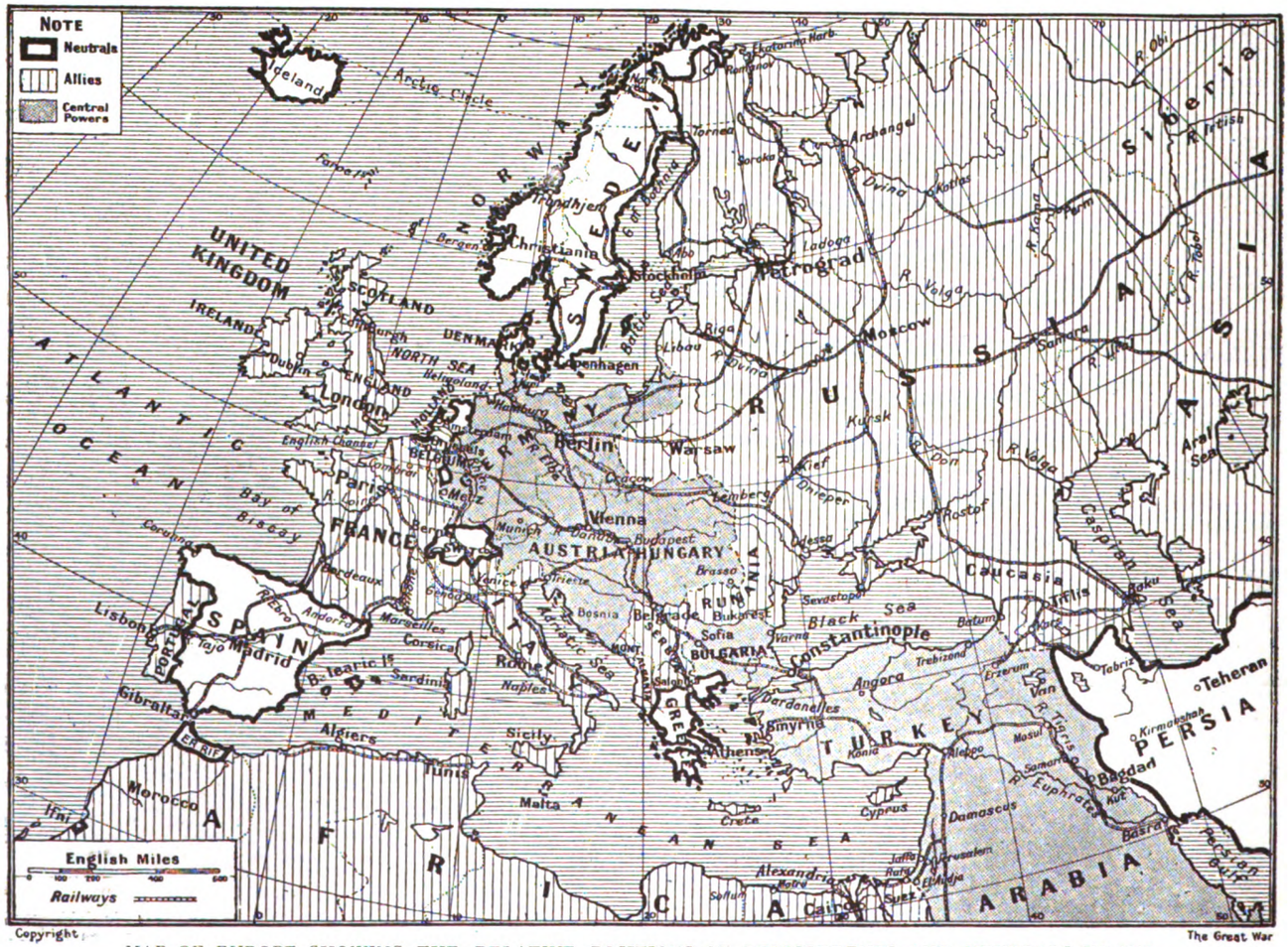
Much that was prevented from happening in Spain had a bearing on the course of the war; but little that actually occurred had any immediate relation of importance to the events of the battlefields until the historic date, February 1st, 1917. The futile anxiety of some Spaniards that their King should be the peacemaker of the world, their anger when President Wilson was still essaying to win the position, the fine work done personally by King Alfonso to mitigate the miseries of war, and the noble protest made by a large body of leading Spaniards against the action of the Germans in Belgium, these were among the incidents of Spanish history in the middle of the struggle.

With the opening of the Teutonic submarine attack on both neutral and belligerent shipping the position of Spain became endangered. One of her merchant ships, the Ferrucio, was torpedoed by the Germans on February 6th, 1917. It was soon afterwards discovered that the German Consul at Cartagena was providing with stores a German submarine operating off the port between Cape Palos and Tarragona. German action was also traced in the origin of a serious explosion in a Bilbao shipyard, and in the placing of an infernal machine in a load of coal about to be delivered to a British steamer. Spanish oranges for export to the Allies were poisoned while being packed.

All the murderous devices that Captain von Papen and Count Bernstorff had employed in the United States were used in Spain. The day after the Ferrucio was torpedoed a band of workmen and students demonstrated in Madrid in favour of maintaining neutrality. It was a suggestive coincidence that the demonstration should have taken place on the day when Count Romanones sent a strong Note against the German submarine policy. The Teutons were undoubtedly splendid stage-managers.

Fall of Count Romanones

Also, they were not always inexpert in constructing a plot. The diplomatic Note by Count Romanones had as little effect as the diplomatic Notes of President Wilson. The Spanish Premier prepared for warlike action. But he was suddenly overthrown on April 19th, 1917, by the pro-German Ministers, who sought to maintain Spain in a state of passive neutrality while her commerce was being ruined by the German submarine operations.



MAP OF EUROPE SHOWING THE RELATIVE POSITIONS OF BELLIGERENTS AND NEUTRALS IN 1917.
In this map the neutral countries dealt with in the preceding chapter are indicated by a thick line enclosing their frontiers.

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BRITISH WORKING-PARTY

CHAPTER CLXXVIII.

FOR CAPTURED TRENCHES.

THE WINTER RAIDS BETWEEN THE BATTLES OF THE SOMME AND ARRAS.

By F. A. McKenzie.

Somme Advance Checked by Break-up of the Weather—Winter Activity of the British General Staff—Canadian Plan of Night Raids Standardised—Terror Inspired in the Enemy by British Raids—Transfer of the Canadians to Vimy—Daylight Raids by Canadian Mounted Rifles Outside Roclincourt—Epic Raid of December 20th, 1916—Nova Scotians Celebrate Christmas Day by a Surprise Raid—Comparison of the British Military Machine in 1917 with that of 1915—Bombs and Unlimited Shells Instead of "Tickler's Artillery" and Gun Rations—Telescopic Sights and Disguises for Snipers—Steel Helmets and Gas Masks —Multiplication of Machine-Guns: Vickers-Maxim, Lewis, and Stokes—Military Observation by Balloon and Aeroplane—Minor Raids by Men of Montreal and New Brunswick Battalions—Big Raid by Ontario Battalions, January 31st, 1917—Splendidly Successful Raid by London Territorials on Hill 60, Ypres—New South Wales Battalion's Raid at Gueudecourt: Captain Bean's Account—Canadian Raid in Ladies' Night-Dresses—Some Dramatic Incidents—How the Germans Met the British Activities—Best German Fighting Material Conserved for Later Use—German Raids on the British Lines—Failure of a Raid by the Canadians in February: Lieut.-Colonels Kemball and Beckett Killed.

AFTER the great Somme offensive, dealt with in Chapters CXLIX.-CLV. (Vol. VIII.), the break-up of the weather in the autumn of 1916 made a further immediate sustained advance impossible. The whole of the front was one great quagmire of sticky, gluey mud, interspersed with numerous specially deep mud-holes caused by shell fire. The ground had been so torn and blown up by the action of high explosives that it was sifted with almost incredible fineness for many feet down. This loose, pulverised earth quickly turned into deep mire. It was impossible to move guns through it, and scarcely possible to bring up supplies. Horses were suffocated in mud as they tried to advance, and often men would have been lost had not their comrades dug them out. British and Germans faced one another in their hastily-dug trenches on the Somme, and settled down for a test of endurance under winter conditions.

While, however, great movements were, for the time, made impossible by the weather, there was no intention on the part of the British General Staff to allow the Germans to remain quiet and to renew their strength. The activities of the winter, while less dramatic than the incidents of the great summer campaign, were of vital importance. Our lines were readjusted. Fresh methods of battalion organisation, making each platoon still more independent, were perfected. The vast reserves of ammunition behind the British lines were enormously augmented. Large numbers of fresh guns, trench-mortars, howitzers, and long-range guns were brought into position. The British line was extended southwards in order further to relieve the French. At the same time, winter raids were begun on the new plan —raids which caused much loss to the enemy and had a damaging effect on his moral.

[British official photograph.

STUDYING THE LIE OF THE NEWLY-TAKEN GROUND.
Consulting the map. British officers in command of working-parties seeking to ascertain the significance of recently-captured ground on the western front which they had been sent forward to consolidate.

In the summer of 1915 two Canadian officers, Colonel (afterwards Brigadier-General) Odlum, and Colonel (afterwards Brigadier-General) Tuxford, introduced a new system of night raids which for a time was very successful indeed. These raids, based upon a careful training of a number

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of men for one specific task, provided various precautions to ensure secrecy, rapidity, and the terrorising of the enemy. For a time they carried all before them.

The Canadian plan was standardised for all the British and French forces; but gradually the Germans came to appreciate their opponents' methods of night raiding, and to take fresh precautions against them. Their wire entanglements were strengthened to resist wire-cutters, some of the strands of wire being as thick as two fingers of a man's hand. They arranged double rows of wire with spaces between, along which patrols moved all night long. Despite this, the British troops made their way through on many occasions.

Prisoners who were brought in often described the terrorising effects of our raids. Their accounts were strikingly confirmed by Mr. J. P. Whitaker, of Bradford, an Englishman who, after living for two years inside the German lines, returned to England. Writing in the "Times," Mr. Whitaker said:

> This is how a German soldier gave me his impressions of the British raids: "They are the worst horror we have to contend with. The English seem to do it for sport, not for war. You do not know when or where a raid is coming. These Englishmen daub their faces with clay, come along the ground on all fours, smother our advance posts, and are in our trenches before we know where we are. They come not with rifles and revolvers, but with knives and sledge-hammers and bombs. We cannot use our rifles against them. They are too near, and perhaps we have not fixed our bayonets. We must either run or be killed. The English will clear a trench on a stretch of a hundred and fifty yards and get away again without losing a man." It would be difficult to exaggerate the genuine terror with which the raids have filled German soldiers of all ranks and regiments.

GENERAL SIR HENRY SINCLAIR HORNE, K.C.B.

Sir Henry Horne was in command of the First Army on the western front, and, with General Allenby, was in charge of the great Arras offensive, which began on April 9th, 1917. The above is a reproduction from a portrait by Mr. Francis Dodd, one of the official artists at the front.

It soon became evident that the hour had come for fresh developments. The Canadians now led the way in the new system of raiding as they had done before. Four Canadian divisions, after their brilliant victories around Courcelette, were moved from the Somme to the lines facing Vimy Ridge, running roughly from north of Arras to the north of Bully-Grenay. Their casualties on the Somme had been heavy. Some battalions that had marched a few weeks earlier under the hanging golden Virgin of Albert twelve hundred strong, marched back on their way northwards counting their effectives by the score. Their new position, facing the great Vimy Ridge, had been reckoned a little time previously one of the quietest parts of the line. Earlier in the war some of the most tragic and costly fighting had taken place there, and the French and German dead buried in the Souchez Valley were numbered by many scores of thousands. Towns and villages such as Souchez, originally as prosperous and delightful as any in France, were nothing but masses of ruins, presenting pictures of desolation as dreadful as could be seen in any part of the field of war. In villages a little farther behind, a few bold peasants and farmers still lived, maintaining their footing and carrying on their work under frequent shell fire. Their homes were cellars, their children had been sent away, each man had his gas-mask to protect himself, and all were ready for anything that might come.

Canadians moved to Vimy Ridge

The Canadians were sent to Vimy to rest and recruit their strength. They did not rest for long. They immediately began to make things so lively that, ten days after their arrival, the Germans on one section of the line opposite them put out a notice:

CUT OUT YOUR DAMNED ARTILLERY.
WE, TOO, ARE FROM THE SOMME.

Evidently some German-American had written the notice.

It was resolved now to have raids on entirely new lines. Hitherto our raids had been at night time, and the Germans thought themselves comparatively safe during the day. Now the British raids took place in full daylight. The section chosen was on the front outside Roclincourt, when the Canadian Mounted Rifles were in the line. The trenches and No Man's Land here were very muddy. There were sectors in the advanced trenches where men at times got stuck and had to be dug out by their comrades; sectors as nearly impassable as anything could be. Out in No Man's Land some of the saps contained two feet of icy, muddy water.

For men to move in these positions without betraying themselves to the enemy was exceedingly difficult; but they promptly began raiding the German lines. One of the most formidable of these early raids took place on December 2nd, 1916. Previous attempts made to penetrate one part of the German lines had failed. Then a battalion volunteered to make another attempt. The raiders were divided into three parties. Those to the right and the left succeeded in reaching the German trenches after heavy fighting. The centre party, however, was held up by very strong wire entanglements, which could not be broken through.

Deadly raid at Roclincourt

The Canadians held both sides of the trench. There was no communicating-trench through which the enemy might retire. Packed in, they could not retreat. The officer of the middle section of the Canadians gave the command. His men stretched out quickly in front of the wire through which they could not pass, and threw their bombs right over it along the line of cooped-up Germans. Then the men to the right and left closed in. There was little more fighting to be done, for they found the trench heaped up with dead. One hundred Germans had been blown to bits. A young Michigan boy, Lieutenant MacCormack, who acted as reconnoitring officer, was

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LIEUT.-GENERAL HON. SIR JULIAN H. G. BYNG, K.C.B.
Sir Julian Byng, who was General Officer Commanding in Egypt from 1912 to 1914, and had already distinguished himself both in France and in the Dardanelles, succeeded General Alderson in the command of the Canadian Army Corps early in the summer of 1916.

decorated with the Military Cross for his work that day. He was one of many thousands of Americans then in the Canadian Army fighting with enthusiasm for the Allies.

In mid-December the British began to concentrate fire upon one picked section of the German position. A stretch of line four hundred yards long was marked off. On the morning of December 20th it was suddenly boxed in by gun fire. A line of smoke-bombs was sent behind the first set of trenches so as to make a screen between it and the German machine-gun positions. On both sides a machine-gun barrage was opened. This machine-gun barrage, a comparatively new thing in war, was of the most terrifying and formidable kind, the machine-guns creating for the time a sheet of living steel through which none could pass and live. Men familiar with older forms of barrages declared that that of the machine-gun was the most awe-inspiring of all.

Impassable machine-gun barrage

The Canadian Mounted Rifles, who were largely a Western corps, had in the meantime taken up their positions at jumping-off places in No Man's Land, where they crouched low to avoid observation. At a given moment the divisional artillery behind opened a heavy fire upon the rear of the German lines and a barrage on the German trenches. Under the shelter of this barrage the Canadians moved forward. The enemy was taken by surprise. Our artillery had already inflicted great destruction. Most of his machine-guns were unable to take aim because of the line of smoke from the Stokes bombs which acted as a barrier. Here and there, individuals tried to put up a fight. Two or three men around a front-line machine-gun attempted to turn it on the Canadians, but before they could do so they were bayoneted.

Most of the troops of the front trenches were down in their dug-outs taking shelter from our fire. The Canadians knew the position of nearly every dug-out. A sergeant or officer went to the head of each and called to the men inside to come out. Those who came out and surrendered were taken prisoners. Those who did not were blown up together with the dug-outs. Mobile charges, brought for the purpose, were thrown in—mobile charges sufficiently strong to send the deepest dug-out into irretrievable ruin. At one point the Canadians came on a dug-out full of supplies. It was treated in the same fashion.

The German machine-gunners on the other side of the smoke barrier were now firing wildly. Supplementary parties of Canadians pushed down the communicating-trenches to the second lines. The raiding-party remained in the German trenches for ninety minutes. During that time they blew up every dug-out and destroyed every store. Then they quietly returned over No Man's Land, bringing fifty-eight prisoners, including one officer, with them. They had killed at least twice as many in the trenches. The Canadian losses could be counted on the fingers of both hands.

Counter-attack on empty trenches

While the Canadians were resting after the battle, the Germans, who had not yet discovered that they had gone, flung up reserve forces to attack them. The Canadians had the satisfaction of listening to the Germans recovering their own lines. They first of all opened concentrated artillery fire upon them, then they advanced, section by section, bombing each point before rushing it, only to find each section deserted. Suspecting a trap, they continued in the same slow way. A few days later the German official account of the action was published. It stated that the British had penetrated the German lines but had been

GENERAL SIR EDMUND H. H. ALLENBY, K.C.B.
Sir Edmund Allenby, in command of the Third Army on the western front, had gained a brilliant reputation as cavalry leader in South Africa, and won new laurels in the retreat from Mons. Both drawings on this page are reproduced from portraits by Mr. Francis Dodd.

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PERILS OF WIRING WORK: "FROZEN" BY THE COLD GLARE OF A STAR-SHELL.

Erecting barbed-wire entanglements was work that could only be done at night. Even then the wiring-parties were liable to discovery by enemy star-shells soaring up and revealing them to enemy machine-gunners waiting to fire at any suspicious objects. When a flare burst every man "froze" hard in the position in which he was surprised, absolute immobility being the only chance of escaping observation.

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driven out with heavy losses by a German counter-attack. Actually, the counter-attack had been against empty trenches, for it had never been our intention to hold the place.

The victory of December 20th was so brilliantly successful at so small a cost that it was quickly copied, and was the beginning of a new series of similar raids along the British front. This did not mean, however, that the old plan of raiding at night was wholly given up. A Nova Scotian battalion gave a good example of the old-time raids on Christmas morning. The commander of this battalion argued rightly that the Germans would not be expecting an attack on Christmas Day. Therefore, he would give them a little surprise. No special preliminary artillery work was done, our guns only keeping up their usual occasional fire. It was starlight and quite cold. The Nova Scotians had taken very exact observation of the German front ahead, particularly noting the position of machine-guns, sniping-posts, observation-posts, and listening-posts.

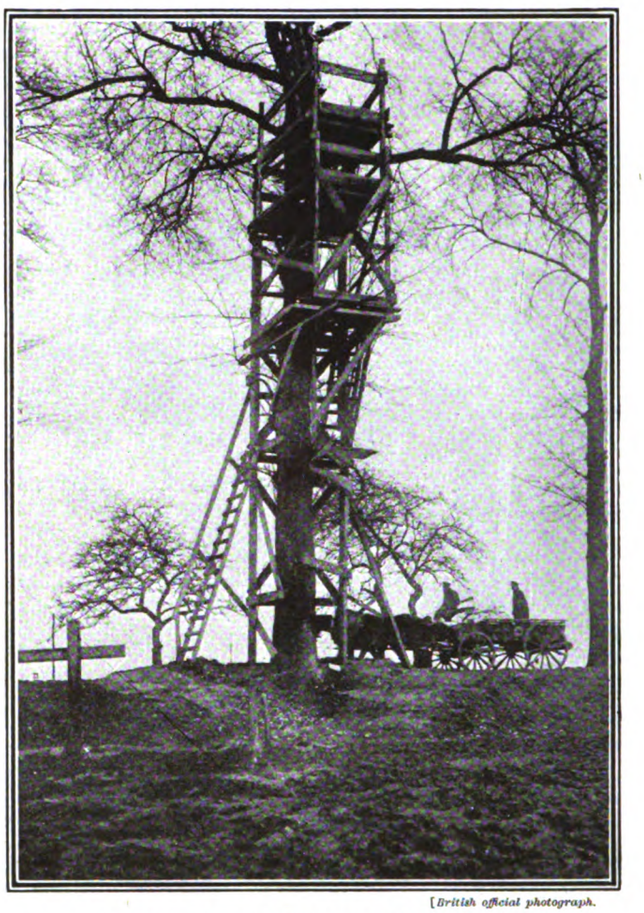
Nova Scotians' Christmas raid

The raiding-party consisted of five officers and one hundred men, divided into four groups, each under an officer. At a fixed moment the German wire entanglements were blown up. The sound of the explosions had barely died away before the Nova Scotians ran forward. Forcing their way into the trenches, they swept the surprised Germans clean before them. One sergeant went to a dug-out. Three Germans were there. He shot two of them and took the third prisoner. A big Nova Scotian corporal lunged at a man showing fight and bayoneted him. The Germans behind hastily sent up red flares, bursting into great golden showers—"S O S" signs calling for artillery aid and for reinforcements. All the dug-outs were searched and every man within a considerable area killed or taken prisoner. Just as German reinforcements were coming up in great strength, the Nova Scotians slipped back, taking their prisoners with them. The Canadian casualties were one killed and three slightly wounded. At least fifty-five Germans were killed and wounded that night and a considerable number made prisoners.

The German commanders were evidently greatly mortified by this surprise raid. They promptly hit back with a barrage of rifle-grenades, and for hours afterwards sought to wreck the Canadian lines at this point with shell fire. It is one of the laws of trench war that if you hit, the other side hits back; so the Canadians were not surprised. A few days later, however, the Germans attempted a still more formidable punishment for this raid. At ten o'clock in the evening they started a phosgene gas shell attack on the ruined coal-mining towns of Bully and Grenay. The bombardment was maintained until four o'clock in the morning. Sometimes it reached an intensity of ten shells a minute. In all about three thousand shells were thrown. The attack had been very carefully elaborated, with the intention of wiping out every living person in the country-side around. Phosgene is one of the most deadly of all gases. The Germans had, however, overlooked one thing, and consequently their bombardment was a failure. The total losses from this heavy bombardment were seven French civilians, six of whom died during the night and one who died in the following afternoon.

In studying the raids of 1917 it must be remembered that the British Army was equipped as never before, and was able to undertake tasks previously impossible. This can be well seen by comparing the conditions in 1915 and 1917.

In two years the British Army had been transformed, save in spirit and courage, for everyone gladly recognised that the pluck and endurance of the First Expeditionary Force could never be surpassed. Means of communication, weapons, and methods of war had been revolutionised. In the grim winter of 1914-15 the contest was between ill-equipped courage on the side of the British and an almost perfect military machine on the German side. In the winter



[*British official photograph.*

BRITISH ARTILLERY OBSERVATION-POST.

Artillery observation-posts—O.P.'s or "O-Pips"—were built up in trees, and connected with the batteries by telephone. These positions were exceptionally perilous, for discovery immediately made them the target for every enemy gun within range.

of 1916-17 the British had an almost perfect machine, while on the enemy's side there were armies seeking by retirement to escape from the tremendous punishment that was being inflicted on them.

In 1915 the British pinned their faith to the motor-car. Railways were few and inadequate. Heavy military automobiles tore the roads of Northern France and Belgium to pieces, day and night, bringing up supplies. The system was costly, wasteful, and inadequate. An army of men was kept busy doing nothing but repairing the thoroughfares. The cost was ten times what railway transit would have been, and the result was insufficient. Had the British then broken through the German lines, they would not have been able to advance far, for their lines of communication would have inevitably been blocked up, being inadequate for the necessary traffic. This was now no longer true. For considerably over a year the British had been building railways as fast as they could. Sir Eric Geddes, who was in command of this work, was a live railway organiser. Much of the new railway construction was being done by men from overseas.

British railway organisation perfected

Readers of trench literature of early 1915 will remember the frequent references to "Tickler's Artillery." Tickler was the famous maker of plum-and-apple jam, then so liberally served out to the Army. The jam was sent out in tins. Our boys in the trenches made the empty tins into bombs to fling at the Germans—Tickler's Artillery! In other words, there were no proper bombs for them. They had to make their own to answer the German hand-grenades. In 1917 the bomb was the most familiar weapon

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of the infantryman. In every attack it was the bomb, and not the rifle, that did the work, and when a man was too near to use the bomb, the trench-dagger completed the business. There was now no need for the men in the trenches to make Tickler's Artillery. The bombs served out to them were the finest in the world, and the supply of them was equal to all requirements.

Shell supply in 1915 and 1917

In the spring of 1915 the British guns were on rations. Even in a heavy attack, when the Germans were attacking with concentrated fire, the artillery opposed to them at times had to cease fire by ten o'clock in the morning. Three shells a day was the usual allowance. Theoretically, the British field-guns were supposed to carry or have in reserve 1,000 rounds, and the howitzers and heavy guns from 500 to 800 rounds. Every soldier knew that the shells needed in serious fighting must be counted by the thousand, for in the previous great war—the Russo-Japanese—both the Russians and the Japanese batteries frequently fired 500 rounds a day. But the British had not the shells.

In 1917 there was no "rationing." On most parts of the British line a minimum of four shells was normally returned for every one the Germans sent over. If a battalion commander telephoned to the artillery behind to retaliate on a particular position, the enemy quickly got it, full measure, pressed down and running over. If, in the afternoon, more was wanted, he got some more. There was no limit. The British had all the shells they needed, and more artillery in proportion to infantry than any army since war began.

There was never anything to complain about the small arms, and the British infantry fire from the first was unequalled for rapidity and accuracy. But when it came to sniping there was a different story to tell. The Boer War showed the advantage of telescopic sights for rifles. When the Germans retreated from the Marne their snipers inflicted great damage. They left men behind in villages or woods, expert foresters, with rifles fitted with telescopic sights. They had supplies of provisions and clothes skilfully coloured to resemble their surroundings. They picked off officer after officer at leisure.

There quickly came a demand for telescopic sights that could not be provided. The old optical industry of Birmingham had been killed, and the sights were made in Austria or Germany. A new industry had to be created. By 1917, however, British-made telescopic sights were as good as the German, and the art of disguising men for sniping work had been brought to a point equal at least to the best that the enemy had done.

When, early in the war, a British officer made a scene in the House of Commons, declaring that British soldiers were being murdered by the absence of steel helmets, the average stay-at-home was inclined to ridicule him. Those who had ever had to stand along the line when the "Minnies" were bursting near by, and the ugly black fragments were hissing as they dropped, were not altogether so indifferent.

Even early in 1916 it was customary, when a battalion was setting out for the front lines, for the officers to toss up for their supply of steel helmets, to decide who should have them and who should not. The man who went out without one knew that his chances of death under trench-mortar fire were increased by about fifty per cent. Every battalion in 1917 could show steel helmets torn with fragments of high explosive, the men who wore them having escaped either wholly unhurt or with mere surface wounds. But for their helmets they would have been killed.

Steel helmets and gas-masks

By 1917 there were helmets for everyone—the best helmets in the world. They were, maybe, not so pretty and not so comfortable as the French, but they gave a maximum of protection. The newest helmets even had steel chain-armour for the front, protecting the eyes. Gas-masks had kept pace with steel helmets. By 1917 the

[*British official photograph.*

NATURE'S AID ENLISTED IN THE ART AND CRAFT OF ENTRENCHMENT.

A well-concealed trench adapted by the British from a gully between a double line of trees upon the western front. As the advance grew more rapid the labour of consolidating positions won and entrenching new ones grew more severe, and ingenuity availed itself of every scrap of advantage offered by the natural conformation of the terrain when time did not permit of trenches being burrowed deep and concreted.

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British had not only the best gas-masks, but the man who was without one had no one but himself to blame.

At the beginning of the war two machine-guns to a battalion was the ideal. By 1917 machine-guns had been multiplied many times. The Vickers-Maxim was, in the opinion of military observers, the best in the world. The Lewis seemed the last word in portable machine-guns. Here was a little weapon which one man could easily carry about with him, with which a whole line of advance could be swept in a few seconds with a merciless hail of fire. One man, with steady finger on his trigger, could sweep down a charging battalion. Naturally, a small weapon was more likely to get out of order than a heavier one.

The British Army had brought machine-gun fire to the ultimate point of perfection. The machine-gun barrage, which acted so effectively at the Somme and elsewhere, was like nothing so much as a continuous sheet of steel sweeping overhead. The Stokes gun was a gem. For months everyone familiar with trench life had recognised the Stokes as the ideal trench-gun. For simplicity, rapidity of fire, and portability there was nothing like it. In the view of many soldiers, under almost any conditions a German advance could have been made impossible by Stokes gun fire alone. Further, by use of smoke-shells, it was possible quickly to build up a barrier behind which men could move out of sight and take cover from the fire of the enemy gunners.

[*British official photograph.*

THE HIGHWAY TO VICTORY.

Typical mud on the Somme battlefield, and the typical smile with which it was encountered by the British soldiers.

[*British official photograph.*

GROUP OF ANZACS WHO TOOK PART IN THE WINTER RAIDS.

Sent first to Egypt and Gallipoli, it was the supreme desire of the Australian and New Zealand Contingents to be transferred to the western front to meet the arch-enemy. When their wish was gratified they had abundant opportunities of fighting, and won imperishable renown against the flower of the German Army.

The art of military observation had been revolutionised. The gas-balloons spread along over the British front lines kept the enemy position in constant surveillance. It was scarcely possible for the enemy to put up a fresh fence of light wire for some distance behind his lines but it was at once noted and recorded. Aerial photography gave permanent records. The Army airmen — the *corps d'élite*—had come into their own.

A whole series of raids, both day and night, followed the preliminary successes. Sometimes they were small, undertaken by seven or eight men; sometimes they were on a considerable scale, the raiders being counted by the thousand. As an example of the minor raids, reference may be made to an expedition by two officers and five men of a Montreal battalion who left the Canadian lines on New Year's Eve after dark, and fifteen minutes later had crossed the enemy's wires and entered his front trench without being detected. No German was to be seen, so they moved down the trench, full of mud and water, to a point where they believed a sentry-post was located. Here they waited twenty minutes until the sentry approached. He was seized and overpowered. A second German, coming out of the dug-out, was also seized; and, with these two prisoners, the raiders returned safely home. In one way this enterprise was little more than an adventurous jaunt, but the army that is in the humour for games such as these, where the stake is the life of the players, is the army that is likely to win.

A New Year's Eve adventure

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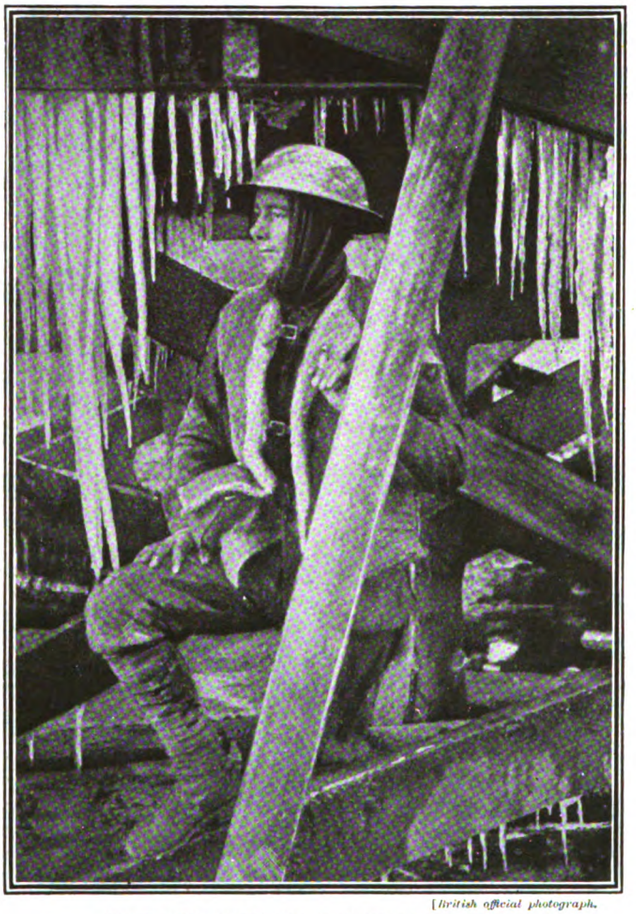
The most considerable and successful of the Canadian raids was made on January 31st, 1917. On the previous day a New Brunswick battalion rushed into the German trenches after the explosion of a mine and penetrated to the support line, meeting with no resistance. Thirty Germans were met in a communication-trench, and hastily retiring, took refuge in their dug-outs. Called upon to emerge and surrender, they refused to stir, whereupon mobile charges were flung down the dug-outs, destroying them. Four Germans were taken prisoners, but while they were being escorted along No Man's Land a shell fell and killed all of them.

The bigger raid began at 7.45 in the morning of the last day of January. Two Ontario battalions set out under exceedingly unfavourable conditions. There was snow on the ground, making the uniforms of the men conspicuous. The wind prevented the formation of a smoke barrage, and the enemy's wire entanglements were known to be strong. The men had hardly left the trenches before the machine-guns opened out on them from the German lines. Now, however, the great excellence of the supporting artillery became apparent. The enemy machine-guns were almost instantly silenced. When the troops got to the German wire the gun fire had already cleared the position for them.

The German trenches were smashed by heavy shells. When the Ontario troops vaulted into the German lines they found a scene of desolation and ruin. Every deep dug-out and machine-gun emplacement was quickly destroyed. An hour after their start the Canadians were back in their own trenches, bringing one hundred prisoners, two machine-guns, and a mechanical bomb-thrower with them.

This list of captures was up to now the greatest in any of these winter raids, but it was surpassed shortly afterwards by some Imperial Territorial troops on the Ypres salient. On February 21st a London Territorial battalion attacked an inconvenient German salient, five hundred feet wide, between Hill 60 and the Bluff. This point was long considered one of the best prepared along the whole German front, for around Hill 60 British and Germans had for about two years exchanged almost daily battle. It was here that the Londoners—shopmen, warehousemen, and clerks, many of them, in the old days—elected to drive home their attack. The principle that audacity always pays was rarely better illustrated. The audacity was all the greater when it is realised that the majority of the lads who took part in the attack had never up till then been "over the top."



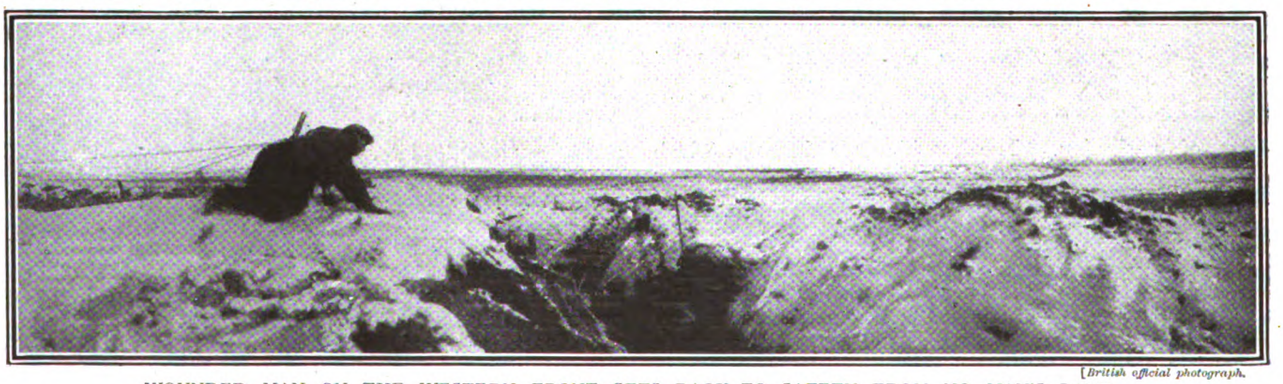
[British official photograph.

CHEERFULNESS IN A CHILLY CORNER.

Winter on the western front. The British soldier, warmly clad, was able to keep himself cheerful even when sudden frost following on heavy rain had turned his shelter into a cave of stalactitic icicles.

The attack was preceded by a heavy bombardment which smashed up the German wires. Then, in the evening, the bombardment suddenly concentrated on the German side of Hill 60. Believing that the raid was coming at this point, the Germans quickly concentrated their defence here; but while they were doing so, and while the hurricane of Stokes bombs shut out their view, the Londoners quietly advanced closely behind their own curtain of Stokes bombs a little to the side of where the Germans expected them.

The lie of the German position had been closely studied, and every man had been very carefully drilled in advance as to his particular part in the work. When they reached the German front trench a certain number of men were nerve-broken and ready to surrender. These prisoners were secured by some, while others of the raiders, provided with the right quantity of aminol, tackled the dug-outs. Still others went to the communication-



[British official photograph.

WOUNDED MAN ON THE WESTERN FRONT GETS BACK TO SAFETY FROM NO MAN'S LAND.

British soldier who, having been wounded during the course of a wintry trench raid and got lost, yet managed to crawl back, and was nearing the security of his own trenches. There were many such wonderful escapes of men who succeeded in getting back, despite the target which, except at night-time, they afforded to the watchful enemy snipers, and that, short of recognition, they were in danger from their own side, too.

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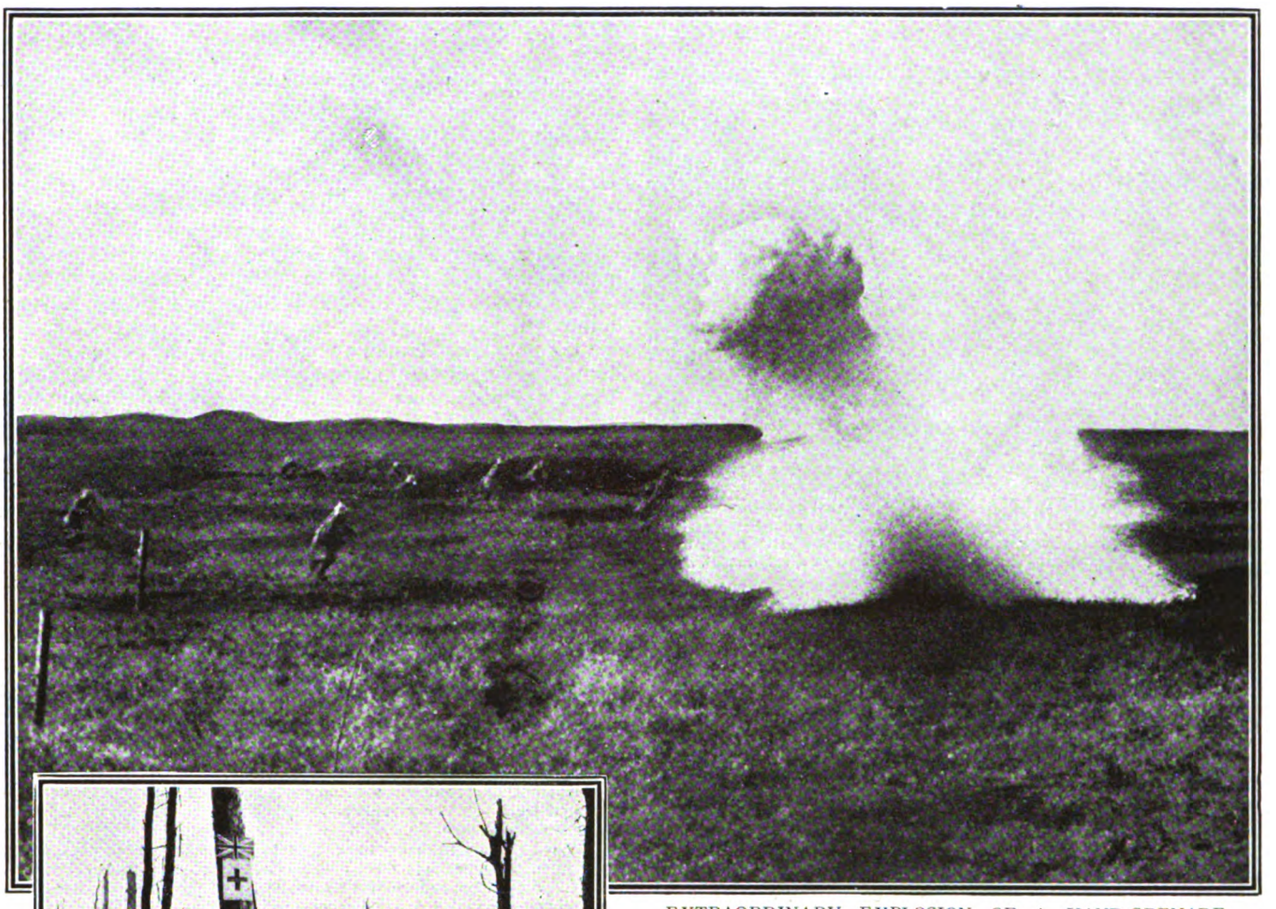

EXTRAORDINARY EXPLOSION OF A HAND-GRENADE.

In this remarkable photograph of bomb practice a grenade, thrown just as the men went "over the top," is seen as it exploded well ahead of them. It suggests the destructive character of these small bombs in trench warfare.

[British official photographs.

LOOKING AFTER THE WOUNDED ALONG THE WESTERN FRONT.

With the motor-ambulance brought as near as the condition of the ground would permit, the ready men of the R.A.M.C. and other comrades helped the disabled over difficult "bits" to the vehicle that would convey them to surgical attention. Above: Carrying a wounded man from a dressing-station.

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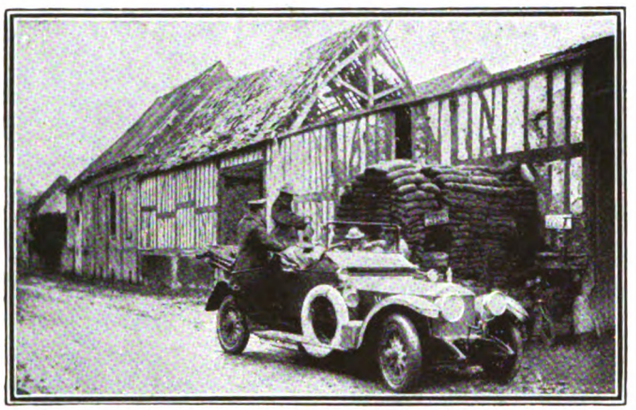

[*British official photograph.*

IN A WRECKED VILLAGE ON THE WESTERN FRONT.
Arrival of a British Staff car at a gas-alarm point. The man being assisted into the car was evidently a wounded despatch-rider. His motor-cycle is by the dug-out entrance beneath one of the ruined houses.

trenches, carefully hemming in men from the German front who had begun to retreat. The Londoners entered into the spirit of the game as though it were a hunt, calling "Tally-ho!" as they ran. They moved round in such fashion that the Germans left in the position were surrounded on all sides. The German commanders behind knew that serious work was afoot, but could not locate where the British raiders were. The raiders had seen to it with the utmost expedition that the telephonic communications were cut off. Consequently, the German heavy artillery concentrated on other points, giving the Londoners time to go through the position at leisure. The Germans were given every chance to surrender, and many of them elected to do so, but others fought to the end.

London Territorials' raid near Ypres

When at last, having completed their work, the London troops retired, they took with them one German officer, one hundred and nineteen rank and file, seven machine-guns, and much else. They had destroyed every dug-out and every store in the position; they had blown up a fine mine-shaft. A concrete section of the German trench with stores of hand-grenades had been destroyed; and it was not until the raiders had been back in their own lines with their prisoners that the German heavy artillery turned on the position they had raided and smashed it still further, greatly to the delight of the Londoners, who watched it from the safety of their own lines with unconcealed glee.

This raid was the most successful of any undertaken until the spring advance began. There were reports that, in their turn, the Canadians were determined to beat the British records. The Canadians rejoiced in the Londoners' success as though it had been their own, and smiled grimly. "Anyone would think," muttered one captain from Saskatoon, "that it was a baseball game to hear people talk in that way, in place of a mighty serious business."

One of the most considerable of the raids undertaken by the Australians was at Gueudecourt, on the night of February 4th, when the New South Wales Battalion attacked and took six hundred yards of trenches. Here, after the usual artillery bombardment, the Australians advanced. The account that follows is based largely on the description by Captain C. E. W. Bean, the Australian official Press representative. The Australian line got into the German trench, following its own barrage very closely, so closely that, to use a German phrase, "it was not behind the bombardment but with it." The Germans on the greater part of the position surrendered like lambs; but a flanking company of New South Wales men, that had to swerve to avoid some unbroken wire, met with very severe opposition. It leaped into the German trench just as the Germans were tumbling out of the mouth of their dug-outs. A hand-to-hand fight followed, the Australians fighting up the trench. Some of them jumped up on the parapets and hurried across No Man's Land to get quickly on to the enemy. Quick as they were, the Germans had time to make a stand and to defend their position. A German counter-attack was crushed by the whole section being wiped out. The flanking company of the Australians closed its end of the trench, but already Germans in the support trenches were preparing a big counter-attack.

Australian raid at Gueudecourt

"It fell immediately," wrote Captain Bean.

There was a sudden burst of something like twenty high-explosive bombs in a single shower over the barricade which the flank company had built. An incessant stream of bombs followed. The company bombers suffered, and the men behind them fell back a little. But the company officer was on the spot in a flash. A private—the last of the regular bombers except one who remained unwounded—shouted to five other privates—simple riflemen—to follow him and take up the bomb fight. The Lewis machine-gunner fought his gun until the German bombs began to fall around that also, when he immediately got it on to them again from a better vantage point. And then, before the Germans had time to take advantage of their success, the Australians were into it again. The company officer shot three Germans himself; the amateur bombers were sweating with the effort of throwing; and the artillery, which had stood by our men so well in the attack, crashed down on the lines which were supporting the German attack.

The support withered in an instant under that hail. But the German bombers in front fought on for nearly thirty wild minutes. Five separate times they appeared to come on. They were in No Man's Land on both sides of the Australians and in the trench, and they hung on and threw stubbornly. Then, without warning, a portion of the flank company, with bombs and bayonets, swarmed out of the trench, and the Germans, good fighters though they were, could not face them. Some were bayoneted, more were bombed, and the rest fled.

After that the Germans turned their artillery on to this trench and the trenches around it. In these little sectional attacks it is, of course, possible for the Germans to concentrate all the guns they have to spare for miles around on to a little portion of trench;

[*British official photograph.*

OFFICERS IN THE MAKING ENGAGED IN BAYONET EXERCISE.
Learning command of the bayonet as weapon of offence and defence. These men, who had been recommended for commissions, were at a school of instruction for officers in France, where the experience gained at the fighting-front was supplemented by further training to fit them for leadership.

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Bitter work: Fusing shells in a winter action.

Pack-mules bringing up shells by night.

Getting to grips with cold steel: British infantry rushing a German trench on the Somme.

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[British official photograph.

British troops crossing a temporary bridge replacing that destroyed by the retreating enemy.

[British official photograph.

"We carried out a raid this morning": An officer leading under heavy shell fire.

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[British official photograph.

A trench bridge over an empty gully, once a strongly held German position.

[Canadian War Records

"Time's up. Over you go!" A Canadian battalion going "over the top" to new triumphs.

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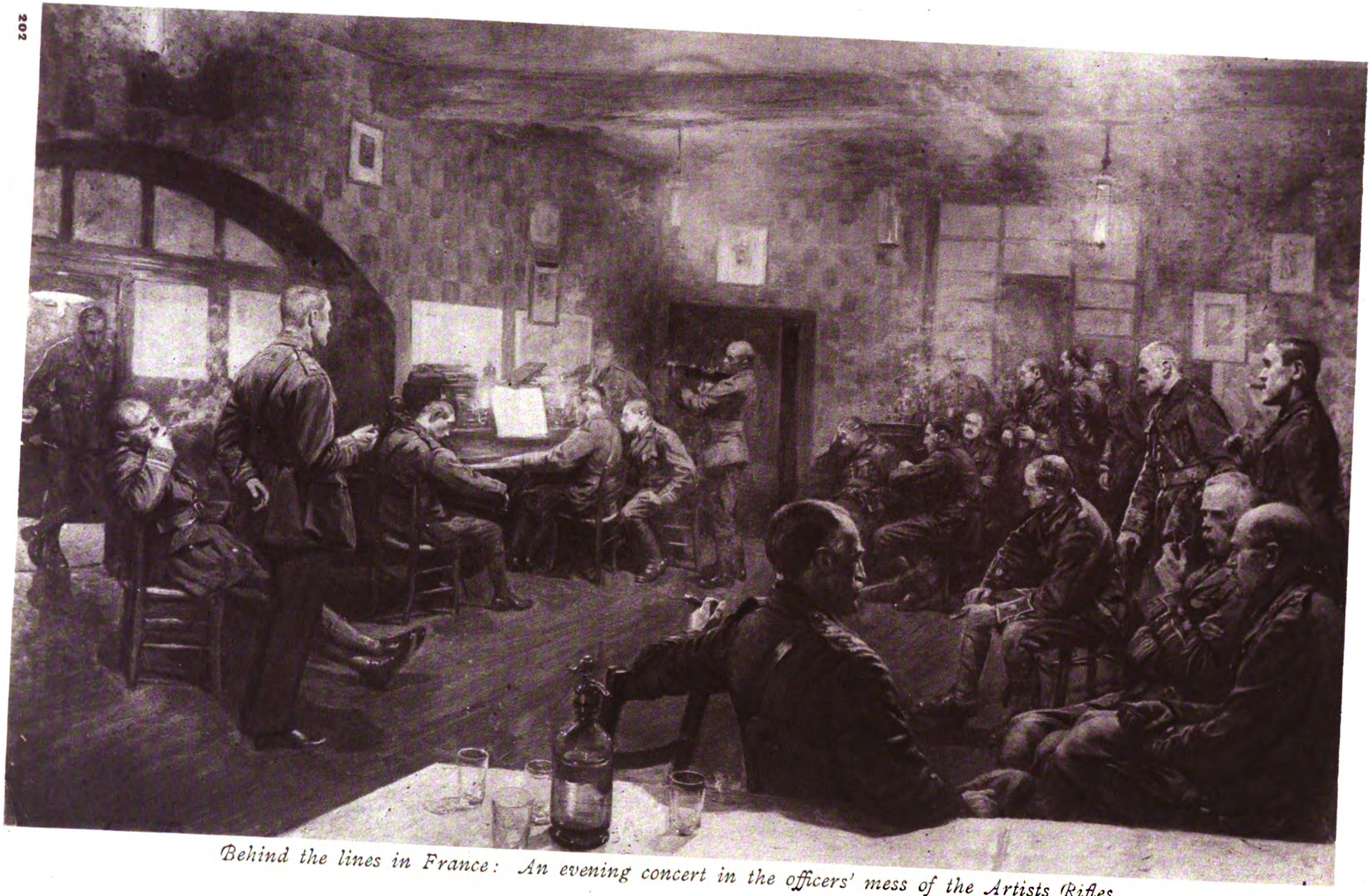

Behind the lines in France: An evening concert in the officers' mess of the Artists Rifles.

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and the hail of shell fire was very heavy indeed. The company which had done most of the fighting so far was not the one on which the brunt of this fell, but rather the small carrying-parties, which accounted for a good part of the success of this intricately organised and well carried out attack. The attacking troops had so far been doing all their own carrying. When this heavy German barrage came down, some Victorian troops, who had watched the New South Wales battalion go forward magnificently under the bombardment, voluntarily undertook the carrying; and from that time on throughout the night the Victorians, through heavy shell fire, carried this duty on.

The Germans made another attack in the early hours of the morning, but in vain. The following evening a Western Australian battalion was asked to provide a company to take the place of the flanking company of New South Wales men, who were almost done in. Every man of the Western Australians volunteered. The flanking company had lost nearly three-quarters of its men, but, in the language of the Australian historian, "It beat the Germans and held on, and came out fighting still."

Humorous incidents of the raids

The raids were naturally full of incident. On one occasion a company of Canadians, led by a young officer noted in amateur theatricals, bought a consignment of ladies' "nighties" from a village shop, and put them over their uniforms in order to make themselves less visible in the snow. The scene, as the grim and muddied Westerners covered their uniforms with the dainty, blue-ribboned white garments, stirred everyone to laughter. This *ruse de guerre* was, of course, a very old one. The Germans, two years before, had bought large quantities of cotton goods in order to make similar disguises for their troops on the Russian front.

On another occasion a Canadian raider, going to the mouth of a dug-out, called to the Germans to come up and surrender. There was only one German there, and he hurried up the steps with hands raised. The Canadian greeted him with a yell. "Where is your helmet?" he asked, pointing to the man's head. The German, who knew a little English, shook his head and pointed below.

"You hustle down like a streak of greased lightning and get it, if you don't want to be blown up," shouted the Canadian. "Do you think I came all this way over No Man's Land to go back without a souvenir? I want that helmet quick!"

[*British official photograph.*

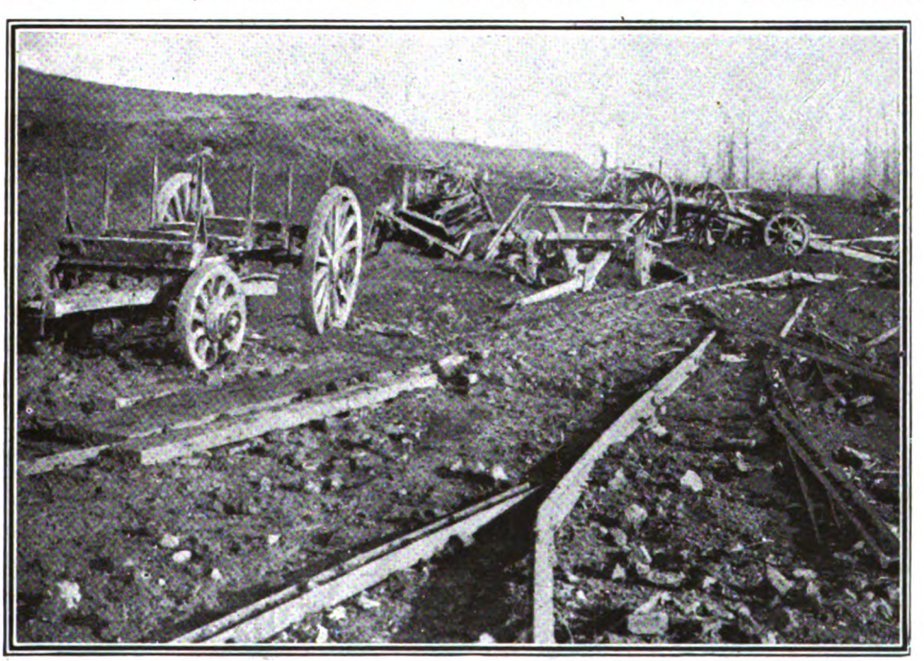
BRITISH SENTRY AT THE CHURCHYARD GATE.

This God's Acre had been shattered by German "frightfulness," but the whole line of the western front became holy ground, consecrated by the blood of self-sacrificing soldiers.

A Canadian officer, with a handful of bombs, stood at the mouth of a deep dug-out and shouted, "*Rous!* Come out!" A voice replied, in excellent English, "Yes, we are coming!" The officer called again, and told them to hurry. "Yes, yes; one minute, please!" came the reply. A third time the officer shouted. Time was precious, and he must go. "Come out of that!" he yelled. "I won't call again. I'll throw a bomb next time!" Even then there was a pause before the Germans poured out. Their officer came last of all. "I had to burn my papers," he said apologetically. The Canadian glared at him, and then his face relaxed, as he saw the humour of the thing. "All right," said he, "we'll call it square, but two seconds more and you would have been in Kingdom Come."

All this time raids were going on all along our front. Scarcely a night passed in which two or three or more parties —Imperial, Canadian, Australian, Newfoundland—did not start out to harry the enemy lines. It was the boast along a section of the British lines that No Man's Land really belonged to us, and no Germans dared show their faces in it. The Germans met the British activities in two ways. The first sets of trenches, with their triple lines, while very important, were not the sole barriers of the German defence. Behind them lay set after set of other trenches. The German front might be broken at fifty points, and yet the main German scheme of defence not be vitally affected. Accordingly, the enemy held large sections of these front lines very lightly, and often with second-class troops — reserve battalions of a poor type, mere cannon-fodder.

There was one section of the German line where a division of what were probably the poorest troops in the German Army was placed. On one occasion they were raided, and a number of them killed. Three prisoners were



[*British official photograph.*

GERMAN AMMUNITION-WAGGONS DESTROYED BY BRITISH ARTILLERY.

Accuracy as well as intensity of fire gave the British supremacy over the German artillery when the early deficiency of munitions had been supplied. Directed by their airmen, they frequently destroyed ammunition-dumps behind the enemy lines and ammunition-waggons rushing shells up to the front.

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WINTER WARFARE ON THE WESTERN FRONT: A SUCCESSFUL SURPRISE ATTACK ON FROST-BOUND TRENCHES.

Early one winter morning, after a terrific crash of guns, some British troops rushed across a hundred yards of No Man's Land, pockmarked with shell-holes and frozen hard as iron, and utterly surprised the Würtembergers in the trenches. Although these sent up distress signals and evoked furious fire from the German gunners, they went back prisoners to the British lines, while their captors took their dug-outs.

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brought back. The prisoners averaged 5 ft. 3 in. in height. One was blind in one eye, one was an idiot, and the third an enfeebled youth. But, while a division like this might occupy one point, a section a little distance away would possibly be held by picked men. The best of the German troops, however, the men who were being reserved for the spring offensive, were mostly kept back, saved for special operations. The whole German policy was to conserve the best fighting troops until they were actually wanted, and not to fritter away their energies in winter trench work.

An army cannot, however, always live on the defensive without losing moral. In February the Germans began to follow the example of the British raiders. Early one morning, late in February, a heavy bombardment opened on parts of the British lines, and shortly afterwards from thirty to fifty Germans were seen massing in the front lines, waist high above the parapet. Our sentries at once opened rapid fire on them, and the British artillery concentrated its retaliation on that point, smashing up the Germans before they got out of their trenches. Next morning the British troops counter-attacked. The Germans offered desperate resistance at one point, but while they were holding their own there, a second party of raiders moved in on their flank and swept through them, killing or capturing every man in the entire position. Three large mine-shafts were completely wrecked, every dug-out was destroyed, and forty-seven prisoners, including one officer, taken back. The excitement of this big attack had scarcely subsided when, four hours later, in broad daylight, a second raid was made from the British lines. Ten large dug-outs, apparently full of men, were destroyed, sixteen Germans killed in the trenches, and two prisoners captured. On one occasion a German raiding-party succeeded in entering our trenches and getting a man or two.

Terrific hand-to-hand battle

Almost universally the score was heavily on the side of the British. There was one occasion, however, on which the enemy suceeded in inflicting somewhat severe punishment. Late in February two of the most famous Canadian brigades prepared for a raid in great force on the German lines. The position was difficult, the enemy occupying rising ground. Gas was to be used. The whole movement was rehearsed with the greatest care, and the ground was prepared by a very heavy artillery bombardment.

The raid was timed for the early hours of a Tuesday morning; but, owing to the uncertainty of the wind, it had to be abandoned at the last moment. Some hours previously two Germans had escaped from a French prison compound. Whether they had anything to do with conveying warning to the Germans, or whether the enemy learned of the intended raid by observation, cannot be said.

[*British official photograph.*

INDIAN CAVALRY TAKE THE OPEN FIELD.

When the winter of 1916-17 ended, the Arras Battle brought a resumption of open warfare in place of raids and trench-fighting.

"LIAISON" OFFICER CONTROLLING THE BARRAGE FIRE

When the infantry advanced, liaison officers followed with a telephone-box, and accompanied by signallers paying out wire, to which the instrument was attached, when the officer stopped to report to the battery behind.

Obviously, the delay gave the Germans a much greater opportunity of learning the details of the British operations.

The wind continued unfavourable until early on Thursday morning. The troops, occupying the trenches night after night in the mud and bitter cold, found their powers of endurance taxed to the full, but all were keen. Early in the morning, following a terrific bombardment, a first gas wave was sent over, apparently successfully. About six o'clock a second wave followed, and the Canadians went after it. The Germans, from their positions, opened a terrific fire with machine-guns. The Canadians who were left jumped for temporary shelter into the shell-holes and replied vigorously. But every effort on their part was in vain; they were overwhelmed. Party after party of them was wiped out, and the remainder were forced sullenly back into their trenches.

Defeat, however, was not to be accepted. The British artillery redoubled its fire on the German front. Another wave of gas was sent over, and the Canadians again followed it. The wind, however, had now veered, and blew the gas back on the Canadians. The Germans had been greatly strengthened, and poured over their trenches. A terrific hand-to-hand battle ensued. Some of the Canadians got into the enemy lines, doing great damage, but the fortune of war was against them. Two well-known colonels—Lieut.-Colonel H. G. Kemball (of British Columbia) and Lieut.-Colonel Samuel G. Beckett (of Toronto) were killed. It would be foolish to minimise the reality of the disaster on this occasion, but it was the only serious repulse in a long list of brilliant winter engagements—engagements which showed in the best possible way not only how well equipped the new British troops were, but how these young men, many of them fighting for the first time, drawn from every part of the Empire, were prepared worthily to maintain the traditions of our armies in the Great War in any month that followed. When winter raids were merged into the great spring offensive this promise was made good.

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Troops of the 2nd South African Infantry Brigade marching into Mbuyuni Camp from Martau. Mbuyuni was captured by the 2nd Division, under Brigadier-General Malleson, on January 22nd, 1916. With the occupation of the adjacent Serengeti Camp the enemy evacuated Kasigan. On taking over the command in February, General Smuts, in planning his campaign, retained this brigade as a reserve force.

Ox convoy crossing improvised bridge across the River Himo, on the Taveta-Moshi Road. General Van Deventer, commanding the 1st South African Mounted Brigade, after occupying Chala, pushed on to Taveta, where the enemy were encountered in considerable force, and defeated on March 9th, 1916; but succeeded in withdrawing his main force, the exact line of his retirement being difficult to establish.

SUNSET STUDIES OF TROOPS AND TRANSPORT ADVANCING INTO GERMAN EAST AFRICA.

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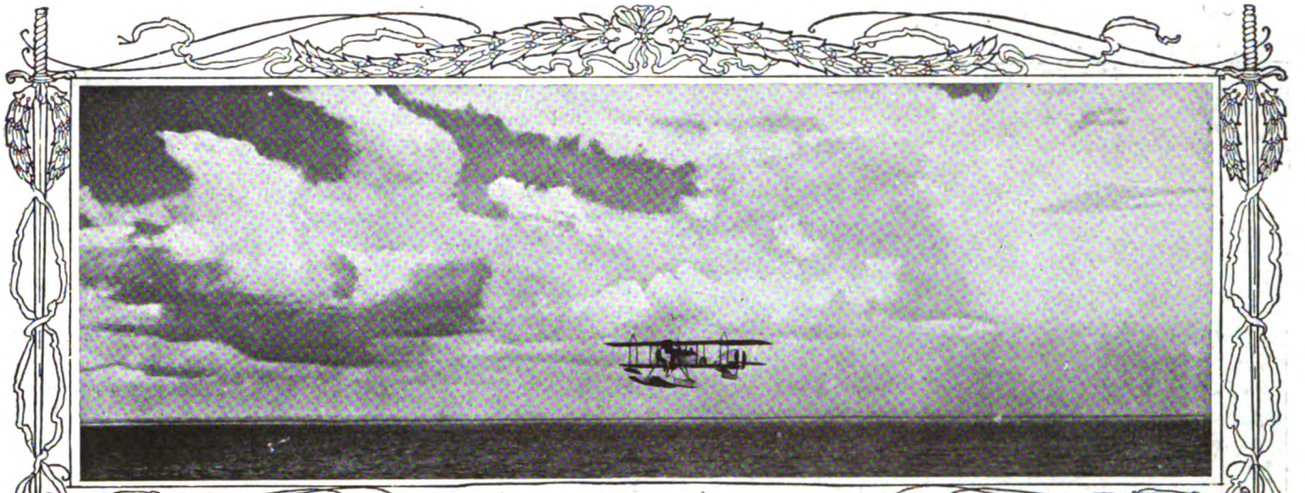

BRITISH SEAPLANE OFF GERMAN EAST AFRICA.

CHAPTER CLXXIX.

GENERAL SMUTS' GREAT CAMPAIGN IN GERMAN EAST AFRICA.

II.—The Central Railway Conquered.

By Robert Machray.

The Central Railway—Dominant Feature of German East Africa—General Smuts' Fine Strategy—Successes of Van Deventer and Hoskins—Co-operation of the Belgians with Crewe—Difficulties Overcome—Tombeur's Victorious Movements—Brilliant Capture of Mwanza by the British—Five Lines of Attack on the Railway from the North—The Sixth Line from the South-West—Operations of the Portuguese—Van Deventer Captures Dodoma—The Belgians at Ujiji-Kigoma on Same Day—Splendid March of the South Africans to Kilosa—General Smuts' Rapid Advance from Mziha—His Hard Task—Cutting a Way through Roadless Mountains—Encircling Plan Fails, but Enemy Defeated and Driven South—Mrogoro on the Railway Occupied—Escape of the Germans—Heavy Work in the Uluguru Range—Enemy Retreating to Mahenge—Fall of Dar-es-Salaam—Whole Coast Seized—Belgians Take Tabora after Bitter Struggle—Crewe also Reaches the Railway—Allies in Possession of All the Railway in September, 1916—Northey's Force at Iringa—Germans Hemmed In on Every Side.

THE history of the progressive conquest of the last and most important of the colonies of Germany, up to and including the capture of the Usambara Railway, was told in Chapter CXXIX. (Vol. VII.). The whole of the Usambara line was in the effective occupation of the British on July 21st, 1916, a result that was attained only by the most splendid persistence and devoted effort on the part of all ranks in the face of a brave and skilful enemy, who knew the country and took every advantage of its naturally strong defensive opportunities. Chapter CXXIX. further briefly touched on the two significant developments of General Smuts' Usambara operations; first, the advance of General van Deventer from Arusha to Kondoa Irangi and thence to Dodoma, on the Central Railway; secondly, the advance of General Hoskins from Mombo to Handeni and the Lukigura River, with the Central Railway also as its objective.

There were just these two railways in the colony. Having taken the one in the north-east area, General Smuts next set about the capture of the other, which ran from the Indian Ocean to Lake Tanganyika, its total length from Dar-es-Salaam on the east to Ujiji-Kigoma on the west being about seven hundred and eighty miles, or nearly four times that of the Usambara Railway. The longer line had been completed only in 1914, two or three months before the outbreak of the war, and in itself constituted the best and the greatest work that Germany had then accomplished in all her Colonial Empire. No branch connected the two railways, and the shortest distance between them was over a hundred miles. They approached each other most nearly on the coast at Tanga and Dar-es-Salaam, and in the west by the light railway from Mombo, at Handeni and Kilosa or Mrogoro. The only good road which linked them together lay along the seashore, by way of Pangani, Saadani, and Bagamoyo. After leaving Mombo the Usambara Railway struck up north into the Moshi-Kilimanjaro district at an ever-widening distance from the Central Railway till it joined the new line which the British had built from Moshi eastward to Voi, on the Uganda Railway, ninety miles from Mombasa.

STRANGE RAILWAY ACCIDENT IN EAST AFRICA.

Train conveying British pioneers and native troops derailed and overturned in British East Africa. It was fortunate that the accident did not happen a few seconds later, for at the moment it did occur the train was within thirty feet of the bridge, part of which is seen in the foreground of the photograph.

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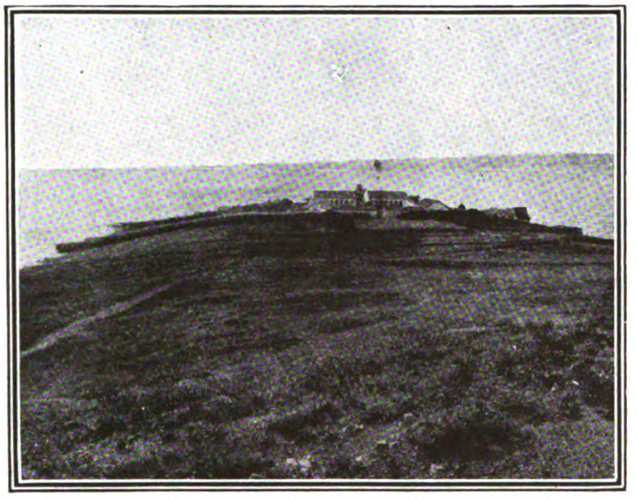


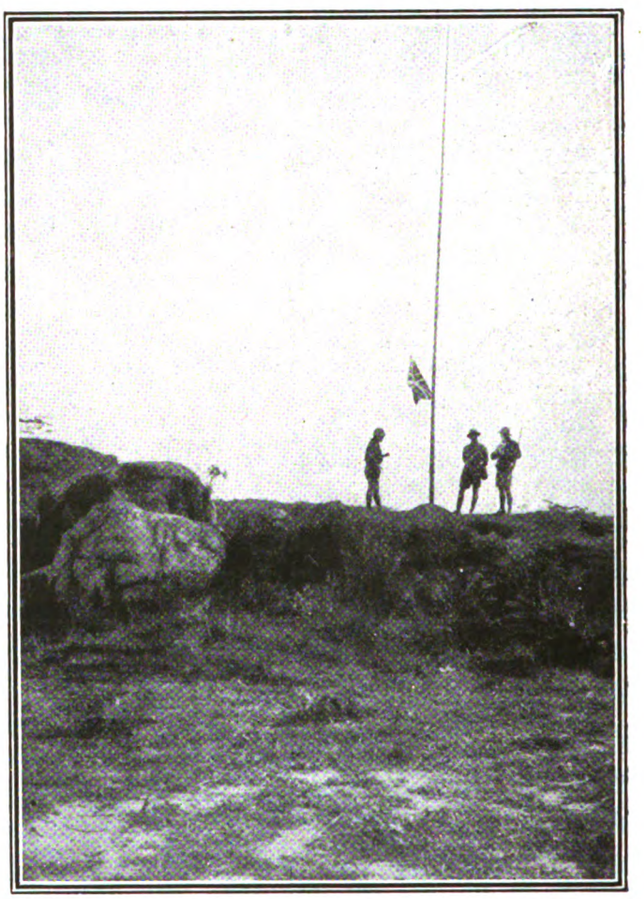
TANGANYIKA FORT CAPTURED BY GENERAL NORTHEY.
Fort Namema, near the southern end of Lake Tanganyika, which was captured by the Rhodesian force under Brigadier-General Northey on June 2nd, 1916, a few days after that force had crossed the frontier.

General Smuts planned to conquer the entire colony, and the occupation of the Usambara Railway with the surrounding country, though valuable in itself, and helpful as a base for further operations, was but a small part of the vast undertaking. The total area of German East Africa was about 385,000 square miles, and so far only a few thousand square miles had been wrested from the enemy. Of the immense region that had yet to be subjugated the dominant feature was the Central Railway, and it was natural that the Commander-in-Chief should fix his closest attention and co-ordinate all the movements of his forces with the object of gaining possession of this line. From the great length of the railway, as well as the nature of the country across which it had to be reached, this could be no easy business, but even its successful accomplishment was not the end of his task, unless in the process he was fortunate enough to destroy or capture the Germans and their troops, for south of the line lay rather more than half of the colony.

Strategical importance of the railway

In a lengthy but most interesting and illuminating despatch, dated October 27th, 1916, from General Headquarters, East Africa, and published by the War Office on January 17th, 1917, General Smuts made known the considerations which determined the strategy that he pursued in the campaign after the conquest of the Kilimanjaro-Arusha districts in March, 1916. All the information that came to hand at that time was to the effect that the Germans intended to make an obstinate defence along the Usambara Railway, and thereafter to retire to Tabora, on the Central Railway, for a last stand. Ruling out, as undesirable at the moment, an advance from the coast or from Victoria Nyanza with Belgian support from Lake Kivu, and taking advantage of the fact that practically the entire fighting force of the enemy was aligned on the Usambara Railway, General Smuts decided on an advance from Arusha into the interior, towards the Central Railway, during April and May. These were the months in which the rains were most violent in the Usambara quarter—a period when operations were impossible there until well into May. But farther west and south the rains usually were not so heavy as seriously to interfere with, far less to prevent, military movements. Accordingly, General van Deventer, with the 2nd Division, pushed on south from Arusha, as was narrated in Chapter CXXIX., and after a swift march of one hundred and twenty-five miles, captured Kondoa Irangi, which was only a hundred miles from the Central Railway, with fairly good roads in between. This thrust, which the Germans had not expected, had the result, as General Smuts anticipated, of causing them to withdraw a considerable number of their troops from the Usambara Railway in an endeavour to stem the tide of invasion into the interior, and thus his capture of that line was facilitated.

NATIVE SENTRY ON GUARD AT A CAPTURED FORT.
One of the entrances to Fort Namema at which one of the native soldiers of General Northey's force had been posted. After being captured, Namema was organised as a strong post before General Northey continued his brilliant campaign in the direction of Iringa.



SIMPLE BUT SIGNIFICANT CEREMONY AT NAMEMA.
Hoisting the Union Jack over captured Fort Namema. The place had been invested by the Rhodesians shortly after the crossing of the frontier, and, though the garrison broke out on June 2nd, it suffered heavily. The German commandant was made prisoner and the place captured.

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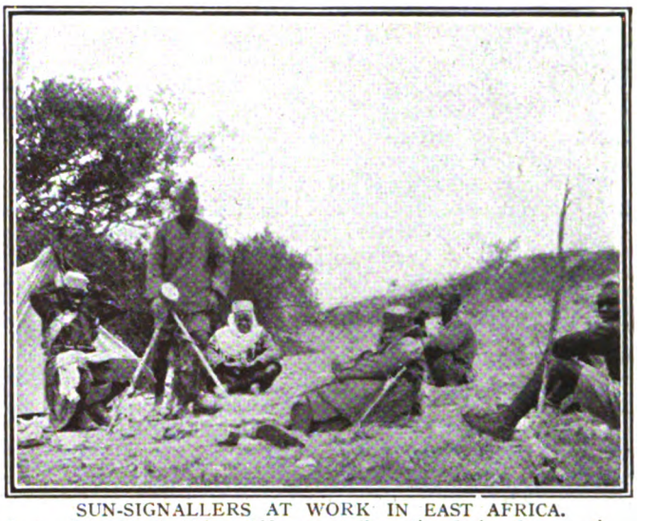
Meanwhile, Deventer concentrated his men at Kondoa Irangi. He had gained the high, healthy, and fertile plateau connecting Arusha with the Central Railway, and had occupied the chief strategic points for any further advance; but by the middle of April his position was jeopardised by bad weather. Rains of extraordinary heaviness flooded the region, and cut off all supplies from the main depots in the north, so that he was dependent on what could be collected locally, or brought by porters from Kissale, one hundred and twenty miles away. The deluge thus forbade his advance southward, defeated his intention of reaching the Central Railway rapidly and of striking a formidable blow at the rear of the principal German forces, and had the unwelcome effect of giving time for the hurried transfer of German troops from the Usambara to the Central Railway sooner than General Smuts had bargained for.

KING'S AFRICAN RIFLES ON THE MARCH.
Men of the 3rd King's African Rifles marching through the wooded hills of East Africa. This battalion, said General Smuts, was hotly engaged in the capture of Kilimanjaro, when it had the misfortune to lose its gallant commander, Lieut.-Colonel B. R. Graham.

In this isolated position of Kondoa Irangi, with their communications "in the air," Deventer and the 2nd Division subsisted on short rations for several weeks, and when in the second week of May the enemy attacked in strength, privation and disease had so told on its defenders that they were unable to oppose to him more than three thousand rifles. Von Lettow, the German Commander-in-Chief, learning how matters stood, had brought up from Dodoma, where he had concentrated the troops withdrawn from the Usambara Railway, upwards of four thousand fighting men, with considerable artillery, to overwhelm Deventer. But after he had made four desperate assaults, the brunt of which fell on the 11th South African Infantry, supported by the 12th South African Infantry, and in the



SUN-SIGNALLERS AT WORK IN EAST AFRICA.
Party of the King's African Rifles at a helio station during the operations in German East Africa. These native troops, under British officers, played a notable part in the arduous but brilliant campaign.

course of which the Germans repeatedly charged right up to the trenches, Von Lettow was decisively repulsed with heavy losses, including one battalion commander killed and another wounded. The fighting throughout was of a most determined character, and if there were moments when the issue appeared to be in doubt, the heroism and steadiness of the South African soldiers won in the end a glorious victory, and compelled the Germans to retreat south into the thick bush. "With this defeat," General Smuts reported in his despatch, "the enemy's last hope of successful resistance to any large portion of our forces was extinguished."

German defeat at Kondoa Irangi

Though splendidly successful in beating back the attempt of the Germans to take Kondoa, Deventer was in too weak strength to follow up the advantage he had gained; on the other hand, he had mauled Von Lettow's contingents in such a manner that they ventured on no further offensive movement, but perforce had to content themselves with patrol work and occasional long-range bombardments. Things remained in this state throughout the rest of May and the greater part of June. Early in the latter month General Smuts paid a flying visit to Deventer, to arrange personally the plans for the future co-operation of their two widely-separated forces, and in a day or two

HALTING ON THE WAY.
King's African Rifles taking a rest on the march. These troops had a goodly share in the conquest of the Kilimanjaro district, which General Smuts described, in one of his very notable despatches, as probably the richest and most desirable part of German East Africa.

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was back again on the other front, which was then on the Pangani River. In the meantime Deventer's main body at Kondoa was strengthened by the arrival of three South African regiments and additional artillery and machine-guns. Thus reinforced, and with the weather vastly improved and supplies of all kinds coming forward sufficiently, Deventer recommenced operations.

His first business was to clear his front, and on June 24th he drove the Germans from all their positions in the neighbourhood of Kondoa, and occupied them at a comparatively small cost. Thereafter he proceeded to get everything in readiness for his march to the Central Railway.

General Smuts' orders to Deventer

"My orders to him," said General Smuts in his despatch of October 27th, 1916, "were to clear his right flank towards Singida, to move a small column along the Saranda road towards Kilimatinde, and farther east on the road to Mpapwa. My object was not only the occupation of the Central Railway, but more especially the movement of Van Deventer's force to the east, so as to get into closer co-operation with the force at the Nguru Mountains in dealing with the main enemy forces as they fell back to the Central Railway."

TROOPERS OF BELFIELD'S SCOUTS EXAMINING THEIR HORSES FOR SORES AND STINGS.
Belfield's Scouts served with the 1st East African Brigade, under General Tighe, in the notable fighting at Latema Nek in March, 1916, and took part in the successful operations on the Pangani River in May of the same year, assisting in the capture of the rich Usambara Highlands.

In the last paragraph but one of the chapter which narrated the capture of the Usambara Railway, it was shown briefly how an advance towards the Central Railway was begun by General Hoskins' march from Mombo, on the former line, to Handeni, and followed a few miles farther on by the heavy defeat of the enemy on the Lukigura River on June 24th, the very day when Deventer struck his blow at the Germans near Kondoa and commenced his final preparations for his offensive southward. Hoskins had then reached the eastern slopes of the Nguru Mountains, and immediately in front of him towered the lofty mountain known as Kanga. For various reasons, but chiefly because his plans required that Deventer should be more advanced before the combined movement against the main strength of the Germans should start, General Smuts formed a large standing camp on the Msiha River, about eight miles beyond the Lukigura, and rested and refitted his troops, who remained there until the end of the first week in August. Here was assembled the larger part of the army of invasion, which was more directly under the command of General Smuts.

This army consisted of three divisions, together with the troops on the lines of communications, under Brigadier-General W. F. S. Edwards, D.S.O. Of these divisions the 1st and 3rd were at Msiha. The former, under Major-General Hoskins, comprised the 1st East African Brigade, under Brigadier-General Sheppard, and the 2nd East African Brigade, under Brigadier-General Hannyngton, as previously stated. But to this division was now joined the 3rd Division, under Major-General Coen Brits, which was made up of the 2nd South African Mounted Brigade, under Brigadier-General B. Enslin, and the 2nd South African Infantry Brigade, under Brigadier-General P. S. Beves. General Enslin's brigade had arrived in East Africa in May, and was ready to take the field in the latter half of June. The 2nd Division, which was with Deventer, consisted of the 1st South African Mounted Brigade, under Brigadier-General Manie Botha, and the 3rd South African Infantry Brigade, under Brigadier-General C. A. L. Berrange. Among the reinforcements sent to Deventer in May were two South African Infantry regiments that had been taken from the 3rd Division.

In addition to these forces, which were the mainstay of the general campaign of the Allies in German East Africa, there were, both in the west and in the south-west, other forces of considérable importance that at this time were converging, or about to converge, on the Central Railway. The first of these was what was designated the "Lake Detachment," and it consisted of the 98th Infantry, the 4th Battalion of the famous King's African Rifles, the Baganda Rifles, the Nandi Scouts, and some small irregular units. The initial task of this detachment had been the defence of the frontier on both sides of Victoria Nyanza—a stretch in all of about three hundred miles; and this it continued to perform with marked success for many long months. During April, May, and June, 1916, the troops of the Lake Detachment on the west side of Victoria Nyanza became more aggressive, and gradually forced the Germans from their advanced posts on the Kagera River, south of the Uganda Protectorate. On June 9th, Ukerewe, the largest island in the lake, and only a few hours' distance from Mwanza, the fortified German port on the southern shore, was occupied, the capture being most skilfully effected by surprise by Lieut.-Colonel D. R. Adye, then commanding the detachment, and the naval flotilla under Commander Thornley, R.N. Some seventy prisoners were taken, as well as two small Krupp field-guns, but the chief value of this operation was that it provided a favourable base for an assault on Mwanza.

Work of the Lake Detachment

In the middle of June, Brigadier-General Sir Charles Crewe, K.C.M.G., who was a member of General Smuts' Staff, was appointed to the Lake Command, to which a particular significance was then coming to be attached. Sir Charles was member for East London in the Union Parliament, and had seen much active service in South Africa. Prior to taking over his new command he had been for some time in the Victoria Nyanza region, acting as chief representative of General Smuts in the making of various arrangements for facilitating the movements of the Belgians in the north-west corner of the colony. As the Lake Detachment formed the first of the forces, apart from the

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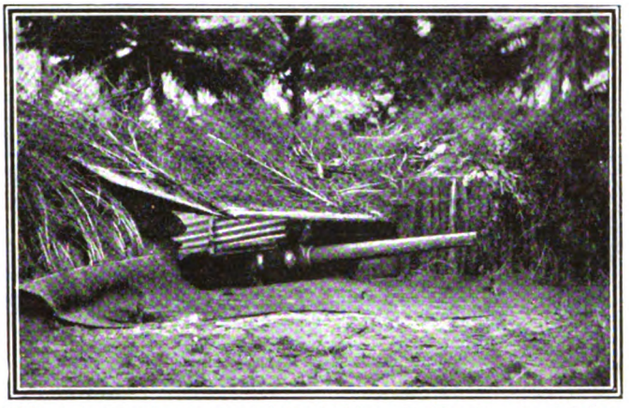
German soldiers and sailors in an East African gun-pit aiming their machine-gun at an approaching British aeroplane.

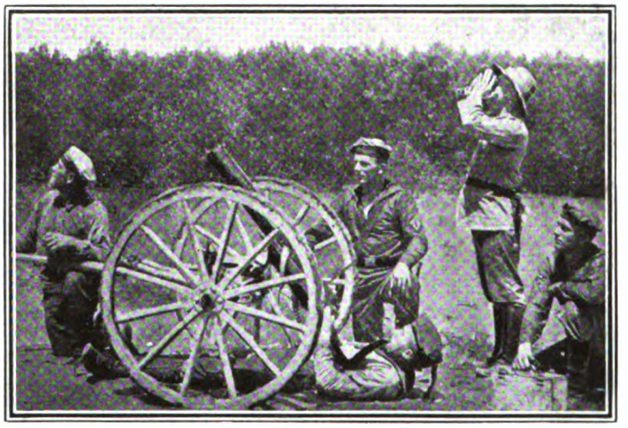
Observation-post of men from the cruiser Königsberg, discovered up the Rufiji and destroyed by the British, July 11th, 1915.



Well-masked German naval gun in East Africa. Besides the natural shelter afforded by the palms, the gun-crew had made elaborate brushwood cover.

"German band," making use of a strange medley of instruments, giving an alfresco concert outside their huts in East Africa.

Machine-gun corner, with a German sailor training his weapon (firing Maxim ammunition) on an attacking British force.



Aiming a German machine-gun at a British aeroplane. The gunner lay down flat on his back to take his sight.

German machine-gun shelter. These photographs of Germans in action in East Africa were found on a prisoner captured by the British.

Firing a German gun in East Africa from within a very substantial and evidently well-masked and protected gun emplacement.

ENEMY PHOTOGRAPHS FROM SCENES OF THE OPERATIONS IN EAST AFRICA.

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MARCHING THROUGH BUSH IN NORTHERN RHODESIA.
Rhodesian troops did fine work in German East Africa. Much of their campaigning was in country where dangerous carnivora abounded and in bush so dense that they could only advance in single file.

three divisions in the east, which, with the others, were to converge on the Central Railway, so these Belgians were the second. The Belgian troops had as their Commander-in-Chief a distinguished Colonial soldier in Major-General Tombeur, with headquarters at Kibati, north of Lake Kivu. An advance from Kibati direct on the German positions in that quarter being impracticable on account of the barren, volcanic country which lay between, it had earlier been agreed that Tombeur's force was to move north-east to Lutobo, from which it was to descend in a southerly direction on Kigali, the chief town of the rich and prosperous German province of Ruanda, and that a base for it should be established at Bukakata, on Victoria Nyanza, one hundred and fifty miles farther east, the British making themselves responsible for the transport and supply arrangements there. The carrying out, however, of those arrangements proved a difficult matter, and it was to overcome it that Crewe was sent by General Smuts.

Belgian co-operation with British

Along the Congo frontier there had been lively fighting between the Belgians and the Germans ever since the outbreak of the war, both in the plain north of Lake Tanganyika and on the northern slope of Lake Kivu. In the former region the Germans made a strong attack on the Belgian post of Luvugu on September 29th, 1915; but, after what seemed an inconclusive battle, suffered such heavy casualties that they cleared off overnight. In the latter region there was a protracted struggle of intense bitterness around Ngoma and Kissengi, fortified posts on the boundary, the one Belgian, the other German, but after various mutations of fortune Kissengi passed finally into the hands of the Belgians in May, 1915, thanks to a successful surprise organised by Lieutenant Puck-Chaudoir, the commandant at Ngoma, an officer who had served in the opening weeks of the war at Liège and elsewhere, and had won both the Order of Leopold and the Legion of Honour decorations. In 1916 the Belgians were planted firmly on German soil in the two areas, and ready and eager to continue the struggle.

All difficulties having been met and overcome by General Tombeur and General Crewe in combination, one Belgian column, under the leadership of Colonel Molitor, was sent forward by Tombeur, and about the end of April it arrived at Kamwezi, ten miles south-east of Lutobo. Rapid progress and sharp fighting gave Kigali to the Belgians on May 6th, the effect of which gain was to render untenable the position of the Germans farther west on the border, and consequently to enable Tombeur to advance his troops from the north and the south of Kivu.

Capture of Bukoba and Mwanza

Molitor's column reached the Kagera River on June 24th, and, as that month closed, his advanced guards occupied Namirembe, in the south-west corner of Victoria Nyanza, while his main body was hotly engaged with the retreating Germans on his right.

Meanwhile, the men of the scattered posts in the Lake Command had been formed into a mobile fighting force by Sir Charles Crewe, who proceeded to get possession of Bukoba, which had previously been held by the British for a short time. It was the chief German port on the west side of the lake, and after he had taken it he occupied the district of Karagwe, between the lake and the Kagera River. He thereupon went south to arrange a combined forward movement with Tombeur's forces. On July 3rd the strong German force which Crewe had dislodged found its retreat barred at Busirayambo by a much weaker body of Belgian troops, who, however, completely routed it after a stiff fight, the bulk of the German Europeans being killed or captured, while the remnant of the enemy fled, closely pursued, towards Maria-hilf, in the direction of Tabora. Among the prisoners was Herr Godovius, the German commander.

General Crewe's next achievement was the taking of Mwanza. He had come to the sound conclusion, as General Smuts approvingly noted, that the course which promised the best results was a movement of his force against this important fortified place, the occupation of which would furnish an excellent base at the south of Victoria Nyanza for the advance of the combined British and Belgian columns to the Central Railway at Tabora. "Accordingly," added General Smuts, in his description of the event, "on July 9th, 10th, and 11th he embarked his force, consisting of about 1,800 rifles, at Namirembe and Ukerewe Island, and on the night of the 11th landed a column, under Lieut.-Colonel C. R. Burgess, at Kongoro Point, east of Mwanza, and the following day another column, under Lieut.-Colonel H. B. Towse, farther north at Senga Point. By his skilful disposition and movement of both columns—the one from the east, the other from the north-east—on Mwanza, he made it impossible for the enemy to withstand his advance; and the threat to the enemy's retreat from Burgess's column made the enemy evacuate the town on July 14th."

The Germans were ousted from one of their principal strongholds in East Africa with quite insignificant loss to their assailants, but most of the enemy whites, after destroying the powerful wireless station, made good their escape in the steamers Mwanza, Heinrich Otto, and Schwaben, while some five hundred Askaris got away down the main road to Tabora.

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Subsequently General Crewe advanced to Misungi, opposite the southern end of Stuhlmann's Sound, and found that the steamers had been abandoned, as well as a Colt gun, much baggage, stores, ammunition, and a considerable sum of money in specie. The Mwanza was afterwards salved and employed on the lake.

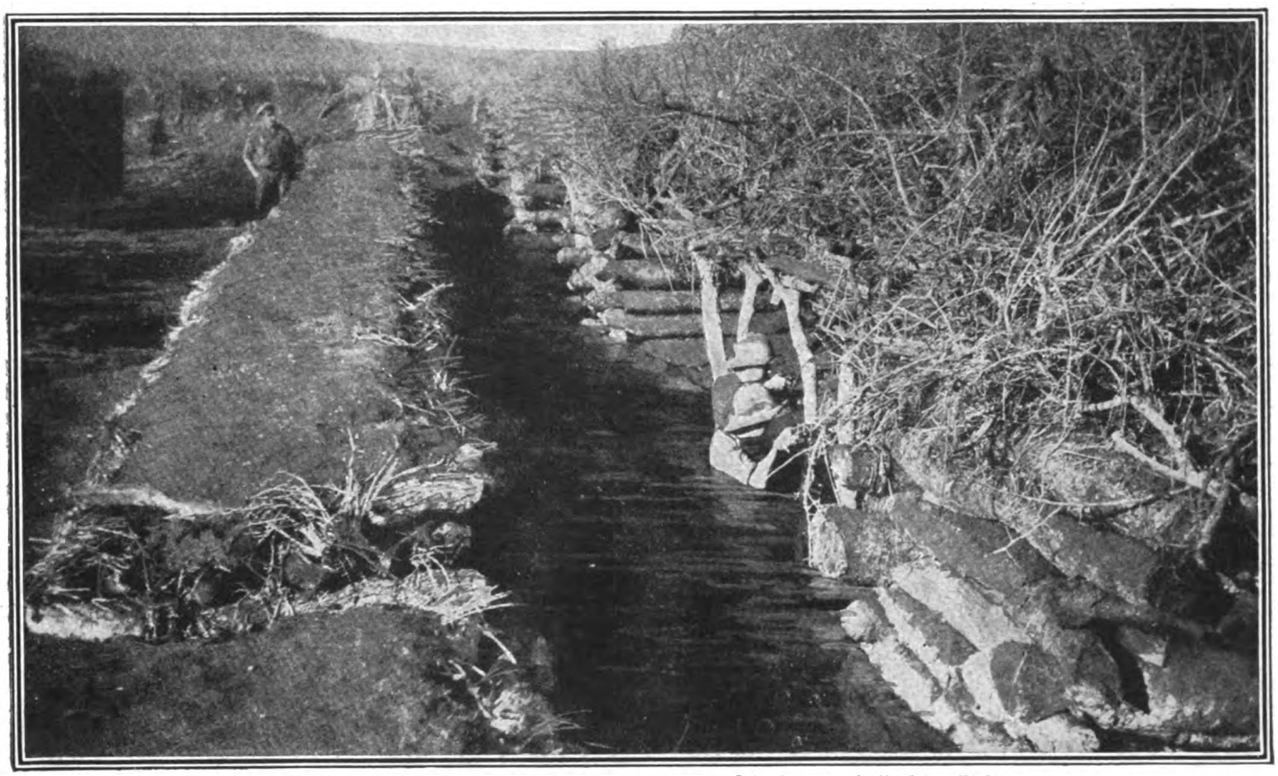
Meanwhile, General Tombeur's second force, which marched from the south of Lake Kivu under the command of Colonel Olsen, had defeated the Germans at Kitwitawe on June 6th, and again on the road to Kitega. Making good progress in the direction of Lake Tangányika and east of that lake, it swiftly advanced during June and July towards the western end of the Central Railway at Ujiji and Kigoma, while a Belgian flotilla co-operated on Tanganyika itself. As the general result of all these highly-successful operations of Crewe and Tombeur, the Germans were swept out of their fine provinces of Ruanda and Urundi, and the menace to the great railway had become very pronounced both at Tabora and at Ujiji and Kigoma. Seeing the rapidity with which the enemy had quitted his valuable Lake Provinces and Mwanza, General Smuts now arrived at the conclusion that the German retreat finally would not be towards Tabora, as he had at first supposed, but farther east towards Dar-es-Salaam, or south to Mahenge, the plateau lying about half-way between the Central Railway and the Portuguese frontier. The latter idea involved the conclusion that the Germans would make their last stand not on the railway, but in the vast and almost roadless region south of it. In any case, however, the capture of the railway was of predominant importance.

Strategical lines of attack

To sum up. In the beginning of July, 1916, there were four distinct but closely related lines of assault developing against the Central Railway from its northern side. The first, from the Mziha Camp, under the personal leadership of General Smuts, on the east side of the colony, had Kilosa and Mrogoro as objectives. The second, from Kondoa Irangi, under Deventer, some distance east of the middle of the railway, aimed at Dodoma. The third, from Mwanza and the south of the Victoria Nyanza, under Crewe, with Belgian support, west of the middle of the railway, was directed against Tabora. The fourth, from Lake Tanganyika, and entirely Belgian, struck at the western terminus. To these must be added a fifth line of assault—that of a small but competent force working along the sea-coast, in conjunction with the Navy, the objective being Dar-es-Salaam, the eastern terminus.

Victory that saved Nyasaland

Not only were these offensive movements in course of maturing on the north side of the railway, there also was from the south-west area of the colony the beginning of an offensive on its south side, striking up towards it north-eastward. British forces, which had been concentrated at various points along the northern borders of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, with Brigadier-General E. Northey in chief command, advanced into German territory on May 25th to a distance of twenty miles on the whole front between Lake Nyasa and Lake Tanganyika. Prior to this date a good deal of fighting had occurred in this frontier district, the chief physical feature of which was the British road—known as the Stevenson Road after the name of its builder—passing from Karonga, on Nyasa, through Fife and Abercorn to Kituta, on Tanganyika. The principal event in the southern district was the total defeat of a surprise German assault on Karonga, in 1914, by a small body composed of part of a battalion of the King's African Rifles, with some reservists of that corps and a little company of local volunteers, commanded by Captain Barton, D.S.O., of the Northamptonshire Regiment. This victory saved Nyasaland from invasion. In January, 1915, an internal disturbance that might have had dangerous consequences was frustrated. The natives of the Shiré Highlands revolted against the British through the incitement of a negro preacher, who had been educated in America, and



TRENCH FIGHTING UNDER DIFFICULTIES IN GERMAN EAST AFRICA.

British soldiers in well-protected but badly-flooded trenches in German East Africa. The conditions of fighting in the course of the campaign in Germany's last colony were very varied, according to the district and season. The country operated in ranged from bare, open plains to dense and almost impenetrable forests, and from lofty heights to low-lying lands, which the torrential, seasonal rains converted into morasses.

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GERMAN OFFICERS IN EAST AFRICA.
Colonel von Lettow-Vorbeck (second from right), German Commander-in-Chief in German East Africa, with Dr. Schnee, the Governor, and Commander Müller, of the Königsberg.

was an inflammatory exponent of "Ethiopianism" (Africa for the Africans—*i.e.*, the negroes), but the rising was quickly suppressed, its leader being killed in action. During the rest of the year nothing of importance occurred, though patrol skirmishes were frequent on the border.

Higher up in this area, towards Tanganyika, the outstanding incidents took place in 1915, and there the British were assisted in repelling the Germans by native Belgian troops, the combined allied strength being only about three thousand men to a frontier of some one hundred and fifty miles in length. General Edwards was in chief command. In March the enemy attacked Abercorn, but was driven off. In July he assaulted Saisi with as scant success, though on that occasion he had two thousand men, several 12-pounders, and a number of machine-guns. In this latter affair the British and Belgians, who were not half as numerous as their assailants, were most ably handled by Major J. J. O'Sullevan, of the Northern Rhodesian Police, and his splendid defence of the position was rewarded with the D.S.O. A German force which later in the same year was concentrated near Saisi was tackled courageously and dispersed by the Belgians.

Towards the close of 1915 the British were reinforced along the whole of this border region, and the Belgians, whose help had proved most material, then proceeded north along Tanganyika to join their comrades of the Olsen Brigade under General Tombeur, participating afterwards in the advance on Ujiji and Kigoma, on the Central Railway. The Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesian Commands were merged into one under General Northey, and vigorous offensive action was begun in the following May, the movement corresponding in time with the invasion of German East Africa by the Belgians from Lake Kivu, in the north-west of the colony. In addition to the local Rhodesian and Nyasaland forces, consisting chiefly of trained police and volunteers, with some detachments of the King's African Rifles, Northey had at his disposal the Imperial Service Contingent, which had been raised in 1915 in the Union of South Africa. Before the month closed he took New Langenburg, his casualties being slight, and within a little more than a fortnight also captured Old Langenburg, beating off a heavy counter-attack there on the night of June 14th, in the Nyasa district, while in the Tanganyika district he occupied Bismarckburg on June 8th. From New Langenburg and Bismarckburg respectively roads ran north-westerly to Kilimatinde and Kilosa, on the Central Railway, the more important being that from New Langenburg to Kilosa through Iringa, and it was by this route that the main body of the Germans in the south-west retreated, with Northey in hot pursuit. On June 30th he drove the enemy out of Ubena, and in July was advancing towards Iringa.

General Northey's vigorous offensive

To complete the picture presented in the preceding narrative of the situation in German East Africa, as it stood at the end of June and in the first weeks of July, 1916, it must be noted that

COLONEL VON LETTOW-VORBECK.
Commander-in-Chief of the German forces in East Africa. This photograph and the one above were found on a German prisoner captured during General Smuts' brilliant campaign.

in March of that year Portugal, the ancient ally of England, threw in her lot with the Entente Powers, and that Portuguese troops were fighting the Germans on the southern frontier of the colony. On April 23rd an enemy force was defeated on the Rovuma River, with the loss of a gun and several prisoners, and in the course of May and June relatively heavy attacks on the Portuguese posts at Nikha, Namaka, and Undi on that boundary river were dealt with successfully. Further, the entry of Portugal into the war signified that the last stage in the military encirclement of the sole remaining oversea possession of Germany had been reached. As the "Cologne Gazette" sorrowfully confessed, the position in East Africa was hopeless, and all that was left was to make as good an effort as was possible till the inevitable end. To do the Germans justice, they fought bravely and well in the colony, protracting the unequal struggle for a longer period than had generally been expected.

Of the various offensive movements that were directed on the Central Railway, two attained their objectives, but at wide distances apart, on the same day, July 29th.

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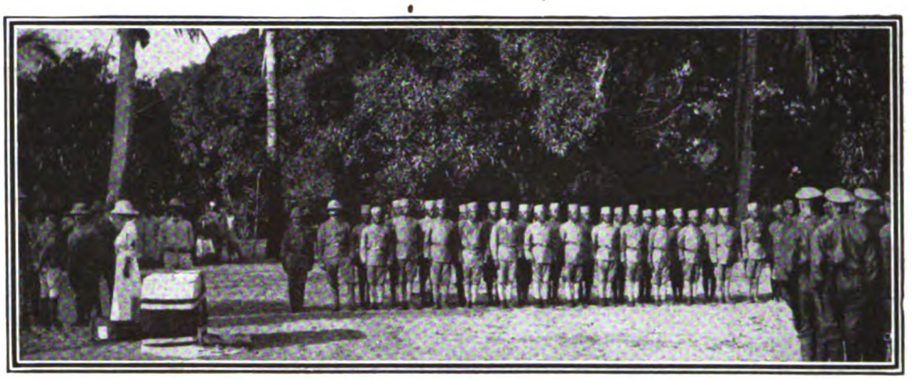
On that date one of Deventer's columns occupied Dodoma, and the Belgians were in Ujiji and Kigoma.

After extensive preparation, Deventer resumed his advance south of Kondoa Irangi in the middle of July. Throwing off a column, under Lieut.-Colonel A. J. Taylor, to take Singida, eighty miles west of Kondoa, he despatched on July 14th another column, under Lieut.-Colonel H. J. Kirkpatrick, towards Saranda, on the railway. Singida was captured on August 2nd. Kirkpatrick encountered little opposition on his line of march until he arrived before Mpondi, some twenty-four miles north of the station. There the country was covered with thick bush, which made scouting almost impossible. He suddenly found himself confronted by a strong hostile position, and was assailed by heavy machine-gun fire. Going straight for the Germans in a frontal attack, he utterly routed them, and took Mpondi within a few hours. Continuing his progress, he was in Saranda on July 31st, and also on the same day occupied Kilimatinde, seven miles farther south, and one of the chief points on the railway.



PEACEFUL SCENE IN THE MIDST OF WAR.

Church parade with the German forces in East Africa. The men on the right were German sailors, and facing them was a company of the sturdy Askáris, or native troops. With the officers about the improvised pulpit may be observed a lady member of the German Red Cross.

GERMANS ON TREK WITH AN ANTI-AIRCRAFT GUN.

Anti-aircraft gun-crew of Germans in East Africa. The men were evidently sailors, natives being pressed into the service as a team for dragging the weapon. Above: German East African field-hospital. The figure on the left is a woman.

In the meantime, however, Deventer's main force had already got astride of the Central Railway. Marching south from Kondoa along the Dodoma road, Deventer entered Champalla (otherwise Jambalo) on July 18th, and Aneti on the following day, without fighting. Hearing that the route farther south was destitute of water, and that the Germans were entrenched at the waterholes at Tisu Kwa Meda and Tschenene, he divided his men into two forces. One, consisting of the 1st Mounted Brigade, he placed on the road which went through Tisu Kwa Meda and Kwa Nyangalo, with orders to its commander, General Manie Botha, to advance towards Kikombo Station. The other, under General Berrange, and comprising two infantry battalions, a motor-cycle corps, and mounted scouts, he ordered to move along the road through Tschenene and Meia Meia towards the station at Dodoma. Berrange was the first to gain his objective. On July 25th he took Tschenene. In spite of its being well fortified, his losses were small, owing to the first-class work of the Armoured Motor Battery, which engaged the enemy at close range. Two days afterwards he was in occupation of Meia Meia, capturing part of a mounted detachment, and on July 29th he took possession of Dodoma.

General Manie Botha's column, which was marching on the line by the road farther west, had to face a more determined opposition. On July 22nd General Manie Botha took Tisu Kwa Meda, but not till after a sharp engagement. From this place he returned to South Africa, being compelled by urgent private business to relinquish his brigade, at the head of which he had rendered great

COMPANY OF ASKARIS IN THE GERMAN SERVICE.

Askaris—native troops trained by European officers—were largely employed by both British and Germans during the campaign. Those employed by the British were commended by General Smuts for their loyal devotion to duty. The photographs on this page were found on a German prisoner taken in East Africa.

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service in the campaign, as General Smuts put on record. He was replaced by Brigadier-General A. H. M. Nussey, D.S.O., who had been Chief Staff officer to Deventer. Nussey now pushed on to Nayu and Membe, and on July 28th came upon the enemy in a strong position at Nyangalo. After spirited fighting he defeated and drove on the Germans, who suffered considerable casualties, besides losing fifteen hundred head of cattle. On July 30th he reached Kikombo Station, a few miles east of Dodoma, where Berrange had already established himself. As Saranda and Kilimatinde were next day in the hands of Kirkpatrick, something like a hundred continuous miles of the Central Railway passed under Deventer's control by the end of July, a notable achievement, and one that was significant of the speedy fate of the whole line.

Deventer's difficult advance westward

An integral part of the masterly plan of General Smuts was that Deventer, after occupying the railway at Dodoma, should advance with his troops westward along the track so as to take in flank and rear the main forces of the Germans in their retreat from the Nguru Mountains. To effect this object, Van Deventer spent the first week of August in concentrating his forces, then scattered along the railway from Saranda to Kikombo, at Nyangalo, on the main road to Mpapwa, a town a short distance north of the track. He was ready to move in a wonderfully short time, everything considered. His chief difficulty was concerned with questions of transport and supply, which had been serious enough at Kondoa Irangi, when he was two hundred miles from Moshi, but now were made even graver by his being a hundred miles farther away from that base on the Usambara Railway. And with every mile that he advanced to the west on the Central Railway that difficulty could only be increased.

GERMANS ENTRAINING NATIVE TROOPS IN EAST AFRICA.

Mrogoro Station, in German East Africa, whence Askaris were about to be taken to one of the fronts threatened by General Smuts. Mrogoro, which is on the Central Railway, over a hundred miles west of Dar-es-Salaam, was captured by the British on August 26th, 1916.

It was not that the actual road-bed of the railway had been destroyed by the Germans, for Deventer's movements had been too rapid for that, though they had managed to blow up practically every bridge and culvert. It was the fact that all his supplies had to be obtained from the north. But in one way or another the problems that were involved were faced and overcome. For his advance to Kilosa, one hundred and twenty miles westward, and his next objective, the railway was rendered available by a simple but ingenious device of the South African Pioneers. As it was impossible, without months of strenuous labour, to restore the demolished bridges, some of which were of considerable length, so as to bear heavy locomotives, the pioneers patched them up with such material as they discovered locally, so as to carry a weight of about six tons, and at the same time they narrowed the gauge of the large motor-lorries in such a manner that these could run on railway trolly wheels over the line when repaired in this way. Thus Deventer was able to supply his division till it reached Kilosa, and but for this solution of his transport trouble his march south from that station to the Great Ruaha River, the next stage in this part of the campaign, would, according to General Smuts' testimony, have been a physical impossibility.

Having completed his concentration, Deventer commenced his advance westward from Nyangalo on August 9th. His immediate objective was Tschunjo, in the pass of the same name, and the road to it lay across a waterless district. The enemy, who was about twelve companies strong (1,800 men) with artillery, was known to hold the pass well entrenched, his left being at Gulwe and his right at Kongoa. Having disposed his troops so as to assault the Germans on the centre and to envelop them on the flanks, Deventer came into contact with the enemy at the pass, after a most trying march, on the afternoon of the 11th. Without taking a rest he attacked at once, and brisk fighting continued during the remainder of the day and nearly all the following night. Owing to the difficulty of the country the flanking movements he had ordered were delayed, but his frontal operations were successful. On the morning of the 12th it was found that the Germans, who had been punished severely, had evacuated their positions and withdrawn towards Mpapwa. Proceeding forthwith in pursuit, he came up with them on the same day at that place, promptly engaged and, before the night fell, defeated them, though he had been marching and fighting without a halt for forty-two hours. It was a fine effort, made very gamely by all ranks.

Having occupied Mpapwa, Deventer next moved on Kidete, a station on the railway where the Germans held a strong position and were supported by heavy guns, field-artillery, and machine-guns. Fighting began on August 15th, and went on without intermission until late next day, but finally a flanking movement by his mounted troops, who fell on the rear of the enemy, gave the place into his hands. During the ensuing week Deventer gradually drove the Germans from Kidete along the railway to Kilosa and Kimamba, both of which he occupied on August 22nd. In reporting these operations, which were of an extremely arduous nature, to General Smuts, Deventer wrote:

Deventer's report to General Smuts

> The railway from Kidete to Kilosa, for a distance of twenty-five miles, follows a narrow defile through the Usagara Mountains by the Mukondokwa River; every yard of advance was stubbornly resisted by the enemy. Of the more important engagements, those on the 19th at Mzagara and on the 21st before Kilosa should be mentioned. In all the actions on this advance the fighting consisted of the enemy receiving our advanced guard with one or several ambushes, then falling back on a well-prepared position and retiring from that on to further well-selected ambush places and positions. All the time our less advanced troops were subjected

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In a German mess tent. Right: German naval band. Men from the cruiser Königsberg—which had been destroyed by the British when it was hidden up the Rufiji River in July, 1915—giving a performance to their comrades beneath East African palms.

Trenches, masked by palms and backed by scrub, which were made by the Germans among the tropical growth of East Africa. Right: Another view of well-planned trenches, the course of which it would be difficult to determine from aerial or distant observation.

Well-hidden German gun. The abundant vegetation afforded unlimited material for effective masking of gun-positions. Right: Trench with loopholed parapet, fronted by a screen of scrub through which the men could fire.

LIFE WITH THE GERMANS IN EAST AFRICA AS REVEALED BY AN ENEMY CAMERA.

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to vigorous shelling by means of long-range naval guns. Since leaving Kondoa Irangi the troops who have reached Kilosa by the shortest route have done at least two hundred and twenty miles. Those troops who have gone via Kilimatinde and other places have done many more miles. Owing to bad roads, shortage of transport, and the rapidity of advance, the adequate rationing of the troops was not possible. The underfeeding and overworking are sadly reflected in their state of health. Regarding the animals of my division, the advance from Mpapwa to Kilosa was through one continual fly belt, where practically all the animals were infected.

Gallant endurance of South Africans

With the occupation of Kilosa, Deventer now held upwards of two hundred miles of the Central Railway, or a good deal more than a quarter of its entire extent. His gallant South Africans, strained by incessant marching and fighting under such hard conditions, imperatively needed rest, but the necessities of the situation at the moment even more imperatively forbade it. The 1st and 3rd Divisions had moved south from the Mziha Camp, and were pressing the Germans down from the Nguru Mountains. Deventer's mounted brigade, less one regiment, was sent on August 25th to Mlali, farther east, to co-operate. But there was no rest for the balance of his sorely-tried men. On August 26th he received a message from General Smuts ordering him to advance from Kilosa to Ulaia, twenty miles south, on the main road to Iringa, and despite the exhausted state of his force the command was obeyed, the place being taken before the day was over. The Germans had held it in strength, and were being reinforced by detachments who had been opposing General Northey's march towards Iringa from the direction of New Langenburg. Thereafter, Deventer's line of route led him on to the Great Ruaha River, one of the principal affluents of the Rufiji River, and over which went the Iringa road.

OVERLAND TREK OF BRITISH NAVAL DIVISION.
The overland transport of two armoured motor-boats to Lake Tanganyika was a remarkable feat in the East African Campaign. In the course of the long trek seventeen bridges more than eighty feet long had to be built.

It had been with a view to assisting their main body then retreating from the Nguru Mountains to the Central Railway that the Germans had been concentrating a force at Ulaia, and Deventer now drove it southwards towards Kidode, along the road to Iringa. The operation involved an extraordinary amount of mountain climbing and constant fighting. The country was ridged with high mountains running across the road for several miles, and every ridge had been fortified previously by the enemy, who, after losing one, would fall back on the next, a mile or two in the rear. In fact, Deventer's advance encountered difficulties at every point from the character of the terrain, dongas and all sorts of natural traps strewing his path. Yet his casualties were surprisingly light, this being mainly due to his avoiding, as far as might be, all frontal attacks. His strategy was to carry out flanking movements, while holding the Germans to the position occupied by them, but once the pressure he thus exerted became marked they usually broke off the engagement under cover of the night and stole away in the darkness. Forcing them on in this fashion, he took Kidode on September 10th, having reached his objective for the time being. Deventer was emphatic in his appreciation of the conduct and the spirit of his troops, declaring that their determination and zeal, their endurance of hardships during long marches through dry and waterless stretches on scanty rations formed an achievement worthy of South African soldiers.

Meanwhile, the great move of the 1st and 3rd Divisions from the Mziha Camp south to the Central Railway on the east was well under way. But, before this most vital operation started, General Smuts saw to the clearing of his flank to the Indian Ocean by the occupation of the coastal area from Tanga, the terminus of the Usambara Railway, to Saadani Bay, which was taken by the Navy on August 1st, Pangani having been captured by it a week previously. A detachment of the West India Regiment was landed at Saadani, and in union with a contingent of the 40th Pathans drove the enemy from the Lower Wami River. The combined force marched south-east to Bagamoyo, which was captured in brilliant style by the Navy on August 15th, a 4·1 in. naval gun with ammunition being included in the spoil. Dar-es-Salaam lay a short distance south, and it was evident that no long time could elapse before the British would close in and seize the capital of the colony. The military operations on the coast and parallel to it were under the command of Colonel C. U. Price, C.M.G., subject to the orders of Brigadier-General Edwards, the Inspector-General of Communications. With the area on his extreme left thus in his possession, General Smuts began the advance from Mziha through the Nguru Mountains to the railway, his hope then being that if he failed to corner the Germans in those mountains, he, in conjunction with Deventer from Dodoma, would bring them to bay somewhere about Kilosa Station.

General Smuts' task was exceedingly formidable by reason of the difficult character of the terrain, of which naturally the Germans took care to make the most. The main road to the Central Railway, for about forty-five miles, passed close under the Nguru Mountains and Mount Kanga. In the mountains and across this road the enemy had disposed about three thousand rifles, with much heavy and light artillery, trenches having been dug athwart the foot-hills in the best positions, and every conceivable measure adopted that would add to the strength of the defence. If General Smuts forced his way by frontal attacks along the road, or moved by his left through the scrub and high elephant-grass, there was something more than a chance that the Germans on his right would get behind him, and at the very least put his communications in serious danger of being cut. In these circumstances he considered it of paramount importance to advance through the mountains themselves, and to clear them of the enemy as he

Germans favoured by the terrain

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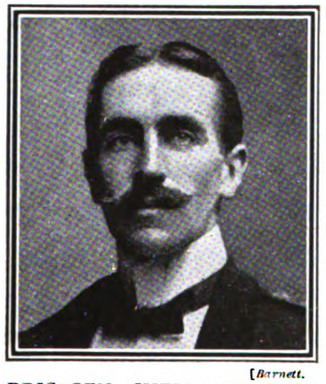
[*Bassano.*
LIEUT.-GEN. HOSKINS, C.M.G.
General Hoskins succeeded General Smuts in command in East Africa.

[*Elliott & Fry.*
BRIG.-GEN. P. S. BEVES.
Commanded 2nd S.A. Infantry Brigade. Mentioned in despatches.



[*Barnett.*
BRIG.-GEN. SHEPPARD, D.S.O.
In command of 1st E.A. Brigade. Mentioned by General Smuts.

[*Elliott & Fry.*
BRIG.-GEN. BERRANGE, C.M.G.
At the head of the 3rd S.A. Infantry Brigade, in the 2nd Division.

marched to the south. He decided that the most effective strategy for carrying out this aim was to institute a series of turning movements, which would result in threatening the retreat of the Germans, or of cutting off that retirement if it was delayed too long.

A mass of the Nguru Mountains lay on the west, while the lower hills and spurs of the range, with lofty Mount Kanga, stretched to the east, the division between them being the rugged valley of the Mjonga River, which flowed from Mahazi on the north almost due south towards Turiani, where the road round Kanga crossed it. Above Turiani two streams ran from the north-west through gaps in the Ngurus into the Mjonga; one entered the valley near Matamondo, under the shadow of Kanga, and the other, some miles south, came along into it past Mhonda Mission, not far from Turiani itself. All the way from Mahazi to Turiani the enemy was strongly posted along the banks of the Mjonga, and a turning movement had to be made farther west, so as to strike in at either Matamondo or Mhonda. General Smuts' design was threefold. First, General Sheppard's brigade was to make a feint from Mziha directly against the German position at Ruhungu, on the main road to the railway, while in reality he was moving the bulk of his men by the left so as to gain the Russongo River, six miles in rear of Ruhungu. Secondly, General Hannyngton was previously to have marched to Mahazi, and from there, accompanied by General Hoskins, was to drive the Germans along the valley of the Mjonga. Thirdly, the 3rd Division under General Brits was simultaneously to make a detour northward to the Lukigura, and then westerly through Kimbe to enter the Ngurus farther west of Mahazi, emerging from them through the Mhonda gap in the rear of the forces of the enemy on the slopes of Kanga and the Mjonga valley.

General Smuts' threefold design

On August 5th General Enslin, with the 2nd South African Mounted Brigade, 3rd Division, marched from the Lukigura via Kimbe, and struck the Nguru Mountains eight miles west of Mahazi on the following day. Making rapid progress, he arrived at the Mhonda gap, and occupied Mhonda on August 8th. But as he sent back word that the route through the mountains was entirely impracticable for wheeled traffic, his transport had to return to the Lukigura. On August 6th the 2nd South African Brigade, with General Beves in command, set out by the same way, while General Hannyngton, with the 2nd East African Brigade, advanced by the mountain footpaths direct from the Lukigura to Mahazi, and working steadily down the valley of the Mjonga encountered no keen opposition until he reached Matamondo on the 9th. Two days previously General Sheppard and the 1st East African Brigade left the Mziha Camp, and progressing slowly through the dense bush which enveloped the enemy's positions on the sides of Mount Kanga gained the Russongo on August 11th. But by this time it was clear that the clever scheme of General Smuts for the encirclement of the Germans was not destined to be a success.

Enemy abandons his defence

According to his plan the whole of the 3rd Division was to have proceeded to Mhonda, but the difficulty of the country, with its absence of anything like a road, defeated it. Had it not been for the impossibility of transport, the idea would not have proved unprofitable; but, on the contrary, would in all probability have resulted in the complete cutting off of the retreat of the Germans from these mountains and their capture or destruction. As things were, General Smuts, baffled by the terrain so far as wheeled transport was concerned, was compelled to tell General Brits to divert the 2nd South African Infantry Brigade, under Beves, down the footpath to Matamondo, where Hannyngton was having heavy fighting. One of Enslin's mounted regiments, as it happened, had lost its way in these trackless hills, but finally emerged also at this place. Yet a vigorous attempt to carry out the original plan, so

[*Elliott & Fry.*
R.-ADMIRAL CHARLTON, C.B.
In command off East Africa. Mentioned in despatches by Gen. Smuts.

[*Elliott & Fry.*
BRIG.-GEN. COLLYER, C.M.G.
Chief of the Staff to General Smuts. Mentioned in despatches.

[*Elliott & Fry.*
BRIG.-GEN. HANNYNGTON.
Commanded 2nd E.A. Brigade. Mentioned for ability as commander.

[*Lafayette.*
CAPT. HON. F. E. GUEST, M.P.
Mentioned in despatches by General Smuts for meritorious services.

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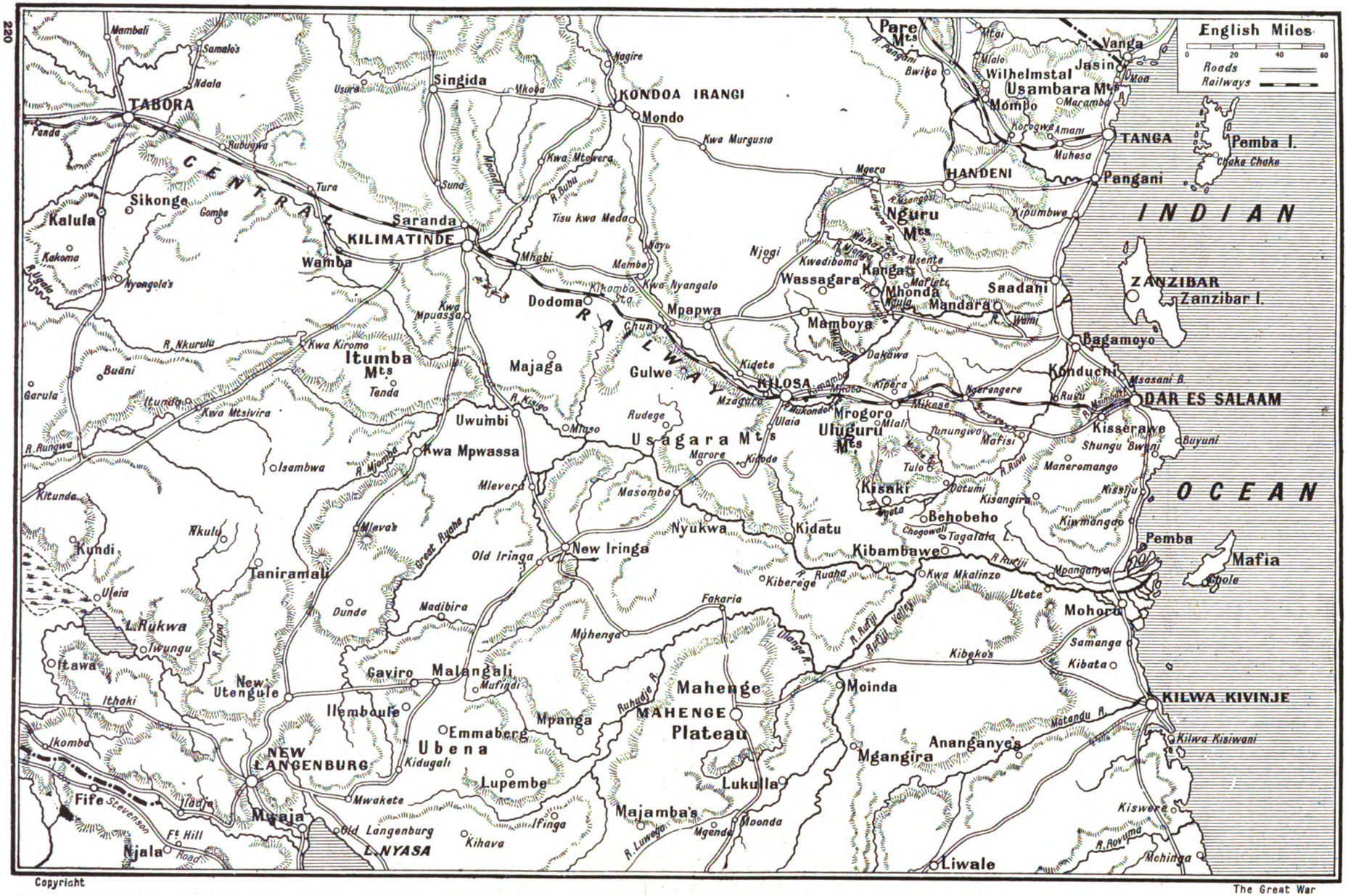

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The Great War

MAP SHOWING THE AREA OF GENERAL SMUTS' OPERATIONS IN EAST AFRICA FOR THE CONQUEST OF THE CENTRAL RAILWAY.

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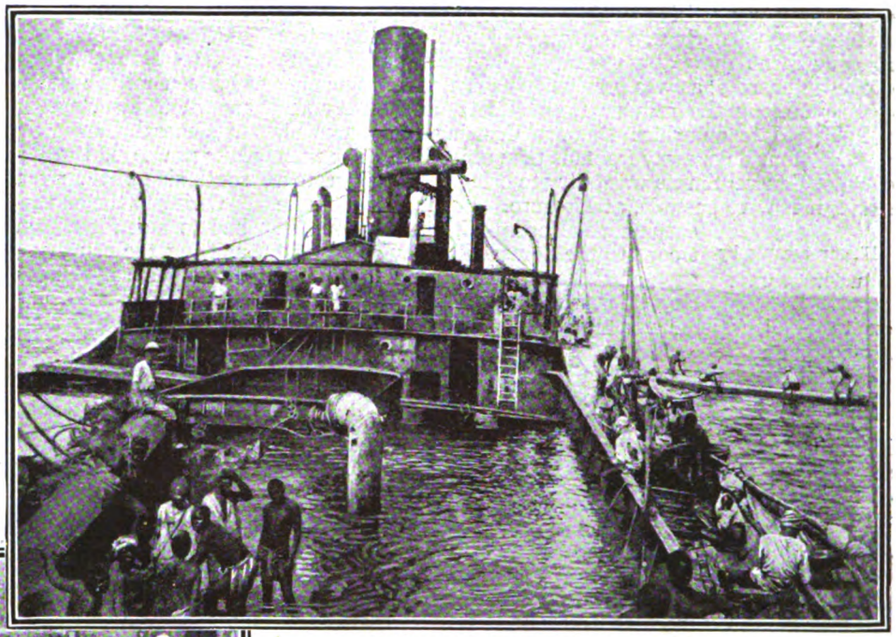
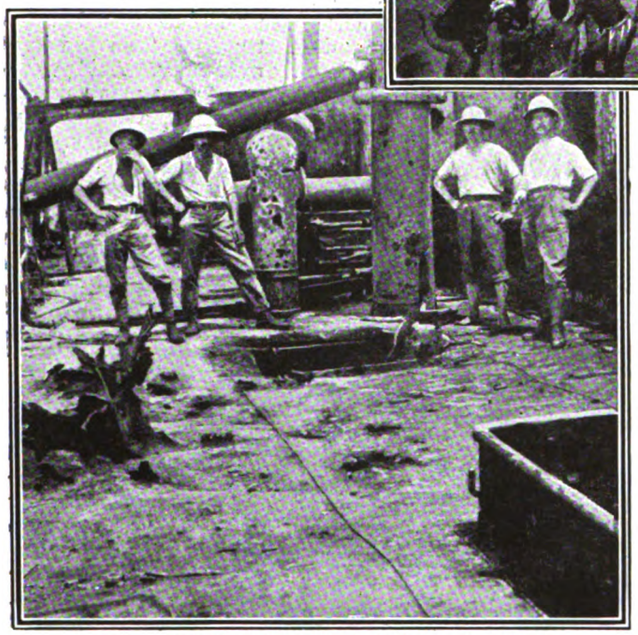
far as circumstances permitted, was made by Enslin with the rest of his command. Passing through the Mhonda gap, he endeavoured most gallantly to cut off the enemy by seizing a series of positions by which the retreating Germans must go. But in the upshot he found that he was not able to retain these dominating positions in the rear because of the smallness of his force, the safety of which was gravely compromised on the flanks by the far more numerous men opposed to it. Still, he was able to maintain himself at the Mhonda Mission, whence his continued threat was so strong that the enemy had to abandon his whole defence in the mountains and retire as fast as he could.



BROUGHT-TO WITH ITS DECKS AWASH.
German blockade-runner after it had been brought-to by British fire. The natives pressed into the service of the Teutons do not appear to have found their lot a particularly happy one.



GERMAN EAST AFRICAN BLOCKADE-RUNNER.
Result of trying to run the blockade on the coast of German East Africa. The vessel was sunk in shallow water by British naval gunners, and the marks of many hits are observable in the above photograph.

After sharp engagements lasting over two days Hannyngton drove the enemy south from Matamondo on August 11th with great loss, his own casualties being about sixty killed and wounded. On the 12th and 13th Hannyngton's brigade and the brigades of Brits reached Turiani, at the end of the Mjonga valley through the mountains, the Germans having withdrawn some miles farther south. It was, however, becoming clear to General Smuts that he now was dealing with part only of the enemy's force, and that the balance was streaming southward towards the Central Railway, making for Mrogoro or Kilosa. He moved on at once, though he was much hampered by the numerous rivers flowing across his path from the Nguru and Kanga Mountains. The bridges, including some of very considerable span, had been demolished, and had to be rebuilt. In spite of these and other difficulties, he decided to give the enemy no time. On August 13th Enslin's mounted brigade proceeded round the left flank along the Lwale River to Ngula, where he was joined by the 130th Baluchis from Kipera, at which place Sheppard's brigade had arrived by way of Mafleta, after driving off a small German body. Hannyngton worked his way south along the main road. On the 15th Enslin and Hannyngton were at Kwediboma and Mwomoro, where the roads to Mrogoro and Kilosa respectively left the Ngurus. Both of the former points were occupied with little fighting. The larger number of the Germans retired along the road to Mrogoro, their immediate objective being Dakawa, on the Wami, while the smaller part, consisting of a few companies, made off along the road to Kilosa. General Smuts pressed on in pursuit.

General Hannyngton marched from Mwomoro hot-foot along the Kilosa road to the Mkundi River, while General Enslin moved in the direction of Dakawa. General Sheppard had been ordered to cross the Wami River from Kipera, and to advance along the right or southern bank of that stream to Dakawa Crossing. This meant that the British would be on both sides of the river at Dakawa. Sheppard and Enslin arrived on opposite banks at the enemy position on August 16th, but the Germans were in sufficient strength to hold the former at bay two miles on the north and, at the same time, to prevent the latter from attempting to get across the stream, which there was both wide and deep. Enslin succeeded next day in crossing the Wami higher up, and the enemy retreated hurriedly when he discovered that this movement had outflanked him and threatened his line of escape. Dakawa Crossing was occupied on the 18th. In the fighting, which was severe in these operations, the British lost about one hundred and twenty men, but the Germans were very badly mauled. A halt was made at Dakawa in order to bridge the Wami, and this involved a delay of several days. Meanwhile, Hannyngton was recalled to Dakawa from pursuing the party which was fleeing to Kilosa, and the Cape Corps was sent to perform the task instead.

Severe fighting at Dakawa

General Smuts had been under the impression that the Germans would retreat to Kilosa, and then, having lost the railway there, that they would withdraw to the Mahenge plateau. Kilosa was the most convenient point of departure for this proceeding, and the impression had a good reason behind it; but he now was aware that only a small body of the enemy was on the road to Kilosa, and that the main

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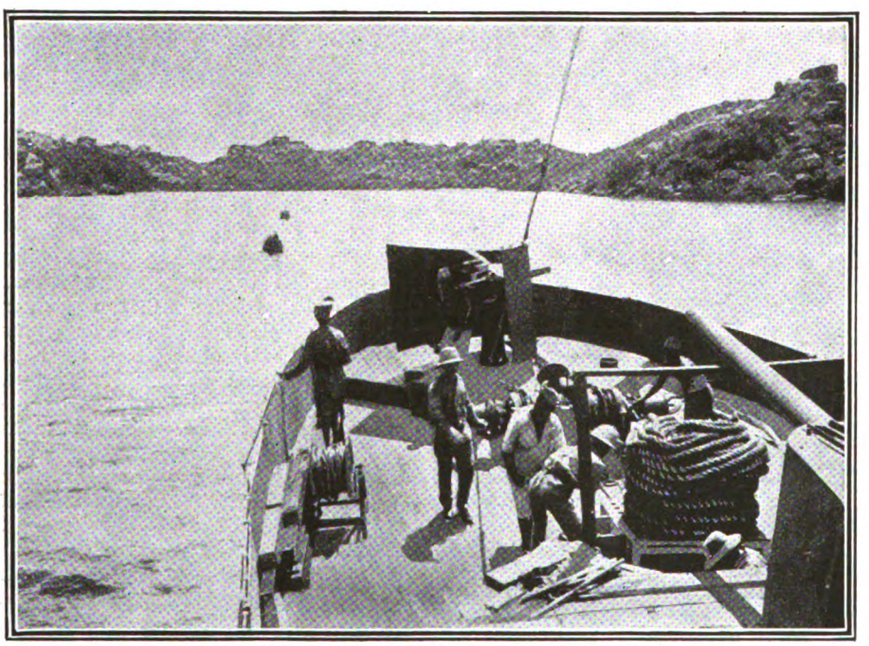
enemy force was retiring to Mrogoro, a considerable distance farther east. The reason for this choice of the alternative routes was most probably the rapid advance towards Kilosa of Deventer, who, as was previously shown, was progressing eastward along the railway from Kidete, and on August 18th, the date on which Dakawa Crossing was occupied, was only four days away from his then objective. The next effort of General Smuts was to try to bring the Germans to a stand, if it were possible, at Mrogoro. For this purpose he despatched Enslin with the mounted troops to the Central Railway on August 21st, and Mkata Station was occupied two days later. Enslin, without halting, pushed on to Mlali, which lay about fifteen miles south-west of Mrogoro, on the road to Kisaki, round the west of the Uluguru Mountains, and the place was in his hands on August 24th.

Enemy escapes by unknown track

It was then that Deventer sent the 1st South African Mounted Brigade, under Nussey, to reinforce Enslin, the strength of their combined forces being such as to render extremely unlikely any attempt of the enemy to break through to the south in that direction.



ARMOURED STEAMER ON VICTORIA NYANZA.
Under Commander Thornley, R.N., the naval flotilla on Victoria Nyanza did important work, preliminary to the advance on the Central Railway, in the capture of islands and in helping General Crewe to force the Germans from Mwanza, their fortified post at the southern end of the lake.

Simultaneously the Commander-in-Chief arranged that his other troops from Dakawa should advance so as to block also the road to Mrogoro through Kiroka, round the eastern slopes of the Uluguru range. These moves looked as if the "bottling up" of the chief German forces in and around Mrogoro was a certainty. Unfortunately there was a fatal flaw in this promising scheme. "I was not then aware that a track went due south from Mrogoro through the mountains to Kisaki," General Smuts recorded in his despatch, "and that the capture of the flanks of the mountains would not achieve the end in view." On the morning of August 23rd the rest of the British forces crossed the Wami River at Dakawa by the new bridge which had been completed; but instead of marching on Mrogoro direct by the road, which ran nearly due south, General Smuts moved backward down the right bank of the river for some nine miles, and from the point thus reached struck east to the Ngerengere River, in the vicinity of Msungulu, north-east of Mrogoro. He had to traverse a desert belt about twenty-five miles wide, and owing to the denseness of the scrub, the heat, and the lack of water, this movement, which was spread over two days, proved one of the most trying of the whole campaign. However, on the night of the 24th General Smuts encamped on the Ngerengere, eighteen miles from his objective. Earlier on that day a mounted contingent under Colonel Brink, chief Staff officer to General Coen Brits, had gone on in front and seized Mkogwa Hill, three miles farther south-east, and on the south side of the river.

Owing to the exhaustion of man and beast, General Smuts had to halt for a day, but he employed the time in reconnoitring the country. His forces were again in motion on August 26th. Hannyngton with his brigade advanced towards Mikese, on the Central Railway, twenty miles east of Mrogoro, and on the same day occupied that station. Meanwhile Sheppard and Beves, with their respective troops, marched up the Ngerengere on Mrogoro, which was taken also on August 26th. Then it was discovered that the Germans had succeeded in escaping the enveloping net. One lot had got away by the eastern route through Kiroka, another was struggling with Enslin at Mlali; but Col. Lettow-Vorbeck, with Dr. Schnee, the Governor of German East Africa, and the bulk of their men, had made off by the track—of whose existence General Smuts had been ignorant—that passed from Mrogoro south into the mountains. At Mrogoro General Smuts found so many proofs of the precipitate flight of the enemy and of his demoralised condition that he resolved to continue the pursuit, notwithstanding the fact that his troops and animals were worn out with the exertions of the past three weeks, and that his transport had reached its extreme radius of action. Nearly half of the Central Railway was in his possession by this time, but the principal forces of the Germans were still in being, and had to be crushed. There seemed to be a fair chance that they might be rounded up in the Uluguru Mountains, and he devoted himself to the effort. In any case, he had to secure his hold on the railway by driving the enemy well to the south of it.

The 1st Division operated on the eastern slopes of the Ulugurus. Sheppard occupied Kiroka, east of Mrogoro, on August 26th, and Hannyngton advanced southward. By the end of the month, after continuous fighting from the 27th, the enemy was pressed to the other side of the Ruvu River. Then several days had to be spent in throwing a bridge across that stream. The terrain to be negotiated was extremely difficult, the road passing through numerous broken foot-hills, covered with bush or grass from six to twelve feet high, so that progress was slow, painful, and dangerous. The country there, as in so many other parts of the colony, was particularly well suited to defensive tactics, and the Germans held up the British at every convenient place, retiring after as long a delaying action as was possible in the circumstances. From the Ruvu the road for some distance went along the face of precipitous rocks, round which the enemy had constructed a gallery on piles as a track for his transport; but as this structure was not sufficiently strong to carry the mechanical transport of the 1st Division, a path was made by blasting away the mountain-side. Near the river a 4·1 in. German naval gun was found destroyed.

Sheppard occupies Kiroka

When the new path was ready, and the forward movement was resumed, the 1st Division marched towards the

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Lieut.-General J. L. Van Deventer, C.B., and some members of his Staff.

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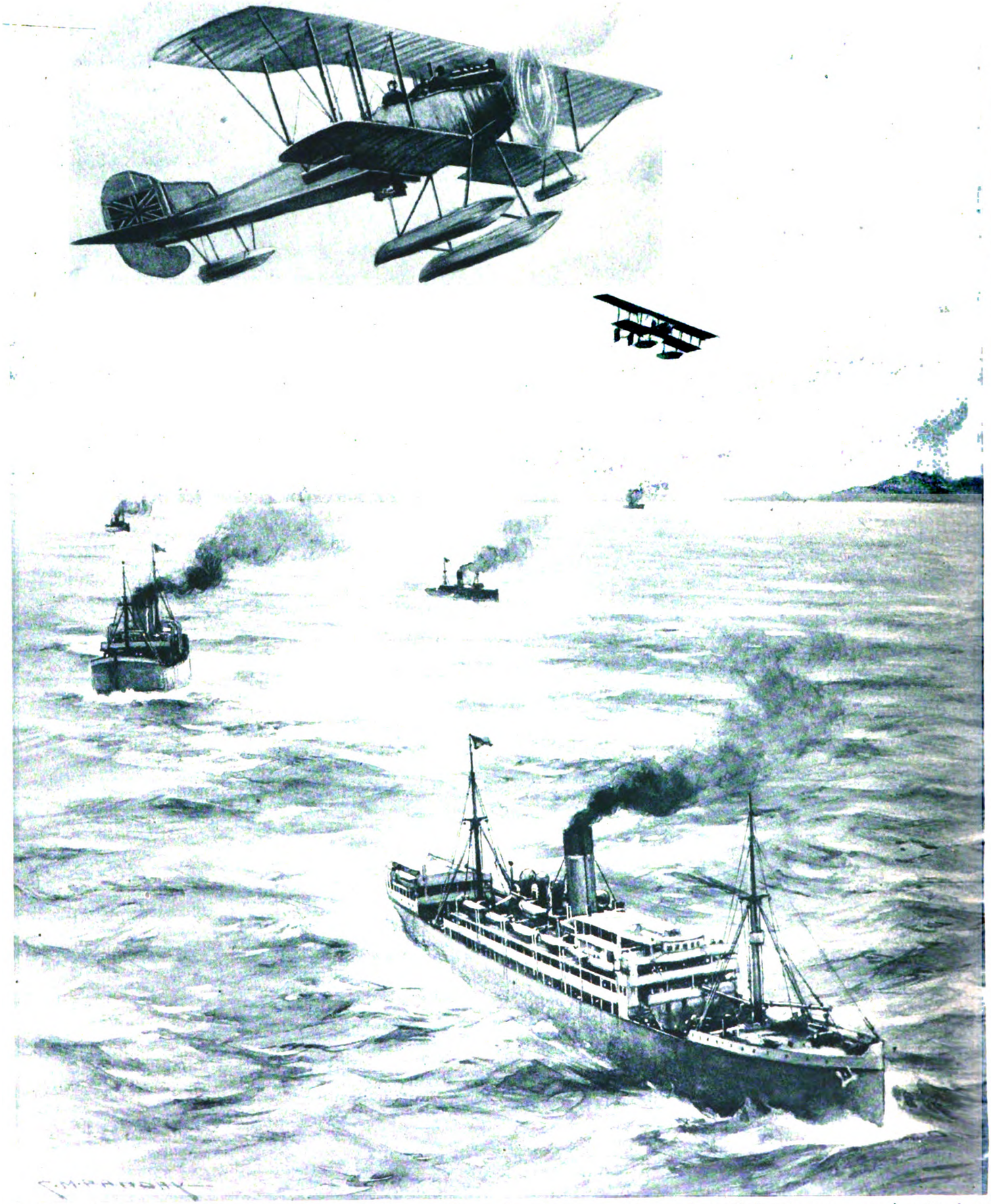

British foodships successfully convoyed by seaplanes in clear weather when U boats were easier to detec

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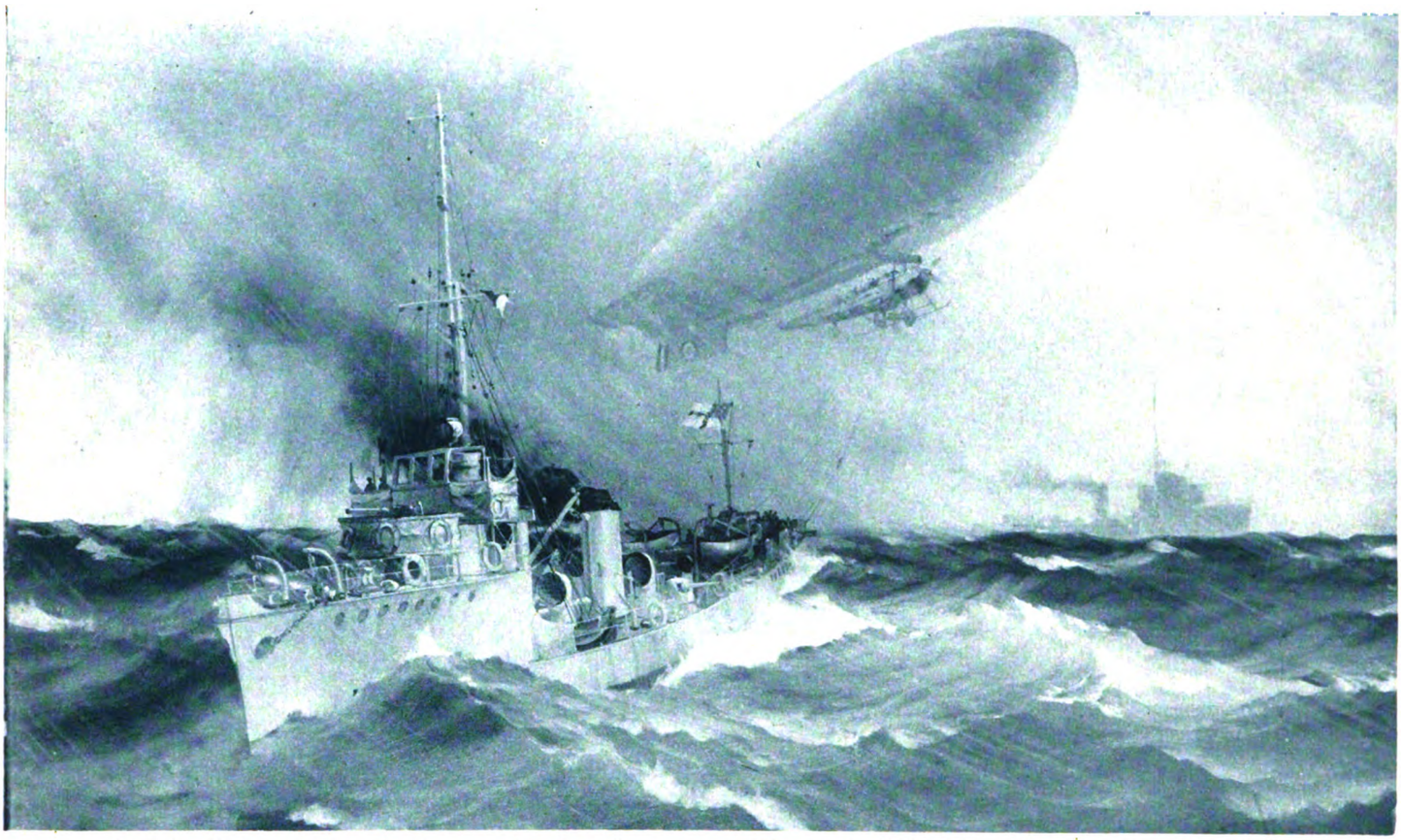

A friend in need: Destroyer towing home a "Blimp" dirigible whose engine has failed.

A timely shot: Passengers on a liner cheering a destroyer's direct hit on a German submarine.

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A heliograph signalling post in General Van Deventer's East African operations.

Postal carriers with General Northey's column toiling through the East African scrub.

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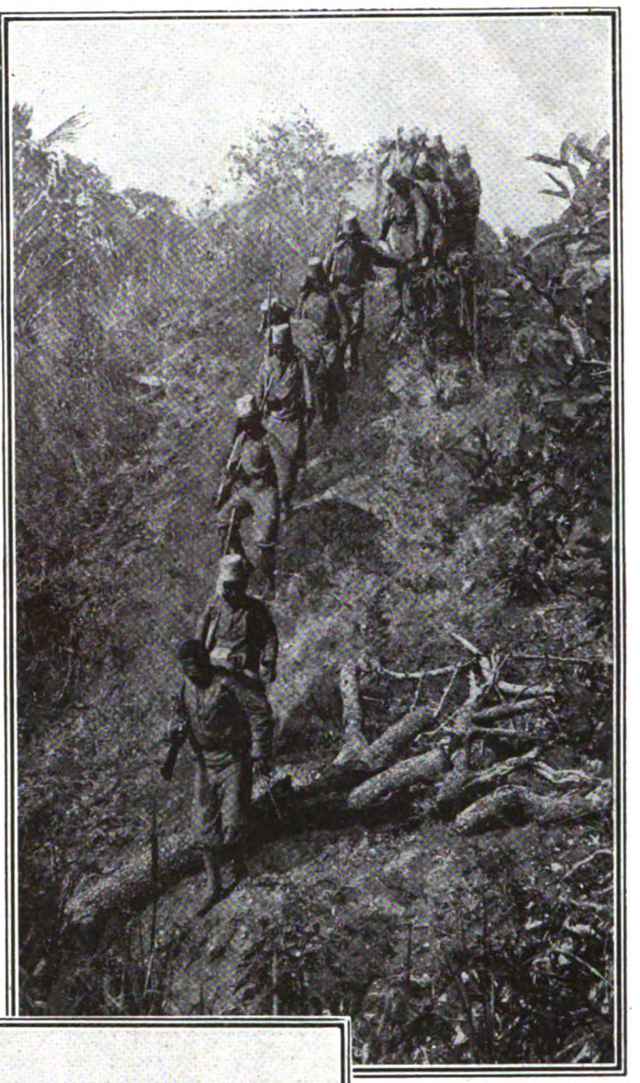
Mvuha River by three routes. The first led by the main road to Tulo, the second, by a track west of the first, to Kassanga, and the third, by a track on the east side, to the Tunungo Mission. Brisk fighting took place every day, and road-making with bridge-building employed not only the pioneers but also a large portion of the troops. Swampy tracts as well as rocky stretches abounded between the Ruvu and the Mvuha. A way had to be cut down the precipitous face of a spur of the Ulugurus, and this took the technical corps and most of Sheppard's brigade several weeks, but the result was a notable and enduring feat of engineering. The advance could not be rapid in such conditions, but Tulo was occupied on September 10th and Dutumi taken three days later. It was only after very hard efforts that the Germans were finally beaten south to the Mgeta River.

While these operations were proceeding on the eastern side of the Uluguru range, the South African brigades, under General Brits, and Enslin's brigade were busy in the interior and on the western side of it. Enslin's men had reached Mlali on August 24th, and early in the morning his advanced scouts rushed Kisagale, a small isolated hill on the road to the south, capturing an ammunition depôt in which were stored about a thousand shells for naval and other guns. At the same time one of his regiments galloped up the valley to the north of this eminence, and took up positions among the foot-hills in the vicinity, at the very moment when an enemy force retreating from Mrogoro was coming down the road. A severe engagement ensued, and the South African soldiers, finding that they were being gradually outflanked with a heavy fire converging on them, withdrew a short distance, but retained effective possession of the road on the south during that day and the next. When the Germans saw that they could not dislodge these determined combatants, they drew off into the mountains towards Mgeta Mission, ten miles away, after destroying two naval guns, one a 3·4 in. and the other a 4·1 in. Leaving their horses behind, Enslin and his troopers footed their way into the hills after the foe, but farther to the south, with the intention of cutting him off. In the meantime, General Nussey's brigade had come up, and on August 27th it occupied Mgeta Mission; thereafter it followed the enemy through the mountains along the course of the Mgeta River.

Germans driven to Kisaki



SOME BELGIAN ASKARIS. Belgian native troops were recruited from the various Congo tribes and proved excellent fighting material.

BELGIAN ASKARIS MARCHING THROUGH A NATIVE VILLAGE. Belgian troops co-operated with the forces under General Crewe directed against Tabora, and another exclusively Belgian force operated from Lake Tanganyika against the western terminus of the Central Railway.

Enslin then marched back to the trail which went round the west of the Ulugurus by the Msongosi River and Mahalaka and came out at Kisaki, on the southern edge of the range. In this advance to Kisaki two infantry regiments of Beves' command supported Enslin.

From all points in the Uluguru Mountains the Germans were retreating on Kisaki, very much against their will. General Smuts had been too quick for them. As was apparent from the vast quantities of heavy-gun ammunition captured from them at various points, they had planned a protracted and elaborate defence of these mountains. It was the unexpected arrival of Enslin at Mlali, and the audacious and successful pursuit which thereafter took place, combined with the operations of the 1st Division on the east, that compelled them to abandon their scheme and retire to Kisaki.

Converging on Kisaki, Nussey marched south along the Mgeta with porter transport only, and Brits, in command of Enslin's and Beves' brigades, moved to the Msongosi River, but found it impracticable to take his guns or waggons beyond it, and had to send them back to Mrogoro. From Mahalaka Brits advanced, however, in light order by the elephant track along which Burton and Speke had travelled into the interior in 1857, and on September 5th he reached the neighbourhood of Kisaki after slight opposition. Nussey, however, had not yet come up; and, owing to an accident to his wireless, was not able to get into communication with Brits, but the latter decided to attack the enemy on the 7th. Kisaki was found strongly held by a large enemy force, the bulk being on the right bank of the Mgeta in front of Enslin, while dense bush prevented Beves on the other side of the stream from giving effective assistance to him. In danger of envelopment on his left and then on his right, Enslin decided to

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SWAMPS OF LAKE BANGWELO.
Small canoes used by the natives who were attached to the British Naval Expedition which was sent to Lake Tanganyika.

SKINNING A LEOPARD "ON BOARD SHIP."
The British Naval Expedition that took out two armed motor-boats from England to Lake Tanganyika in 1915, and cleared the Germans off the lake, had an adventurous trip overland and by rivers and lakes. In Northern Rhodesia unlimited sport was forthcoming.

retire at night. Beves also withdrew, and their joint forces entrenched six miles north of Kisaki, awaiting the arrival of Nussey. That general, not knowing what had occurred or where Brits was, reached Kisaki early next day, and, gallantly going into action at once, held his ground against much superior numbers till the evening, when messengers from Brits came to him with an order to proceed to Little Whigu, the place to which Enslin and Beves had gone.

This unfortunate affair would hardly have happened if Brits had been in touch with Nussey. It was not till a week later that Kisaki was captured as the result of flanking movements round the north-east; but the Germans made good their retreat. They left behind them a hospital full of sick and some seventy Europeans, but all supplies had been removed or destroyed.

General Smuts' tribute to his troops

Driven everywhere from the Uluguru Mountains, the enemy took up a line of defence along the Mgeta, south of Dutumi, and farther to the west, across the road, from Kisaki to the Rufiji River. As his men were thoroughly spent after their hard march through this most difficult region, generally on half rations or less, and needed a complete rest on medical as well as military grounds, General Smuts did not press an attack at that time against the Germans in their new positions, and for a short period something approaching trench warfare supervened. Writing of his men, General Smuts delivered this eulogy:

> The plain tale of their achievements bears the most convincing testimony to the spirit, determination, and prodigious efforts of all. Their work has been done under tropical conditions, which not only produce bodily weariness and unfitness, but which create mental languour and depression and finally appal the stoutest hearts. To march day by day and week by week through the African jungle or high grass, in which vision is limited to a few yards, in which danger always lurks near but seldom becomes visible even when experienced, supplies a test to human nature often in the long run beyond the limits of human endurance. And what is true of the fighting troops applies in one degree or another to all the subsidiary and administrative services. The efforts of all have been beyond praise; the strain on all has been overwhelming.

So far as the Central Railway had been affected by the operations of General Smuts' three divisions, the whole of it, from Saranda on the west to Miroka on the east, was in the occupation of the British on August 26th, and was made available for motor traction, by the methods already

GERMAN FORT CAPTURED BY SOUTH AFRICANS.
South African troops constituted the 2nd Division, commanded by General Van Deventer, of the military forces at General Smuts' disposal. They also formed the bulk of the 3rd Division under General Brits.

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explained, with all expedition. As regards the line itself, and simultaneously with the movements of these divisions in the interior, the forces at work near and on the coast, in union with the Navy, made rapid progress towards Dar-es-Salaam, the western terminus. After the capture of Bagamoyo, General Edwards concentrated there about eighteen hundred rifles, under Colonel Price, for the march against Dar-es-Salaam. Dividing this force into two bodies, Price, with the larger of the two, moved down the coast on the capital, while the smaller struck off towards the railway at the Ruvu bridge, with the object of seizing that structure before the Germans had destroyed it, and thereafter of swinging in on the city.

By this time the enemy had come to understand that there was no hope of his being able to hold Dar-es-Salaam, and, anxious to avoid an assault, or perhaps a siege of a town containing a large German non-combatant population, had resolved to make no attempt to defend it. Consequently, the advancing columns met with little serious opposition. The larger occupied Konduchi and Msasani Bay, and then bivouacked on the Msimbuzi River, which flowed round the city on the west and north. The smaller

ADAPTABLE MOTOR IN E. AFRICA.
Taking a boat by railway to Lake Nyasa on a train which was drawn by a Napier motor adapted for the purpose.

marched to the Ruvu bridge, but found that it had been wrecked. After dispersing to the south a small hostile body at Ruvu, this force turned east and moved on Dar-es-Salaam. While these two columns were thus converging on the place, the British ships appeared on the scene, and the capital surrendered on September 3rd, all the German troops having retired to the south a few days earlier, with their artillery, except one 6 in. gun which they had blown up. On the morning of the 4th the British flag waved over the chief centre of German East Africa—to the bitter regret of the Colonial party in Germany, who had always regarded Dar-es-Salaam, with its excellent harbour

ON THE MOUNTAIN BORDER OF EAST AFRICA.
Native soldier on the look-out in the mountainous Kilimanjaro district. Much fighting took place there during the earlier part of General Smuts' campaign for the capture of the Usambara Railway.

and fine permanent Government and other buildings, to say nothing of the Transcolonial Railway, as one of their greatest achievements—as it was.

Though the capital, as a whole, passed into the hands of the conquerors practically undamaged, the railway-station and the harbour works had been demolished, and the harbour itself rendered as of little service to the victors as was possible. The Germans did their utmost to hamper the British by running their locomotives and rolling-stock into the harbour, thus annulling transport facilities and preventing the unloading of ships. Dar-es-Salaam had been an important German naval base; the floating-dock and the enemy vessels were found sunk in the harbour. The Tabora, König, and Möwe had been wrecked too thoroughly to admit any prospect of their being salved, but the Feldmärschall and the floating-dock were recovered. With Dar-es-Salaam the whole of the Central Railway west to Saranda fell into the hands of General Smuts. The business of clearing the harbour, and also of restoring the line westward, was taken in hand promptly and successfully. By October 6th the track was open for motor traffic all the way to Dodoma, a distance of nearly three hundred miles, and beyond it towards Tabora, while

Capture of Dar-es-Salaam

RED CROSS TRAIN ON THE CAPTURED CENTRAL RAILWAY.
Motor-drawn hospital train, conveying sick and wounded, at Mikese, which was captured by the British under General Hannyngton on August 26th, 1916. The train was drawn by a Napier business motor fitted with flanged wheels for rail traction.

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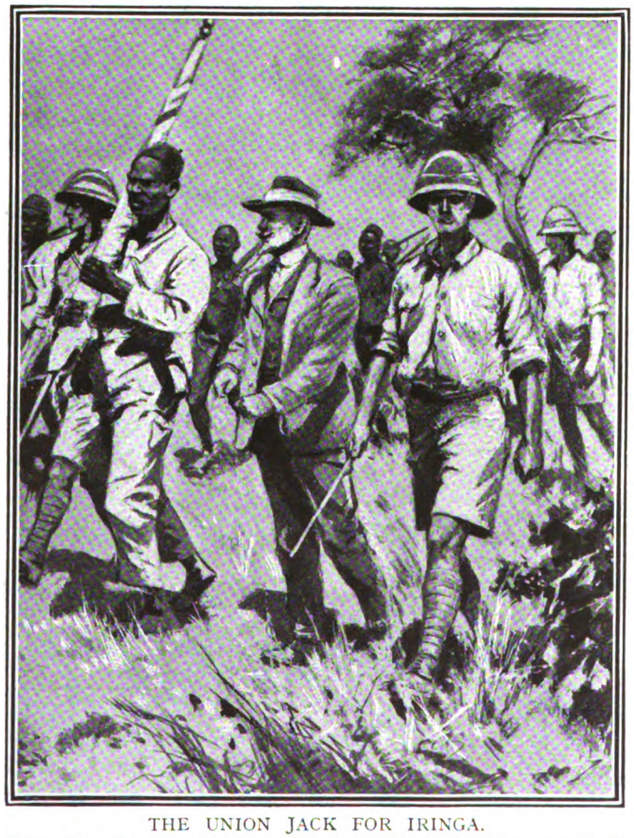
the British forces in the western midland area were being supplied from Dar-es-Salaam as sea base.

Having gained Dar-es-Salaam, General Smuts considered that the time had arrived for the effective occupation of the whole coast of the colony. Accordingly, he arranged with Rear-Admiral E. F. B. Charlton, C.B., who was in command of the fleet operating in these waters, for the convoying of forces south, and for co-operation in the seizure of all the chief points on the seaboard to the Portuguese frontier. Kilwa Kivinje (commonly known as Kilwa) and Kilwa Kisiwani, some miles farther down, were taken on September 7th, while Mikindani, Sudi Bay, Lindi, and Kiswere were all occupied before the close of the month. The penning in of the Germans in the interior was thus accomplished, nor did it seem at all likely that any assistance could reach them from oversea. A strong column was landed at Kilwa, which General Smuts made into a base of operations in the south-east, his intention being to assemble the 1st Division there later, with a view to its taking part in a great encircling movement south of the Rufiji.

Brilliant work of the Belgians

West of Saranda the whole of the Central Railway to Lake Tanganyika was taken from the Germans by the joint work of the British and the Belgians before the close of September, 1916. As far back as July 29th the Belgian 11oth Regiment and a Belgian flotilla, forming part of the force under Colonel Olsen, one of General Tombeur's two chief subordinate officers, had captured Ujiji and Kigoma, and on the following day another part of the same force occupied Ruchugi, nearly seventy miles farther east on the railway. During these operations the Belgians killed over a hundred of the enemy and took some European prisoners. Among the spoil were two of the Königsberg's guns. In the first weeks of August Olsen's column was moving steadily eastward on Tabora, one of the main points on the line, and a strong enemy centre, towards which also the Lake Force, under Sir Charles Crewe, and Colonel Molitor's Belgians were marching from the north-west, the one from Misungi, south of Mwanza, and the other from Biaramulo and Niemirambe, in the southern Victoria Nyanza region.



THE UNION JACK FOR IRINGA.
General Northey, marching from the south-west of the colony towards the Central Railway, occupied Iringa, August 29th, 1916. Lieut-Colonel Murray is seen advancing to take the surrender of the town.

General Crewe had arranged with General Tombeur that their forces should advance simultaneously from Victoria Nyanza along the two roads that converged on Tabora, the British taking the eastern route through Ivingo and the Belgians the western through St. Michael. But transport difficulties, the bane of the Allies in German East Africa, caused delay, and Crewe did not reach Ivingo till August 7th, while Molitor, though he captured St. Michael on August 12th, and got into touch with Crewe, was not able to concentrate there before the 22nd. The Germans had taken up strong positions in the Kahama Mountains, south of St. Michael, and for a while stoutly opposed the Belgians, but were cleverly driven out by turning movements, and compelled to withdraw towards Tabora by the end of August. The British arrived at Shinyanga on the 30th. In the meantime, Olsen's column from Ujiji, having gained Ugaga on the railway on August 14th, was approaching Tabora. The Belgians had transported railway material across Tanganyika from Lukugu to the Central Railway, and on the 25th ran their first train along the track to supply their troops, then in contact with the enemy on the east. Brisk actions took place on September 1st and 2nd, some twenty miles west and south-west of Tabora. Tombeur, thereupon, pushed forward Molitor's force from the north with all speed, so as to co-operate with Olsen, and after stubborn and almost continuous fighting the town fell to the Belgians on September 19th.

RELIEVED OF HIS POST.
The German commandant of Bukoota, who was taken prisoner when the British captured the German fort.

Over a hundred British prisoners of war, most of whom had been interned for two years, were found in Tabora, among them being several women. The conditions of the camp were frightful. When, towards the end of 1916, a number of the released arrived in London, they told a story as revolting as any thing appearing in all the horrible records of German Kultur.

German cruelty to British prisoners

East of Tabora General Crewe's advanced guards occupied the railway at Igalulu, about a week after the fall of Tabora, and gradually the British linked up all along the line eastward. A portion of the enemy force which had been driven out of Tabora retired southward into the Itumba Mountains, while the remainder also withdrew to the south by way of Sikonge. From their headquarters at Tabora the Belgians harried the retreat of both German columns, who were making off in the direction of the Great Ruaha River in order eventually to form a junction with the main German forces on the Mahenge plateau. With their disappearance the Central Railway from end to end was in the possession of the Allies in less than three months from the capture of the Usambara Railway.

In July, as was noted, General Northey was marching from the south-west of the colony towards the Central Railway via Iringa. After winning some small engagements

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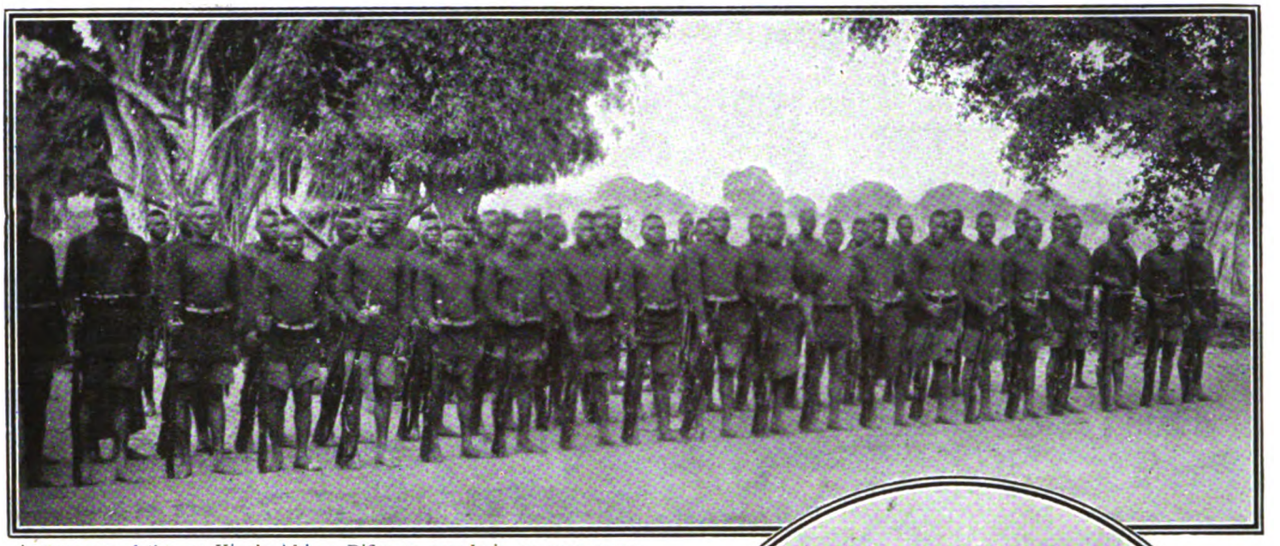

A company of the 1st King's African Rifles on parade in an open space somewhere in the region of Lake Nyasa, East Africa.

Learning the art of modern warfare. Stalwart men of an ancient race at the musketry butts. Right: Units of the King's African Rifles drilling in Central Africa. This notable regiment took part in the conquest of Kilimanjaro under General Sheppard.

Native troops erecting palisade fortifications somewhere in East Africa. There was no dearth of timber available for such defence works. Right: Tree-trunks sawn into logs about ten feet in length formed effective barricades against raiders. Native troops at work under British officers.

COLOURED SOLDIERS UPHOLDING THE GREAT WHITE CAUSE: KING'S AFRICAN RIFLES IN THE SERVICE OF THE EMPIRE.

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BELGIAN CONGO
UGANDA
BRITISH EAST AFRICA
GERMAN EAST AFRICA
NORTHERN RHODESIA
NYASALAND PROT.
PORTUGUESE EAST AFRICA
INDIAN OCEAN
Victoria Nyanza
Tanganyika
Nyasa
Ruanda
Urundi
Bukoba
Mwanza
Tabora
Kondoa Irangi
Kilimatinde
Mpapwa
Kilosa
Mrogoro
Dar-es-Salaam
Saadani
Bagamoyo
Pangani
Zanzibar
Mombasa
Malindi
Jasin
Tanga
Pemba
Mafia
Kilwa Kivinje
Lindi
Mikindani
Kaluma
Iringa
Mahenge
Liwale
Songea
New Langenburg
Karonga
Fife
Abercorn
Bismarckburg
Musumbwa
Karema
Baudouinville
Albertville
Usumbura
Kigoma
Uvira
Shirati
Mukoba
Kisumu
Port Florence
Entebbe
Nairobi
Mt. Kenia
Kilimanjaro
Taveta
Moshi
Voi
Mombasa
Witu
Lake Bangweolo
Lake Moero
Lake Tanganyika
Lake Victoria
Lake Nyasa
Mt. Ruwenzori
Mt. Sambu
Mt. Meru
Mt. Elgon
Kahama Mt.
Kumba Mt.
Mahenge Mts.
Uluguru Mts.
Usambara Mts.
Nguru Mts.
Rufiji R.
Ruaha R.
Rovuma R.
Wami R.
Kisigo R.
Ruvu R.
Pangani R.
Umba R.
Luvego R.
Mgende R.
Mbarangandu R.
Lukuledi R.
Ulanga R.
Kilombero R.
Luwegu R.
Lukuga R.
Malagarasi R.
Kagera R.
Ruchugi R.
Ugalla R.
Kafuma R.
Manyonga R.
Kitunda R.
Rungwa R.
Lukuga R.
Lukwa R.
Lufira R.
Luapula R.
Luangwa R.
Shire R.
Zambesi R.
Pangani R.
Tana R.
Sabaki R.
Umba R.
Luyenda R.
Ruhudje R.
Mbarali R.
Kibwezi
Simba
Magadi
L. Magadi
L. Natron
L. Manyara
L. Eyasi
L. Jipe
Nairobi
Ft. Hall
Ft. Smith
Naivasha
Kisii
Karungu
Kwa-Hindi
Ushirombo
Ikoma
Nasa
Speke G.
Mbusa
Kiafuma
Kitaganda
Shinyanga
Ivingo
Usaka
Kiwaya
Usure
Singida
Mkoba
Mondo
Kondoa Irangi
Wilhelmstal
Handeni
Mgera
Mombo
Korogwe
Muheza
Tanga
Jasin
Kisangani
Kimambwa
Kipumbwi
Saadani
Wami
Mamboya
Bagamoyo
Konduchi
Dar-es-Salaam
Mafisi
Buyuni
Kwale I.
Kwimangani
Mafia
Mohoro
Samanga
Kilwa Kisiwani
Kiswere
Michinga
Lindi
Sudi
Mikindani
Lukuledi
Newala
Tandahimba
Umbe-Kuru
Mgangira
Matandu R.
Fakama
Mahenge
Kilanga
Madibira
Malangali
Mufindi
Iringa
Old Iringa
New Utengule
Gamrie
Lupembe
Kitanda
Mwaja
Old Langenburg
Ft. Hill
Gumbiro
Wiedhafen
Bagamoyo
Kalambo
Panyambe
Undi
Mtendo
Bandawe
Kitulo
Kyimbila
Mbosi
Ikomba
Mambwe
Kirando
Kapampa
Mpala
Moliro
Simbo
Kwa Mtsivira
Garula
Bueni
Kwa Kiroma
Tumba Mts.
Tenda
Rudegeo
Kilosa
Mpapwa
Njogi
Dodoma
Mhabi
Kwa Nyangalo
Kinyangiri
Kinyamwezi
Kinyangiri
Kalola
Sikonge
Tura
Kombe
Kakoma
Kaliua
Ukawanda
Tabora
Ndala
Igalulu
Rubugwa
Kwihara
Kigwa
Mgunda
Panda
Kiroa
Kigoma
Uvinza
Ujiji
Mitego
Kabogo
Kasanga
Kasoge
Kasanga
Kirambo
Luasa
Maria-Hilf
St. Michael
Uniaka
Bukoba
Kyaka
Kagera
Kyaka
Kibati
Lutoba
Kamwezi
Mtukula
Bukoba
Kissenji
Goma
Kigali
Kivu
Shangugu
Chivitoke
Luvungi
Usumbura
Uvira
Baraka
Albertville
Lukuga
Baudouinville
Kapampa
Moliro
Musumbwa
Kituta
Kirando
Mambwe
Ikomba
Fife
Mwaja
Old Langenburg
Karonga
Kaluma
Songea
Mahenge
Liwale
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Kwale I.
Buyuni
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Kipumbwi
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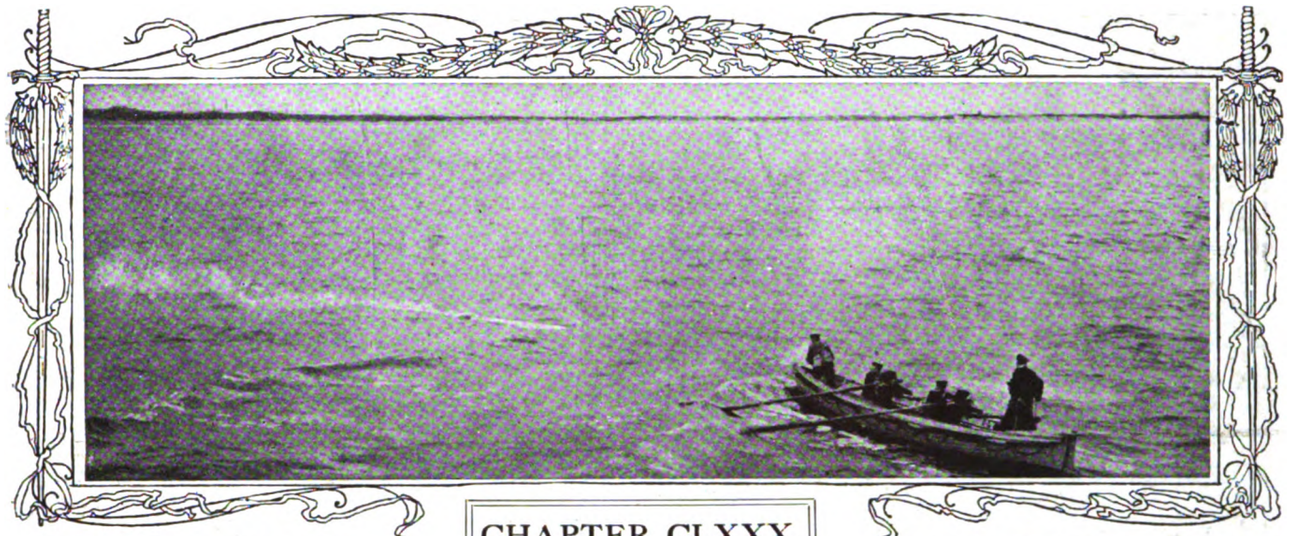
Saadani
Bagamoyo
Zanzibar
Pemba
Tanga
Jasin
Kisangani
Mombasa
Malindi
Witu
Kipini
Kibwezi
Mt. to Andei
Isavo
Kilimanjaro
Taveta
Moshi
Voi
Mwatate
Samburu
Marago-Opuni
Kizwani
Mtai
Mialo
Umba
Kasale
Kachersheim
Lellelei
Longido
Kiyaga
Kitaganda
Shinyanga
Ivingo
Kahama Mt.



TORPEDO PRACTICE FROM A TORPEDO-BOAT DESTROYER.

CHAPTER CLXXX.

WAR BY SEA: THE GREAT DEVELOPMENT OF GERMAN U-BOAT PIRACY IN 1917.

By H. W. Wilson, Author of "Ironclads in Action."

Great Britain's Utter Dependence on the Sea Her One Source of Weakness—Wheat Failure and Inclement Weather Favour German Designs—Leakage in the British Blockade through Neutral Countries—Gravity of the Food and Economic Situation in Germany—German Determination Fortified by Hopes of the Submarine Campaign—Destroyer Raids from Zeebrugge—Aeroplane Raids on England—Zeppelin Raid on Kent: L39 Destroyed at Compiègne—"Tip-and-Run" Raids—British Naval and Air Attack on Zeebrugge: German Destroyer G88 Sunk—The Great Fight of H.M.S. Swift and Broke with Six Large Destroyers—The Gena Torpedoed by a German Seaplane—Fine Reconnaissance Work of the R.N.A.S.—First Aeroplane Night Raid on London—British Naval Forces Destroy Zeppelin L22 in the North Sea—The Vital Menace of the Submarine—Admiralty Shipping Returns and German Claims—The Story of the Alnwick Castle—German Attacks on Hospital Ships: The Asturias, Gloucester Castle, and Salta—Reprisal Raid on Freiburg—Cowardice of the Prussian Guard Prisoners on the Torpedoed Lanfranc—Detention of the Wounded in France—British Transports Sunk—Naval Resources of the United States at the Time of Their Intervention in the War—Practical Co-operation of the Atlantic Fleet—Changes at the British Admiralty.

THROUGH the spring and early summer of 1917, while army fought army, blockade was matched against blockade, the Allies pressing Germany with surface ships and Germany pressing the Allies with submarines.

In the submarine blockade, the cumulative effect of which to February, 1917, was dealt with in Chapter CLXXI. (Vol. IX.) the Germans placed all their hopes upon the fact that Great Britain depended on the sea for her supplies of food and raw materials, for munitions and for manufacture. They aimed not so much at completely cutting off all sea-borne products from her as at rendering them so scarce and expensive as to destroy her industries and strain her population beyond endurance. The problem presented by the British food supply and the measures taken to deal with it will be dealt with in a subsequent chapter. Here it will be enough to say that since the days of the Napoleonic Wars, when Great Britain fed herself, she had come to rely on imported food to an enormous extent. In 1916, on the eve of the intensified submarine blockade, the British imports of food totalled £419,000,000 in value, and included four-fifths of the wheat consumed in the country. In addition, large quantities of food were imported by the British Government for the use of the Army, and did not appear in the returns. In this utter dependence on the sea were Great Britain's feet of clay.

[Bassano.

SIR ERIC GEDDES.
On the reorganisation of the Admiralty Staff in May, 1917, Sir Eric Geddes was appointed Controller of the Navy with the temporary rank of Vice-Admiral.

Two natural causes assisted the Germans in their blockade. Throughout the world there had been a failure in 1916-17 in the wheat harvest, which totalled only 94,750,000 tons, against 110,800,000 tons in 1915-16. There was thus an initial shortage of about 15 per cent. in the available supply. This was the more serious matter because in war more food is eaten. The shortage would have sent up the price of bread had there been no blockade. A second complication which favoured Germany was the extraordinarily inclement weather of 1916-17. The late autumn was wet and cold; the winter was one of intense severity accompanied by frequent snowfalls. The spring was unusually late. The bad weather caused the failure of the potato crop generally in Western Europe. The British crop in 1915-16 had been 7,540,000 tons, which met all the needs of the population.

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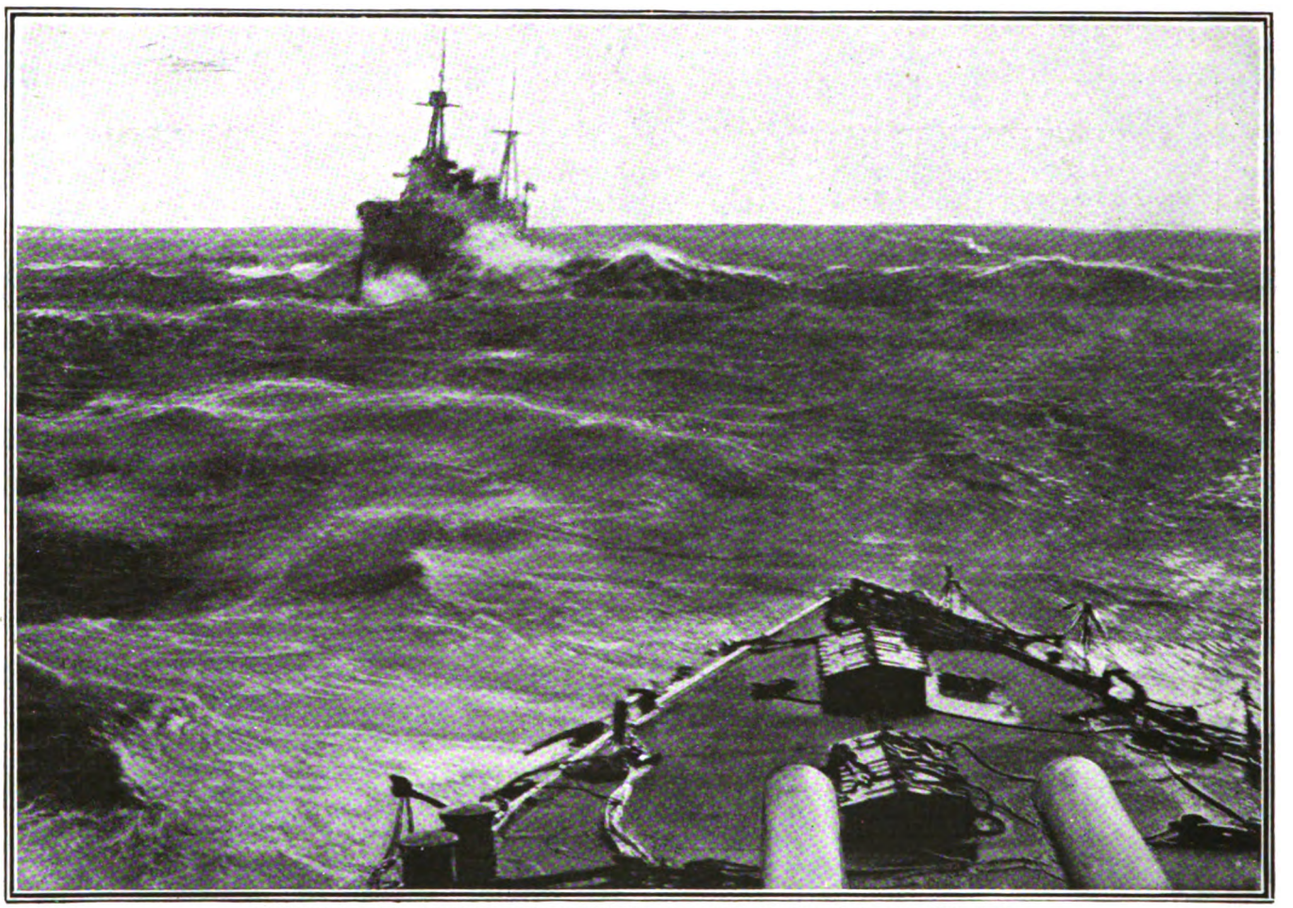

CLEARED FOR ACTION AND FULL SPEED AHEAD IN THE NORTH SEA.

British cruiser showing almost the whole depth of her keel as she rushes full speed ahead through the choppy seas. From the stern of the vessel, from which this fine photograph was taken, it will be seen that the vessels were "cleared for action." The cruisers that kept watch and ward in the North Sea only had occasional "scraps" with units of the German Fleet, while they were waiting for a general and decisive engagement.

In 1916-17 it sank to 5,473,000 tons, a reduction of nearly 30 per cent. Through the want of home-grown potatoes there was a heavier run on imported foods, and an increased strain on the British merchant service.

The weather filled Germany with ecstasy; indeed, they saw in it positive proof that their "old God" was working in their interests, though in actual fact the failure of the crop extended to Germany and affected her even more severely. Their calculations were thus set forth by the "Frankfurter Zeitung" early in May.

Optimistic German calculations

It is beyond doubt that the anxieties of our enemies are already very great, and it is certain that these anxieties must increase greatly, even if they surmount the present crisis. They will be faced by another bad harvest in North America, which is still their chief source of supply of corn. They will still be faced by the steadily increasing want of ships. We, on the contrary, can obtain what is urgently necessary from our own resources, and we have also at our disposal fruitful acres and rich herds in Northern France, Courland, and Lithuania. Above all, we have the soil of Rumania, which we can retain until the peace, and which our armies can sow. We shall have relative want, but our enemies are moving towards absolute want. They desired a war of attrition. They will regret it because, if only we do not now give way, the exhaustion of the world's supplies of food will bring peace in other fashion than they had calculated, and that perhaps more quickly than at present appears.

The Germans controlled a continuous area of territory with every variety of climate, and, when once they had organised agriculture on a large scale in the conquered territories, believed that they could easily produce enough food to feed themselves. In the spring of 1917 they had not by any means reached that position. But the blockade which the surface fleets of the Allies inflicted on them had up to that date been very far from complete. Germany had been able to import enormous quantities of food from neutral States on her frontier. The "Washington Times" spoke bitterly of the "hocus-pocus" by which people in Holland and Denmark "put imported food on their table," and "slipped their own dinners out to Germany by the back door." It was a process that had continued on a gigantic scale for two and a half years under the very nose of the British Foreign Office, which strictly limited the activity of the British cruisers. Statistics officially published in France asserted that while from Denmark there went to Germany in 1913 only 1,448 tons of pork, 3,341 of lard, 106 tons of fat, and 113 of preserved meat, in 1916 14,280 tons of pork, 96,720 of lard, 72,000 of fat, and 100,800 tons of preserved meat were sent to Germany. From Holland the export of foodstuffs to Germany in 1916 was placed at 1,200,000 tons, including immense quantities of fish, meat, butter, eggs, and cheese. The figures were similar in the case of Switzerland, where the export of cereals to Germany rose from 228,000 tons in the first nine months of 1913 to 1,155,000 tons in the same period of 1916. The German Navy could smile at these results. It showed no mercy to neutrals, and sank their ships remorselessly, but it reaped extraordinary profit from British tenderness to them.

It is true that in 1916 little food was imported by these neutral States. They imported, however, great quantities of raw material for food in the form of fertilisers and feeding stuffs for cattle. Thus Denmark imported 150,000 tons of soya beans, most of which probably went later to Germany in the shape of lard or bacon. The entry of the United States into the war at last destroyed this trade; but, unfortunately, Germany had been given time to make her arrangements. It has repeatedly been pointed out and, indeed, is hardly denied by the officials of the British Foreign Office and Admiralty—that a severe blockade from the opening of war would have brought Germany's collapse. If Mr. Asquith's Government neglected the most powerful weapon that it possessed, surely it must have been

Incompleteness of British blockade

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because Ministers were obsessed by mistaken theories of war and were not well advised by their Naval Staff. The people who had agreed to the Declaration of London showed by that act a strange misconception of the value of a navy and the power of a blockade.

The policy which could have been followed was to put to the neutral States adjacent to Germany these alternatives: "Either cease altogether exporting foodstuffs to Germany, or cease importing." Holland and Denmark were capable of maintaining themselves on the products of their own soil. But not until the late spring of 1917 was this course taken—years too late—and then it was necessitated by the loss of shipping destroyed by the enemy in the submarine campaign. A last chance of bringing Germany down by a close blockade in the winter of 1916-17 was probably lost by this delay. The fact was disclosed by Herr Batocki, the German Food Dictator, that the German potato crop had been a complete failure. In 1915-16 it was 50,000,000 tons. In 1916-17 it sank to 20,000,000 tons. In 1915-16, after allowing potatoes for distilling alcohol (required for munition factories) and for feeding cattle, a surplus of 40,000,000 tons had remained for human consumption. In 1916-17 the quantity available was only 16,000,000 tons, a reduction of 60 per cent., though it was still about three times the quantity available in Great Britain. Had the blockade been impervious, it is doubtful if Germany could have survived.

German potato crop failure

Even with the defective blockade the strain on Germany was intense, though Austria, Bulgaria, and Turkey were, so far as these weak vassal States would permit, stripped of their food in the German interest. The early months of 1917 were marked by many official admissions of the gravity of the food situation in Germany. In March, for example, Herr Michaelis, the Prussian Food Commissioner, stated that there was a great shortage of provisions, and that the outlook was dark. He predicted that the result of a food census (which had just been taken) would show that there were even lower stocks of food than had been believed, and that yet more drastic restrictions on consumption would be necessary. Herr Schorlemer, the Prussian Minister of Agriculture, warned the Prussian Parliament not to expect any improvement in 1917, as there would be a smaller area of potatoes and beet under cultivation, and the output of milk and butter, which had already fallen, would yet further decline.

Food restrictions in Germany

The conditions were worst in the large towns; best in the country districts, where the pressure of hunger was scarcely felt at all. In Hamburg, in the severest weeks of the winter, a price of £3 had to be paid for 100 eggs of a very doubtful kind, and in Stettin it was officially admitted that the output of the working class had fallen 25 per cent. owing to underfeeding. Food was deficient in quality as well as quantity. Ptomaine poisoning, caused by eating unsound meat, was unusually rife. Owing to want of green food, scurvy broke out in some districts. Some of the substitute foods which had been introduced (there was a substitute coffee, and a substitute marmalade) proved to be not only nauseous but also injurious to life.

Demands were pressed by the trade unions for larger rations, on the plea that the output of factories was falling through underfeeding, and the German Chancellor agreed to continue during severe weather an additional meat ration of rather less than a quarter of a pound per week. German bread then consisted of 55 per cent. of rye,

GERMAN NAVAL BATTERY IN POSITION ON THE COAST OF FLANDERS.

Sea-pointing German gun near Westende, not far from the end of the enemy line in Flanders. The British maintained from the air so constant a photographic reconnaissance of the coast that it was said not a spadeful of earth could be turned over, not a trowel of cement added to a bastion, but a note appeared a day or two later in the long chart which was brought daily up to date at headquarters.

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35 per cent. of wheat, and 10 per cent. of other materials (by which any edible root was meant), but was on the whole better than it had been. Bread, which could only be bought with bread tickets, was, for the cheapest quality, 8d. a loaf of slightly over 4 lb., so that it was distinctly cheaper than wheaten bread in London. Owing to the wholesale forgeries of bread tickets, which could be bought by those who knew where to go, the well-to-do could get as much bread as they wanted, if they were ready to traffic with the criminals. The bread ration was reduced on April 15th, amid outcries from "Vorwärts," which declared that "the British blockade makes the import of provisions from foreign markets impossible and imposes on us heavy privations." The German public, however, was bidden to remember that the reduction would only last a few weeks, till the new harvest. The reduction was felt the more because the ration of potatoes had been cut down to ¾ lb. a day per head on account of the bad crop, and in some localities to less than ½ lb. a day. No general increase in the allowance of meat was possible. In Saxony, indeed, the weekly ration, including sausage and fat, was reduced from 9 oz. a week per head to 7 oz., though for men in laborious trades 13 oz. was allowed. The price for a goose in Berlin was between £4 and £5. Even herrings had become almost unprocurable, costing 9d. to 1s. each, but this was probably due to the severe weather in the early spring, to the bad catches of the Swedish, Danish, and Dutch fishermen, and to the purchase of their fish by Great Britain.

German Government and labour

The Germans, however, were buoyed up in their hardships by the firm belief that Great Britain was on the brink of starvation and the submarine campaign a most dazzling success, and, after the Russian Revolution, by the expectation of a speedy peace on the eastern front. The temper of the people was indicated by the letter of an officer, who said that the Germans would hold out for another year even if they had to eat wood. Many reports reached Holland and Great Britain of strikes and riots, some of which were said to have been of a serious nature. Down to this date the German working man had shown extreme docility, and done whatever the military party told him to do without question or remonstrance, and there had been nothing more dangerous than raids by hungry women upon food-shops in such cities as Hamburg. These had been repressed with the customary German severity. Now, however, there were indications of considerable unrest in the munition factories. On April 16th over 300 munition works were idle in Berlin and the district, and 210,000 men were on strike, according to the statements of "Vorwärts"—the State-controlled Socialist newspaper. The trouble was ascribed to the difficulty of obtaining food. Neutrals arriving from Germany asserted that 35,000 men were on strike in Hamburg. In the coal-mining districts it was alleged that many thousands of men had ceased work.

Swift and summary measures were taken. Instructions were given that if the strikers did not return to work by April 21st they were to consider themselves ordinary soldiers and would be treated as such. The munition works in the Berlin district were placed under military law. The obedient and patriotic German at once submitted. The men were reported back at work on the 22nd. Some disturbances occurred in the German shipyards, as was admitted by Admiral von Capelle in the Reichstag early in May, but he added that work was speedily resumed.

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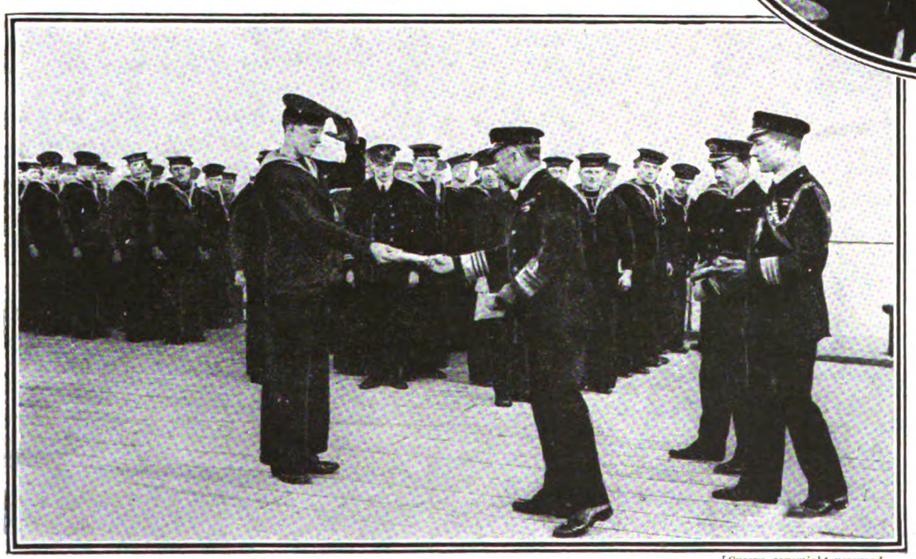
THE ADMIRAL COMES ABOARD.

Boatswains piping the arrival of Admiral Madden aboard H.M.S. Royal Oak, one of the ships of his squadron.



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PUBLIC RECOGNITION OF A BRAVE MAN'S GALLANT DEED.

One dark night in midwinter Boy Batty fell overboard, whereupon Leading-Stoker Shaw jumped after him and rescued him. The Royal Humane Society awarded its medal for life-saving to Shaw, to whom it was presented by Admiral Madden, in presence of the entire ship's company.

At the end of May the German ration of food in most towns stood at 8 oz. of meat a week, 3 lb. of flour or 3½ lb. of bread, 3 to 4 lb. of potatoes supplemented by swedes or turnips, slightly over 2 oz. of butter, 1 oz. of margarine, 3¾ oz. of rice, and 3¾ oz. of barley; while during the early spring only one egg per fortnight was allowed. These rations were not always procurable in the quantities specified. They and very many other articles could only be obtained by card. In the case of working people, and especially of munition workers, larger rations were allowed, and there was an extra allowance for the young. A promise had been made of an increase in the ratio of meat to 1 lb. a week, but there seems to have been difficulty in carrying it out.

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German organisation was so thorough, and such careful steps were taken to assist extreme poverty that the labouring class did not suffer so much as might have been expected. On no point was unbiased evidence so difficult to obtain. One United States official, who left Germany late in the spring, said that while the Germans were usually hungry they had actually improved in health, because they were no longer able habitually to over-eat themselves. This seems to have been too optimistic a view. Dr. Keuchenius, a Dutch specialist in nerve disease, who left Berlin in May, said that the workers were suffering less than the lower middle class owing to the high wages paid in the munition factories. He thought there had been a deterioration in physique, but he declared that the determination of the German nation was unfaltering as ever. Germans still believed that they had been treacherously attacked by Russia.

One certainty emerged from the conflicting accounts of German conditions—that the chief source and stay of Germany's determination was the hope entertained of the submarine campaign. Had this been ably met and promptly crushed in the early spring of 1917 the Germans might have given way. Unfortunately, for many weeks the German submarines were unexpectedly successful.

The submarine campaign was energetically supported by the action of German surface ships, which nowhere were more constantly on the offensive than at Zeebrugge. The powerful German destroyer flotilla which was stationed there was commanded by officers who incessantly attacked, and it was not completely paralysed—as might have been hoped—by the British Navy. The approaches to the port were heavily mined by the Germans, and the mine-fields were commanded by their powerful shore batteries, to the shelter of which they could always retire when the North Sea became too hot for them.

MEN BEHIND THE GUN.
Spotter and gunlayer on a British battleship—two of the most important units of the gunnery staff passed out of gunnery establishments for distribution through the Grand Fleet.

On Sunday, February 25th, the Zeebrugge destroyers came out, under Commanders Tillesen and Albrecht, and steamed unopposed to the British coast. According to the official British report, they were off the coast of Kent about 11.15 p.m. and fired at long range on Broadstairs and Margate. They opened their proceedings by discharging star shells, which lighted up the country as though it had been under the beams of a searchlight. At Broadstairs the bombardment lasted ten minutes. A cottage near that town was hit and a woman in it was killed, while her baby was mortally wounded and three other children were injured. At Margate the attack lasted six minutes, and did remarkably little damage. Most of the shells fell in fields, and while three or four buildings were hit, in no case were they much harmed. The Germans claimed to have pushed into the Channel beyond the Dover-Calais line and to have reconnoitred the Downs. They alleged that they had encountered and driven off a force of British destroyers in the Channel, inflicting on them several direct hits, and that they had

POWERLESS FOR FURTHER EVIL: A PIRATE'S END.
On November 5th, 1916, the German submarine, U20, of 750 tons, ran ashore in a gale near Harboore, on the west coast of Jutland, and began to break up. Seeing that it would be impossible to get her off, her crew subsequently blew her up.

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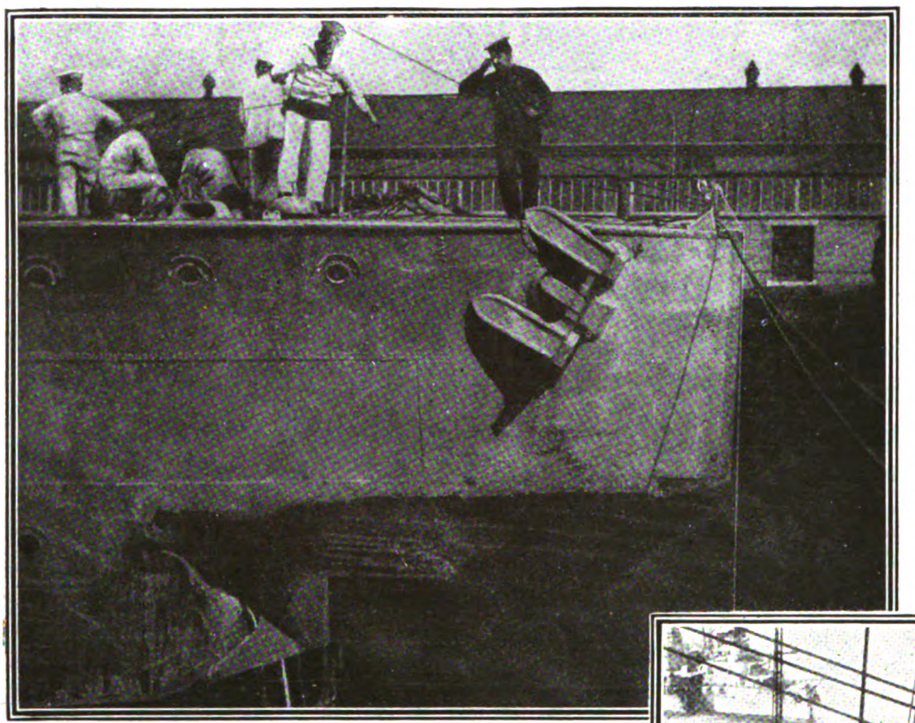

HONOURABLE SCARS OF THE VICTOR IN A DEEP-SEA DUEL.
British destroyer in dry-dock for repairs after having successfully rammed a German submarine. The force of the impact is strikingly indicated by the damage which had been done to the destroyer's bows.

returned without sustaining loss or damage. Sir Edward Carson, in the House of Commons, gave a different account of the affair. He said that one British destroyer had encountered a force of several German destroyers, and that, although she came under a "very heavy fire," she was not damaged. "The enemy vessels," he said, "were pursued, but were lost in the darkness." While this skirmish was in progress a separate German force had attacked Margate and Broadstairs, but on British vessels steaming to the scene of firing the Germans were found to have already withdrawn.

This British official account showed, at least, that the British, at an important point, were inferior in force to the Germans, and that, though these sorties from Zeebrugge were becoming a matter of regular routine, a method of making them exceedingly dangerous to the Germans had not yet been devised. In all the raids up to that point the Germans had escaped with comparatively little damage; but they had contrived to inflict considerable injury on the British flotillas. In part, no doubt, this was due to the strictly defensive policy which had been adopted by the British in the Channel.

Destroyer sorties from Zeebrugge

The Germans were able to deal their blows and to get away after delivering them. They contrived to bombard towns and villages on the Kent coast, while the British strategists were seemingly unable to give the people of those towns and villages security. The plan of watching the wasps' nest of Zeebrugge itself does not seem to have been adopted, no doubt for good and sufficient reasons, but with painful results for the people of Kent.

The destroyer attacks were accompanied by aeroplane raids, which were attempted at intervals when the weather was specially favourable. On March 1st, early in the morning, a German aeroplane dropped several bombs at Broadstairs, most of which fell into the sea. One dropped in a garden and another outside an infants' school, fortunately without serious injury to anyone, though one person was slightly wounded in the head. The aircraft engaged in these attacks were probably watching shipping in the Channel; but they wantonly attacked undefended seaside towns, and no attempt was yet made by the British authorities to retaliate or deter the German airmen from these assaults upon women and children by reprisals on German towns. On March 16th there was another aeroplane raid on the Kent coast, this time near Margate, where a few bombs were dropped without doing any damage.

It was possibly in connection with the German operations against shipping that the first Zeppelin raid of the spring took place. On the night of March 16th three Zeppelins crossed the Kent coast-line and dropped a number of bombs on British soil, but without causing any injury to property or loss of life. The hostile airships wandered about apparently uncertain of their position, and made grotesque reports to Berlin of their achievements.

They did not all escape. One of the three, L39, a super-Zeppelin of the same type as those destroyed with such precision by the British airmen in 1916, appears to have been hit by anti-aircraft fire, or to have had an engine failure.

[*Canadian War Records.*

BATTLESHIP TAKING IN STORES.
Busy scene on board a British super-Dreadnought. The maintenance of supplies to the Fleet which watchfully awaited the opportunity of meeting the enemy was carried on with unfailing regularity.

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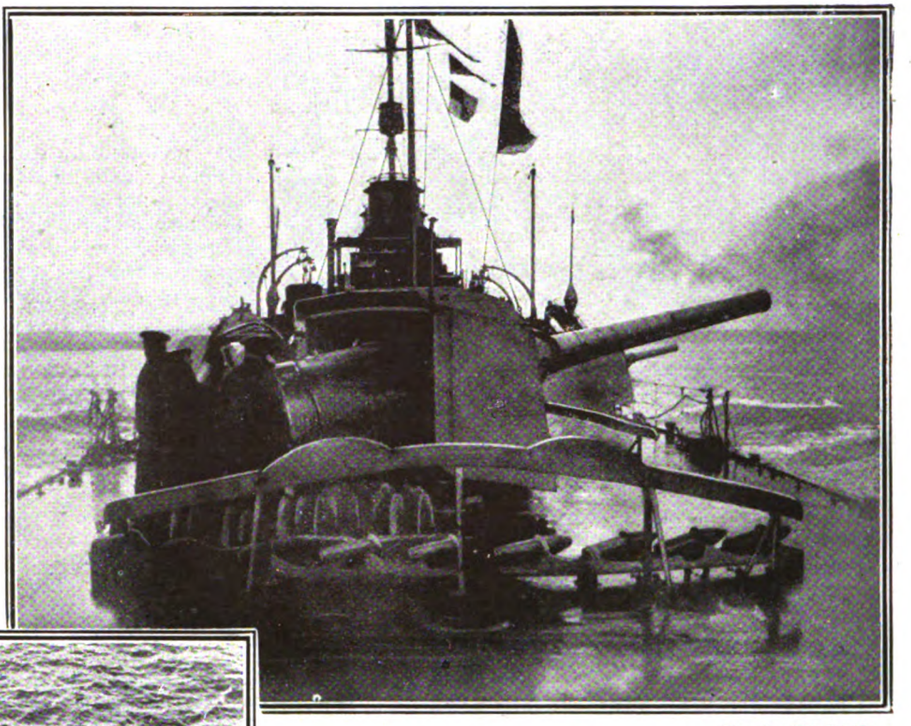
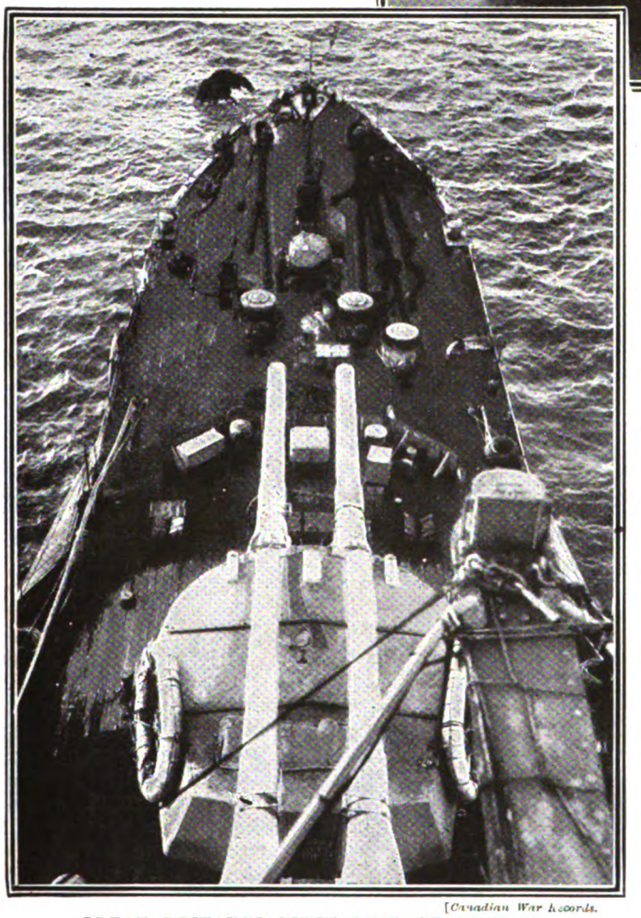
A strong northerly wind sprang up during the night of the 16th-17th, and this swept her south into France. She was seen at Beauvais, at 4.30 a.m. in the morning of the 17th, at a distance of about forty-five miles north of Paris, when she was flying slowly towards the German lines. She was near Compiègne at 5.30, and the French airmen and artillery were ready for her. At that time she was moving very slowly indeed at a height of 10,000 feet. A French aeroplane was up chasing her, but it drew off to allow the guns to attack her. Fire was opened on her with incendiary projectiles, which burst all round her. At 5.40 a "75" shell struck her framework near the stern. A line of blue flame ran along the top of the gasbags and spread rapidly. In the light of early day she could be seen blazing aloft,



[*Canadian War Records.*

GUNNERY PRACTICE ON A CRUISER.

Firing practice aboard one of the light cruisers of the Arethusa class which had been added to the British Navy in the year of the outbreak of the war.



[*Canadian War Records.*

GREAT BRITAIN'S FIRST LINE OF DEFENCE.

Guns of a British battleship as seen from the fighting-top—formidable weapons which the German High Sea Fleet evinced an intelligible reluctance to meet.

like a gigantic torch, and then, as the gas was consumed and its lifting power was dissipated, the whole structure buckled and fell, still burning. A large part of it, probably the forward gondola, detached itself and struck the ground first. Three or four of the crew leaped from it as it came down. They were instantly killed. The rest of the airship and the twenty men in her fell with a great crash in a piece of waste ground, where the wreckage lay blazing, with the body of the captain on the top of the débris. The L39 had previously dropped her bombs, but the machine-gun ammunition on board her continued to explode for some time. It was noted that she carried inflammable bullets, although the Germans—who first introduced them in 1914—had had the impudence to complain of their employment by allied airmen. This was the first Zeppelin victim of the Allies in 1917, but the Germans had by March learnt that their airships were of trifling value for offensive work by land, and were beginning to keep them out of the reach of the allied airmen and gunners.

Early in the morning of March 18th a number of German destroyers from Zeebrugge approached the Kentish coast and shelled one of the towns there, firing nine projectiles in three minutes at Margate. Two empty houses were wrecked by one shell. Another house was hit and badly damaged; but the wife of a soldier who lived there had left it with her baby on the previous evening, feeling, strangely enough, a presentiment that some disaster was about to happen. The Germans succeeded in inflicting another loss on the British Navy. About the time when the bombardment began a number of German destroyers discovered and attacked a British destroyer east of the Strait of Dover and fired a torpedo at her, sinking her. She also fired a torpedo, but without effect. She went down with all her officers and all her crew but eight men. While another British destroyer was endeavouring to rescue men from the water, she, too, was torpedoed, but was stated not to have been "seriously damaged." The Germans also claimed to have sunk a steamer of 1,500 tons in the north part of the Downs. Once more they escaped intact, and reported, probably with truth, that they had returned "free from damage and casualties."

British destroyer torpedoed

A few days later, on the 26th, they made yet another raid, this time steaming to Dunkirk and viciously shelling that port, which is only forty miles distant from Zeebrugge.

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BRITISH T.B.D. TORPEDO PRACTICE.
Crew, wearing life-belts in case of accident, getting into the whaler to go and recover a torpedo which had just been fired.

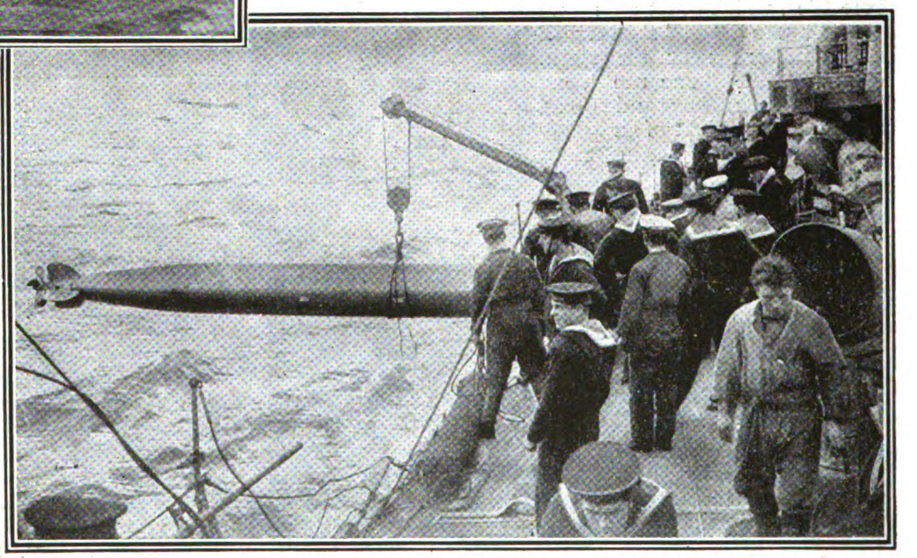
They arrived about two a.m. and fired about sixty shells, which did some damage but only caused slight loss of life. Two persons were killed. The firing only lasted three minutes, and when the Dunkirk flotilla put to sea the German torpedo craft are said to have steamed off at thirty-five knots. Their superiority in speed and the absence of any strict blockade of Zeebrugge enabled them to engage in these "tip-and-run" raids, the object of which was undoubtedly to weaken the prestige of the British Navy, exhibit it to neutrals as unable to protect its own coast, and attract the attention of the largest possible number of destroyers and British small craft, thus assisting the German submarines indirectly.

On March 28th the German destroyers were out again. On this occasion they claimed to have cruised close to the British coast, and their claim was indirectly confirmed by the British official statement that "some firing was observed some miles off shore from Lowestoft. Our patrols were sent to the scene at utmost speed, but nothing was seen of the enemy, who had made off." The Germans stated that they sank the British armed steamer Mascot (apparently the armed trawler of that name) and took seven of her crew prisoners. They added that they saw no British naval forces and no merchant vessels. This was an unfortunate month for the British Navy, as the loss of two destroyers was announced late in March. One had struck a mine in the Channel (probably laid by a German submarine) and gone down with all the crew except four officers and seventeen men. The other had been sunk in collision with the sacrifice of one life. A few days later the destruction of a mine-sweeper "of an old type," with twenty-four of her crew, was announced.

German destroyers torpedoed

An air raid of a new kind took place on the night of April 5th, at 10.45 p.m. It was a beautiful, clear moonlight night, and the opportunity was seized by a German aeroplane to visit the Kent coast. Eight bombs in all were dropped, but in every case harmlessly, doing no more damage than breaking some glass. Night aeroplane attacks had become common enough on the front, but this was the first occasion on which an aeroplane had been employed in attacking British towns during the hours of darkness.

A novel attack was delivered on certain German destroyers which were lying outside Zeebrugge on April 7th. The British Admiralty announced that two German destroyers had been torpedoed, and that one of the two was undoubtedly sunk. The fate of the other was not definitely ascertained, but she was severely damaged, if she was not sunk. The destroyer sunk was G88, one of the new and powerful torpedo craft completed for the German Navy since the outbreak of war, and brought openly down the North Sea in spite of the British Fleet. She was of much the same type as the destroyer driven into Ymuiden, but was of even later build, and was reported to steam about thirty-five knots and to carry four semi-automatic 4·1 in. guns. The Germans stated that she was sunk by a British submarine, and that many of her crew were saved. This naval attack was accompanied by an air attack carried out by the Royal Naval Air Service. Many bombs were dropped on the Zeebrugge Mole and on ammunition-dumps near, at Ghent and Bruges, in co-operation with the Royal Flying Corps. The damage done to Zeebrugge, however, was not such as to destroy, or even seriously to affect, its value as a naval base. A fortnight later the German flotilla which had its headquarters there was again active. The hope that a vigorous, sustained offensive against Zeebrugge would follow was not fulfilled.



SWINGING A TORPEDO ON BOARD A T.B.D. AFTER ITS RECOVERY.
Incident in torpedo practice on board a British destroyer. After it had been fired at its "target," a boat's crew was sent off to secure the dummy torpedo. By constant practice the men of the British Navy attained a degree of deadly accuracy with the real destructive weapon.

On the night of April 20th the German destroyer flotillas came out of Zeebrugge in great force and proceeded into the Channel. One section of them opened a heavy fire on Calais, throwing about five hundred shells into that port, killing two women, injuring about a dozen people, and doing considerable damage. Six of the German destroyers steamed towards Dover and opened fire on the town, but only hit a ploughed field. So far the British Navy had not appeared on the scene. The Germans, after these bombardments, claim to have sunk a British "outpost" vessel, by which they probably meant a trawler or small armed drifter. Many of these were employed in the Strait of Dover, and they depended for their safety upon the activity and energetic support of the Royal Navy. As the German destroyers were still unchallenged, they "cruised towards the outlet of the Channel." Then at last they met the British, but the British Navy was in greatly inferior force.

Against six large German destroyers, all seemingly of

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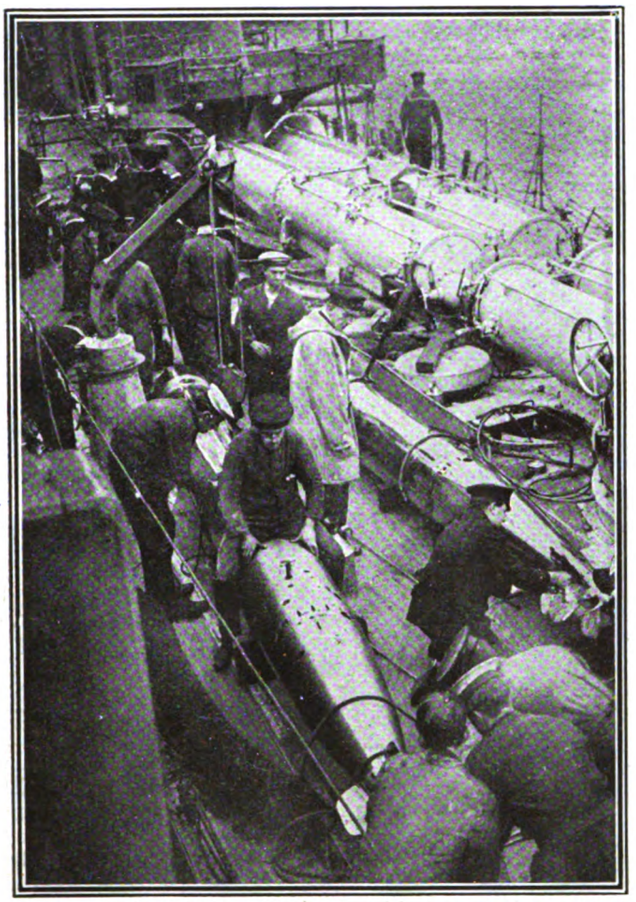

Cleaning and readjusting torpedoes on board a destroyer after they had been employed in practice-firing.

Torpedo retrieved after firing. The smoke was caused by the action of water on a charge of calcium carbide in its head.

Sailors on board a torpedo-boat destroyer hauling at the davit-falls to bring aboard a recovered torpedo.

Explosion of a mine which, having been located by the crew of a mine-sweeper, was destroyed by a rifle-shot.

TORPEDO AND MINE PRACTICE IN THE BRITISH FLEET.

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KEEPING THEIR HANDS IN FOR THE JOURNEY'S END.
British soldiers on board a troopship bound for a distant front—note the sun helmets and the "shorts" which some of the men were wearing. The squad lying prone was engaged in practising the proper positions for carrying on rapid firing.

the latest type, there were but two British vessels. These two were the Swift and Broke. The Swift was the first of a class of large and very swift flotilla-leaders (or vessels built to act as the flagships of destroyer flotillas), but had never quite come up to the expectations entertained of her. Her nominal speed was 35 knots, and she mounted four 4 in. guns on a displacement of 2,170 tons. She carried a crew of 150 officers and men, and was thus about twice the size of an old-fashioned destroyer, though probably not much larger than the German vessels against which she was to be matched. The Broke was a large flotilla-leader of about 1,800 tons, which before the war had been laid down for the Chilian Navy, and after the war had been taken over by the British Government. She mounted six 4 in. guns, had a nominal speed of 31 knots, and carried a crew of 160 officers and men. She was equipped with six 21 in. torpedo-tubes, against the Swift's torpedo armament of four 18 in. tubes. Commander A. M. Peck commanded the Swift; Commander E. R. G. R. Evans, famous as an Antarctic explorer, the Broke.

It was 12.40 a.m. when the Swift sighted the Germans on her port bow, proceeding east at great speed, only six hundred yards away. The night was very dark, and as the Germans were made out they, too, saw the British, and the sound of their gongs calling the crews to general quarters (the battle stations) rang down the line and came over the water. They opened fire. The Swift, which was steaming ahead of the Broke, replied at once, and Commander Peck determined to close and ram the leading German vessel. The wheel was wrenched round, and the Swift, running at high speed, dashed at the foremost German destroyer, which was steaming between 20 and 30 knots. The operation, as was pointed out in the official account issued of the engagement, was an exceedingly delicate one. "An initial miscalculation of a few degrees of helm, a few revolutions of the propellers more or less, spell failure. Failure may, and probably does, mean being rammed by the next boat in the enemy line." The Swift missed her quarry. The German boat manœuvred well. The British vessel was not, however, caught by the second destroyer in the German line but passed unscathed through the narrow gap between in the line and, turning, fired a torpedo which hit a German destroyer. She then made a fresh attempt to ram the leading German destroyer. A second time she missed. The German boat made off into the darkness, the Swift in eager pursuit.

Gallantry of H.M.S. Swift

While this fierce encounter was in progress the Broke was furiously engaged. As the Swift turned, the Broke discharged a torpedo, which ran straight at the second German destroyer and hit her, exploding well. Then the Broke opened fire from every gun that would bear and—after waiting a minute or so to gather speed, as the German boats were stoking vehemently and a dull glare was showing from their funnels—swung round to ram the third German destroyer. The Broke struck her with a great crash full on the side, abreast the after-funnel, which in the largest German destroyers is about the centre of the vessel, but did not cut her in two or sink her then and there. The two boats were locked together, every man in each firing at the other at point-blank range, while the undamaged German destroyers also fired their hardest into the Broke. It was a fight sterner than most of the sea-encounters of the Napoleonic Wars. A shell hit the Broke's bridge at the very opening of the struggle, killing and wounding several men on it, and also wounding a number of the crew of No. 2 port gun.

Midshipman Gyles, who was stationed forward, was struck by a fragment of shrapnel in his right eye and was wounded in his right leg and arm. Stunned by the force of the blows, he was thrown down on the deck. An instant later, recovering himself, he found the blood pouring from his eye and face. He wiped it away, and most gallantly scrambled on to the forecastle, where of eighteen men who composed the two forward gun-crews only five were left alive. They were aided by Able-Seaman Ingleson, whose gun was out of action; and the six men and Midshipman Gyles between them loaded and fired both forward guns. While they were thus engaged a number of Germans boarded from the rammed destroyer. They scrambled up, yelling and frantically shouting something the Broke's men could not understand. Midshipman Gyles met the rush, levelling his automatic pistol at them, and ordered them forward, apparently intending to take their surrender. Suddenly a huge German lunged at him, seized his arm, and tried to wrench the pistol from him. There was a hand-to-hand scuffle. Fortunately the gun-crews had cutlasses and rifles with fixed bayonets ready. Petty-Officer Woodfield struck at the German, who eluded the blow. Then Ingleson drove his cutlass through the German seaman's body and ended the fight. The man's body was hurled overboard, and the rest of the Germans were flung into the water or secured and made prisoners. Two were found skulking forward feigning death.

Great fight of H.M.S. Broke

The steersman of the Broke, Able-Seaman Rawles, behaved as magnificently. A projectile burst near the wheel (probably the same shell that wounded Midshipman Gyles), and four fragments hit him in the back and on each leg, but though dazed, bleeding from all these wounds and severely shaken, he remained gallantly at his post, taking orders from Commander Evans through the speaking-tube. With the words, "I'm going off now, sir," he revealed to the captain his wounds and his critical condition. He fainted as the engagement closed, about five minutes after the Broke had fired her first shot

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Three German destroyers still remained in line when the Broke swung clear of the sinking German destroyer which she had rammed, and, turning, endeavoured to ram the last German boat in line. She missed, unfortunately, but struck another German destroyer on the very bow with a torpedo, apparently only inflicting slight damage. As all the German flotilla had now taken to flight, she followed them towards Zeebrugge. At this juncture she was hit in the engine-room by a shell, which disabled her main turbines. She drifted down towards the destroyer which she had previously rammed. The German vessel was badly on fire and the crew were screaming for mercy. The Broke could only move with difficulty and approached it slowly, notwithstanding the risk that its magazines might explode, in order to take off its crew. The Germans were shouting "Save! Save!" in a frenzied manner, but they behaved with their usual treachery. As the Broke drew close they opened fire. The British vessel was no longer under control, but she was able to deal a death-blow to the German. She fired four shots, and then discharged a torpedo which hit the German vessel amidships and sent it to the bottom.

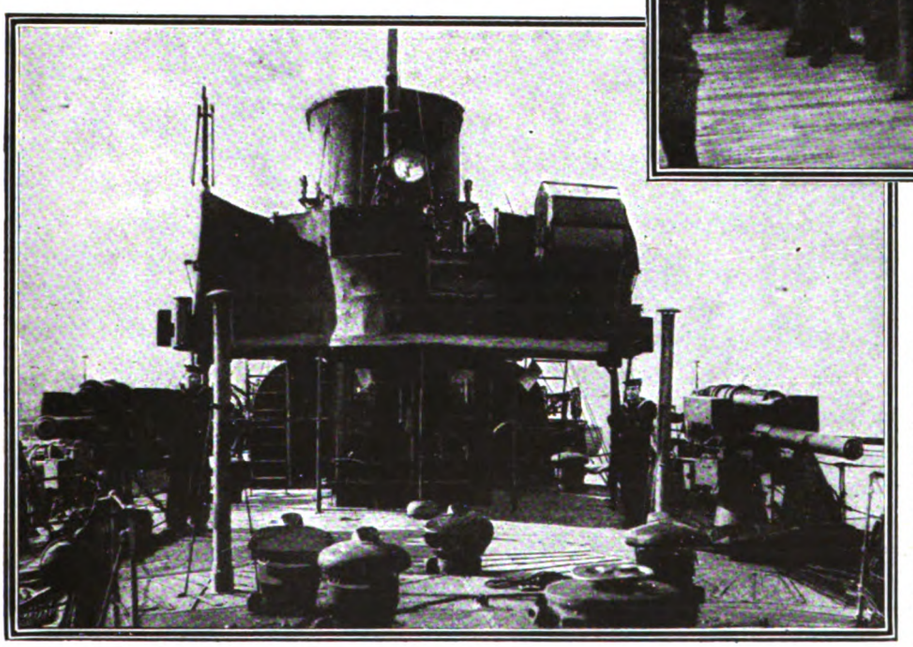
Triumph of Swift and Broke

The destroyer which the Broke had torpedoed early in the fight was sinking at some distance from the Broke when the Swift returned from her chase of the other German destroyers. The injuries she had received in the initial stage of the action had reduced her speed and rendered it impossible for her to overtake her enemies. Her crew in the darkness sighted a stationary vessel and heard from it the confused sound of many voices shouting together in time. Knowing the methods of the German Navy and its disregard of honour, the Swift approached, keeping her guns trained on the damaged destroyer. The Germans were yelling in unison, "We surrender! We surrender!" The Swift avoided closing and waited. The German destroyer heeled over and sank stern first, and then the Swift turned on her search-lights, after the enemy had vanished, and proceeded to rescue the men swimming in the water. While this work was in progress the Broke, whose electric circuits were out of action, flashed the news of her share in the engagement by an electric torch to the Swift, and the crews of the two destroyer leaders cheered one another.

Their conduct had been worthy of the greatest traditions of the British Navy. In all the war there was no finer example of judgment on the part of the commanders and courage and steadfastness on the part of the men. There was none of the defensive spirit about Commanders Peck and Evans. Yet they did not rashly take extravagant risks. They attacked the Germans with such skill as to do their work with the minimum of loss, and though both the Swift and Broke necessarily suffered in the engagement, important results were secured. The Germans admitted the loss of destroyers G85 and G42. Both of these were new vessels, built in 1914

BURIAL OF SAILORS WHO FELL IN A CHANNEL FIGHT. Impressive scene at the graveside where sailors, soldiers, and civilians gathered to pay tribute to the men of H.M.S. Swift and Broke who had fallen in their great fight on April 20th. 1917.

RESCUED ENEMY SAILORS. German sailors saved from the sea by men of the Broke and Swift after their striking victory in the Channel.



ON BOARD H.M.S. DESTROYER LEADER BROKE. Bridge and deck of H.M.S. Broke, showing two of the 4 in. forward guns. In the early hours of April 20th, 1917, the Broke (Commander Edward R. G. R. Evans, C.B.) and the Swift (Commander A. M. Peck) had a victorious fight in the Channel against six German destroyers.

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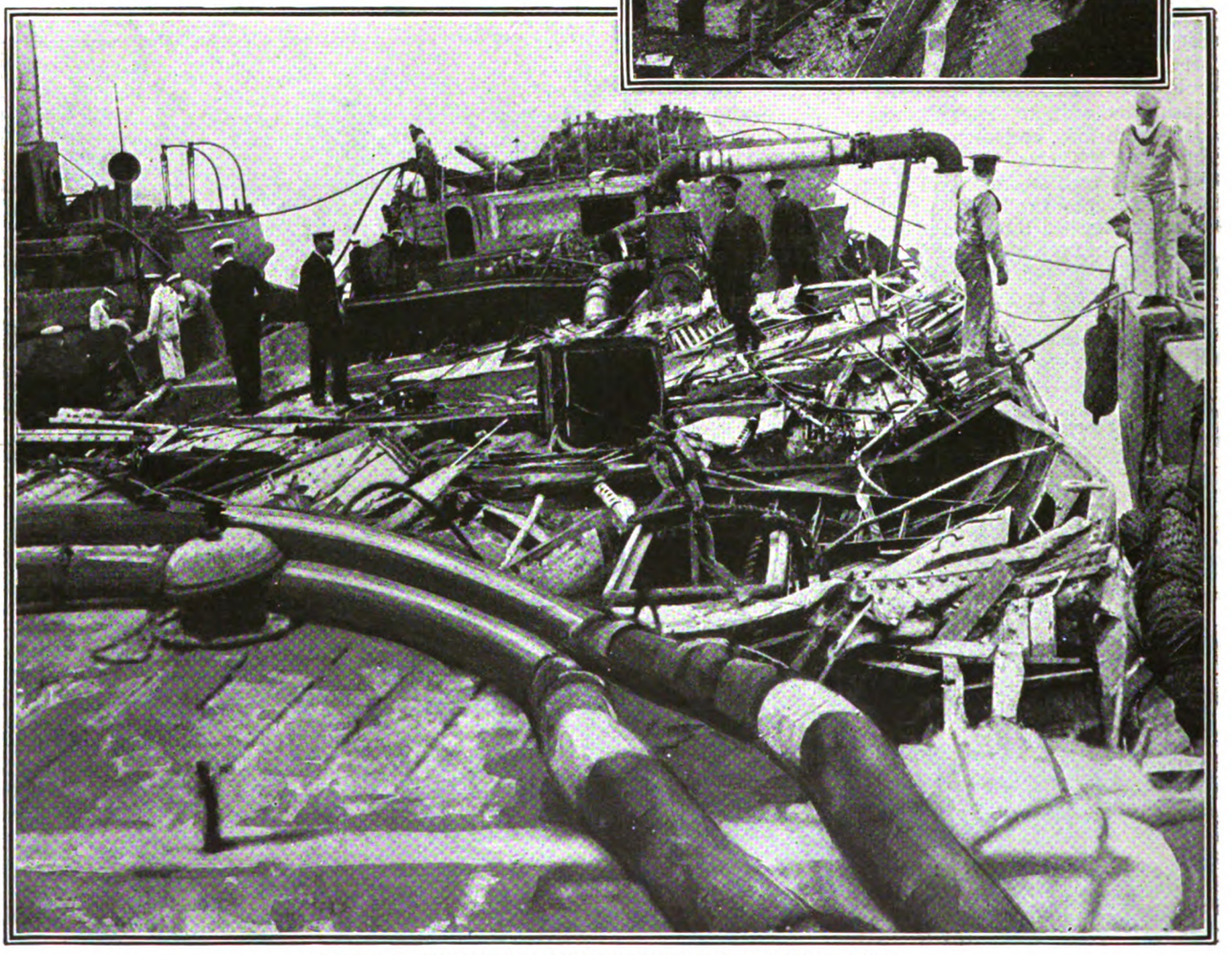
or subsequently, displacing something over 1,000 tons (according to some accounts 1,500 tons), and mounting in all probability four 4·1 in. semi-automatic guns. Their speed was alleged to be 35 knots, and it was certainly sufficient to enable them to escape from the older British destroyers, which had speeds of 29 or 30 knots. The German Navy thus suffered a sharp blow, though the British public was hoping for news that the whole Zeebrugge squadron had been destroyed.

The loss inflicted by the Swift and Broke showed what might have been expected had the British been in equal or superior force to the Germans. In that case all the six German destroyers should have been captured or sunk. In all, ten German officers and one hundred and eight men were picked up from the two vessels which were sunk, but of these apparently thirty died after being got on board the British ships. They were buried on April 24th, when some comment was provoked by the Vice-Admiral commanding at Dover sending a wreath to the "brave and gallant" enemy, epithets which, after the bombardments of defenceless towns, the treachery shown to the Broke, and the abominable crimes of the German submarines, were universally regarded as misplaced.

Honours for officers and men

The Germans claimed to have sunk the leading British ship, hitting her with a torpedo under the bridge, and to have torpedoed another British destroyer with three funnels. They asserted that they only retired when "other enemy ships appeared," and professed that they were much inferior in force to the British. Special honours were bestowed on the officers and men of the two British vessels.

Commanders Peck and Evans were promoted to captain's rank and received the D.S.O. Midshipman Gyles, Lieutenants Hickman, King-Harman, Despard, and Simpson, Probationary-Surgeons Helsham and Westwater,



BRITISH HANDY-MEN COUNTERACT GERMAN HANDIWORK.

It would seem an almost hopeless task to reproduce order from this chaotic scrap-heap. British handy-men, however, regard no ship as lost until it has been sunk, and can repair and restore to active use the most battered hulk that ever kept afloat. Above: British sailors engaged in salvage operations on a damaged vessel in the North Sea, the first job being to pump the water out of the flooded holds and prevent the inrush of more.

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and Gunners Turner and Grinney received the Distinguished Service Cross; Able-Seaman Rawles was given the Conspicuous Gallantry Medal. In granting these distinctions—which were accompanied by special promotion for both the engineer officers, Lieut.-Commanders Hughes and Coomber—the King added: "I have much pleasure in approving these awards in recognition of the splendid action of the Swift and Broke. . . Officers and men did more than uphold the grand traditions of the British Navy."

The Zeebrugge hornets were only scotched and not killed. On April 21st, the morning after this brilliant action, a small British airship was destroyed in the Strait of Dover. The vessel in question was apparently one of the so-called "blimps" (an aeroplane fuselage attached to a gasbag, carrying two or three officers and men, and used for reconnaissance and observation on the British coast).

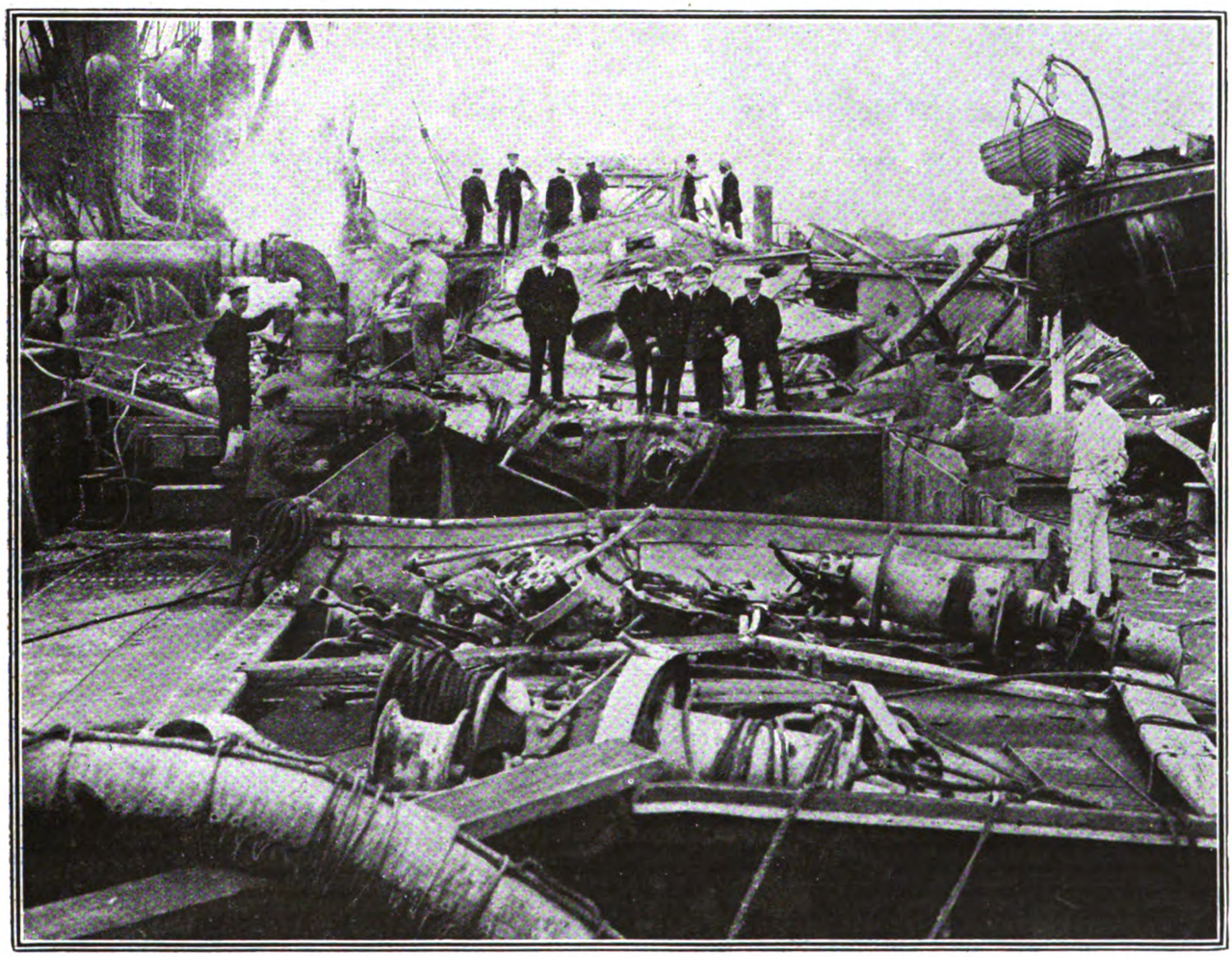
Aeroplane destroys a British "blimp"

According to the official account, an aeroplane was observed near her, and soon afterwards she was "seen to descend in flames." As she was at a considerable distance from her proper position, it was surmised that her engine had broken down, and that she had drifted a long distance before the wind, which on that day was blowing from the north-west with considerable strength. Search was made at the place where she had disappeared, but no more trace of her or of the men in her could be found. It was obvious that they perished when she fell. She was of a type which was not meant for offensive work, and was not designed to resist aeroplane attack, so that, if employed within the zone of hostile aircraft action, she needed an escort.

On the afternoon of April 23rd the German destroyers at Zeebrugge once more put to sea; but their movements were at once observed by British reconnoitring aircraft, whereupon three British naval machines, carrying bombs, were despatched to attack them. Five German destroyers were overtaken on a north-easterly course, between Blankenberghe and Zeebrugge, five miles from the coast, at 4.10. The leading British machine at once attacked, dropping sixteen bombs, one of which was seen to hit a German destroyer. The other four destroyers scattered to avoid the attack, but thirty-two bombs were dropped on them by the other two aeroplanes, apparently without obtaining any hits. After all the bombs had been dropped and the airmen had done their work, one of the German destroyers was seen to have a list to port and to have stopped. The other four closed round her. Meanwhile, a German seaplane came out to attack the British aircraft, but was easily beaten off. Reconnoitring aeroplanes saw four destroyers enter Zeebrugge at 6.10. What had become of the fifth is not known. The Germans did not admit her loss, but she had vanished, and it is therefore not improbable that she sank; though, if so, this was the first occasion on which a surface vessel was sunk by a bomb from aircraft.

British aircraft rout destroyers

On the night of April 24th the German destroyers were again at sea. According to the German report, under the



CHEERFUL CONFIDENCE AND EFFICIENCY IN A SOMEWHAT CRITICAL CASE.

Ships have their human personality, and this damaged vessel resting quietly alongside the unit of the British Navy that has come to her aid suggests the acquiescence and confidence in the event with which the human victim of an accident awaits the curative treatment of a trusted surgeon—the smiling naval officers and unflurried sailormen representing the cheerful efficiency of a trained hospital staff.

GG

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CREW OF A BRITISH MINE-SWEEPER.

Men of the mine-sweeping service with their small craft carried on their work of incalculable value with the greatest heroism. They faced constant peril while seeking for and destroying floating mines, and did so without any of the glamorous excitement attendant upon actual fighting.

orders of Captain Assmann, they attacked the port and town of Dunkirk. Star-shells were fired first of all to light up the place, and then some three hundred and fifty shells were discharged into the town—not, as the Germans pretended, at the batteries and forts. After this bombardment, during which "two destroyers, apparently French," arrived, they attacked these two vessels and sank one with gun fire. They also claimed to have destroyed a patrol vessel, but added that they could not rescue any of the crew of either vessel, owing to the heavy fire from Dunkirk. The German flotilla admitted neither damage nor loss. According to the French report, it withdrew at great speed towards Ostend when French and British patrol vessels arrived.

Two nights later the Germans steamed towards the Kentish coast and heavily bombarded Ramsgate. Over one hundred shells were fired, and though many of the projectiles fell in the country, twenty-one houses were damaged and two persons were killed, while two were wounded. This was the third raid carried out by the Zeebrugge flotilla in a week. On the 20th it had bombarded Calais and had lost two destroyers, but had escaped annihilation; on the 24th it had bombarded Dunkirk and sunk a French destroyer and a patrol trawler; on the 26th it had shelled Ramsgate and got away without a scratch. The evidence given at the inquests on the victims showed that the shelling of Ramsgate continued for ten minutes, and that the alarm was given after the attack was over. That same night twenty-eight shells fell in Margate, severely damaging one house, but causing no injury to any human being. Other projectiles fell in St. Peter's. The jury invited the coroner to forward to the Admiralty an appeal for greater protection to be given to the district in view of the recurrence of the bombardments.

Zeebrugge flotilla's busy week

A new weapon, which had for nearly two years been in the possession of the British Navy without, so far, being employed in large-scale operations, was now turned against Great Britain by the Germans. It was announced on May 3rd that on the previous day "the British steamer Gena was sunk by a torpedo discharged from a German seaplane off Aldeburgh. Another seaplane concerned in this attack was brought down by gun fire from the Gena, and the crew were made prisoners." The Germans stated that "a number of our seaplanes attacked enemy merchant ships off the Thames, and sank a large steamer of about 3,000 tons." The Gena was, in fact, a vessel of 2,784 tons, and she was attacked by two seaplanes, one on each side. She fired at and disabled one, but the other, which had alighted on the water, discharged its torpedo and sank her.

An aeroplane armed with a torpedo-tube had been designed and patented in England shortly before the war. Unfortunately, the Admiralty Staff of that period had not appreciated the value of aircraft, and its conservatism prevented the construction on a large scale of an appliance that might have been used very effectively in the earlier months of the war. Much comment was aroused by this incident, and the Admiralty announced that seaplanes armed with torpedoes had been actually used by the British forces in the Dardanelles campaign, and had sunk Turkish vessels. The Germans had in this way obtained information of the existence of this new weapon—which they were not clever or inventive enough to devise themselves—and, with their usual patient imitativeness, they immediately adopted it and employed it. Their air services were not handicapped by conservative views or the belief that aircraft were little more than elegant toys.

Aeroplanes armed with torpedoes

The method of attack with a seaplane was thus described in the "Daily Mail": "The torpedo could be fired either from a tube, which is a form of gun, or from a special launching apparatus. The seaplane, when firing it, might be in the air, though then the chance of a hit would not be great; or it might fire after alighting on the water at a safe distance from the ship, but within torpedo range of her. A torpedo of 5,000 or 6,000 yards' range could be carried in view of the size and power of modern seaplanes. The accuracy of the torpedo, fitted with the gyroscope (or contrivance for automatically keeping the torpedo to the line of direction) was great. When the torpedo had been fired the seaplane could rise from the water and be gone like a flash."

The day on which this historic event took place a British destroyer struck a mine in the Channel, and was lost with one officer and sixty-nine men. Aircraft, at least, were free from the mine peril, and in daylight had extraordinary range of vision from the height at which they could cruise. Their weakness in gun fire was accompanied by elements of strength in other directions. While the war showed sea-power to be losing much of its value, it incessantly emphasised the importance of air-power and the necessity

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ENG. LT.-COM. J. HUGHES, R.N.,
MENTIONED IN DESPATCHES.
[Russell.

LT. R. KING-HARMAN, D.S.C., R.N., H.M.S. SWIFT.

LT. G. V. HICKMAN, D.S.C., R.N.,
H.M.S. BROKE.
[Russell.

CAPT. EDWARD R. G. R. EVANS,
C.B., D.S.O., R.N., H.M.S. BROKE.

CAPT. AMBROSE M. PECK, D.S.O.,
R.N., H.M.S SWIFT.

ABLE-SEAMAN E. INGLESON,
D.S.M., H.M.S. BROKE.

ABLE-SEAMAN W. G. RAWLES,
C.G.M., H.M.S. BROKE.

MID. DONALD GYLES, D.S.C.,
H.M.S. BROKE.

Officers and men "who did more than uphold the grand traditions of the British Navy."
—H.M. King George.

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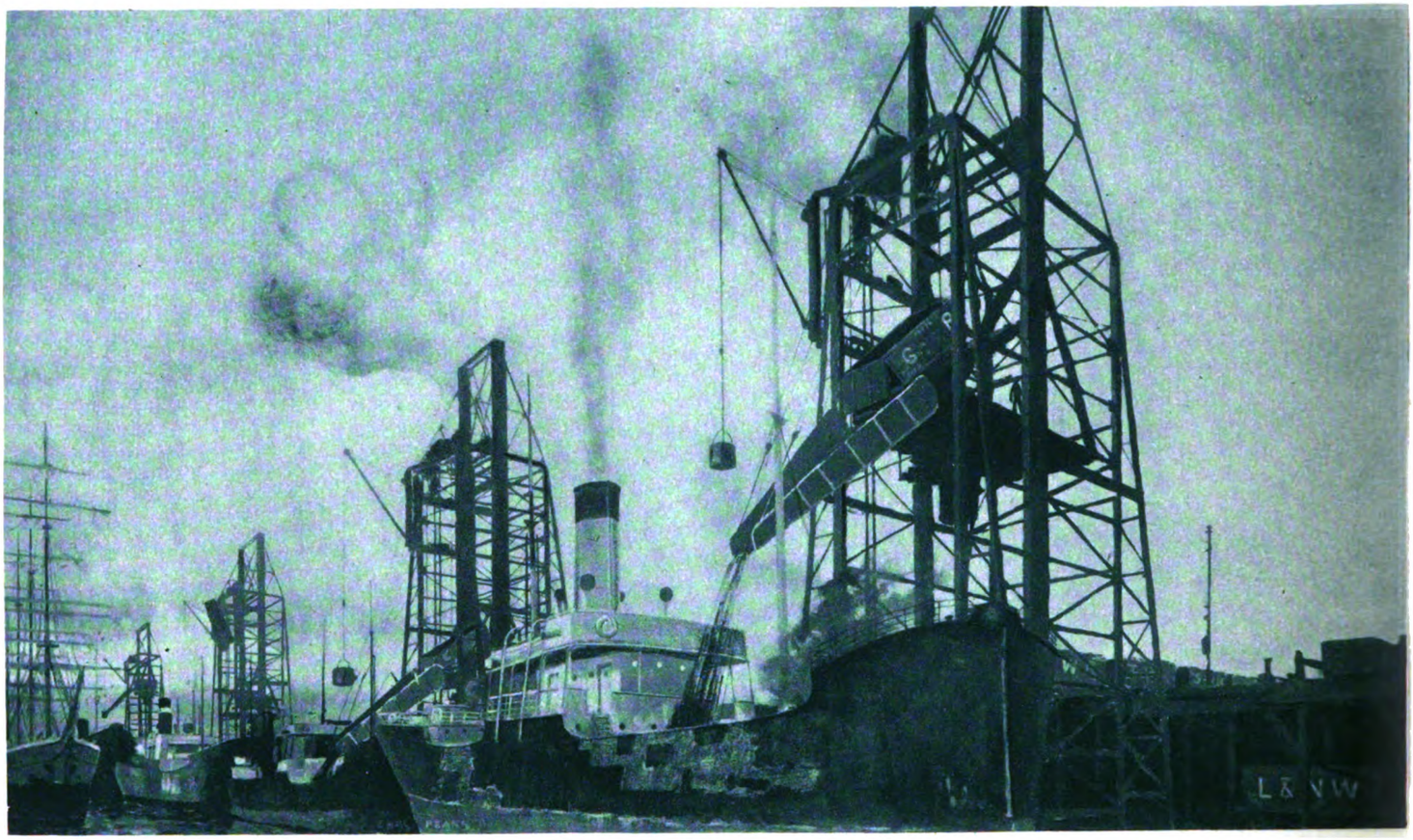

Mammoth "tips" emptying 20-ton railway trucks of coal at one time into colliers.

Triumphs of marine engineering: A 200-ton crane lowering a boiler into a liner.

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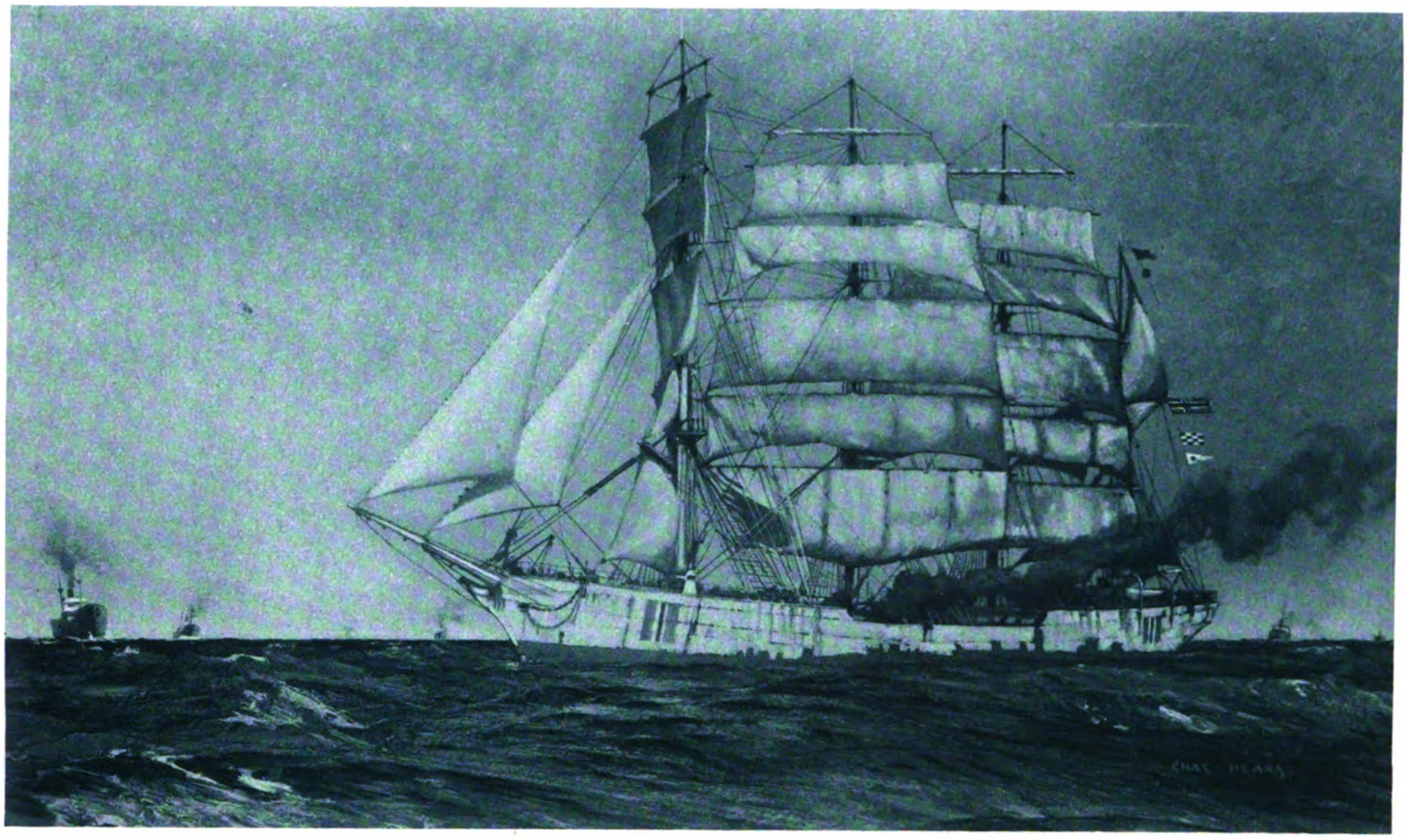
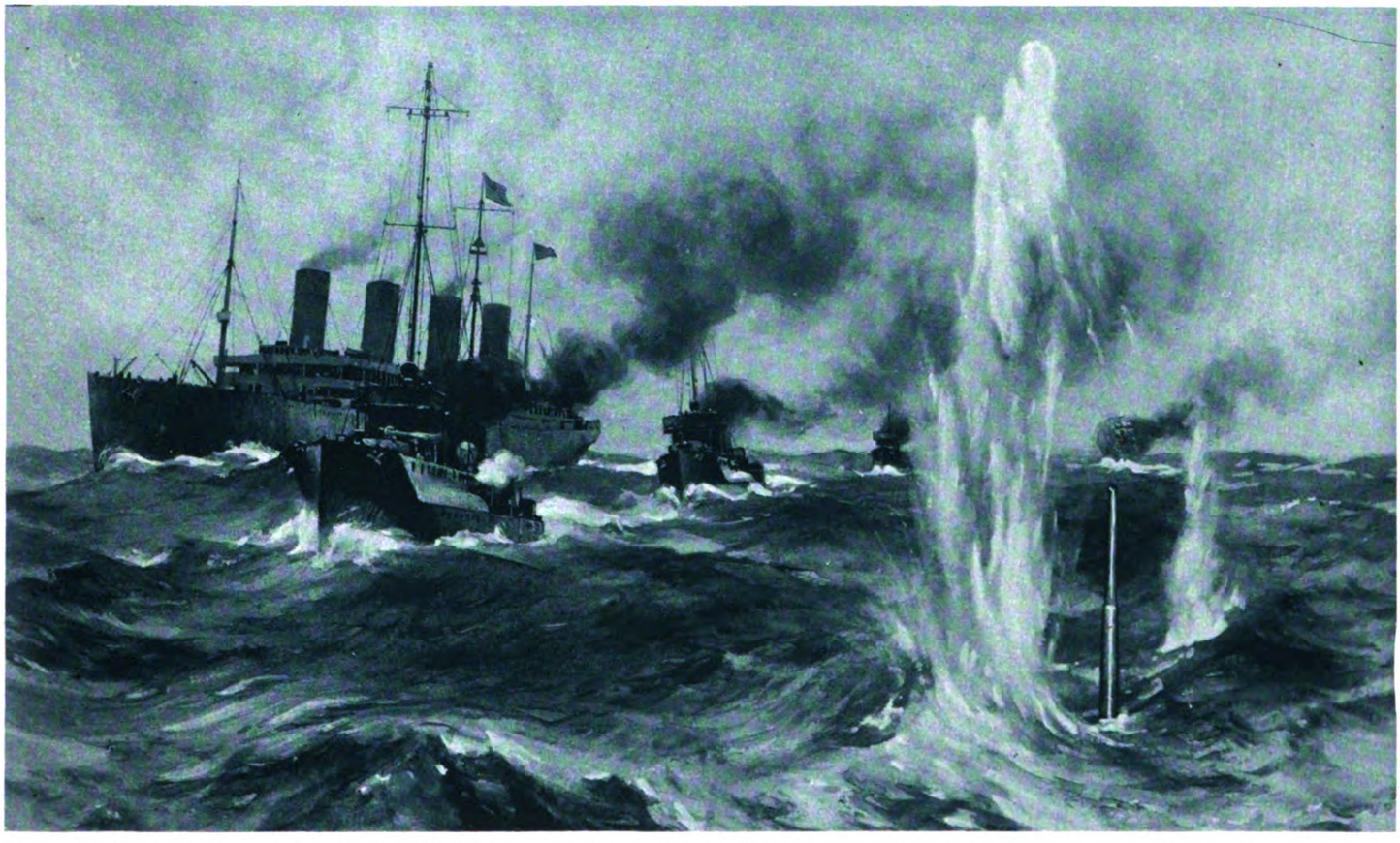


Hun tricks at sea: Raider's double decoy of S O S signals and sham fire aboard.



U.S. destroyers beating off German submarines while escorting the Adriatic to Queenstown.

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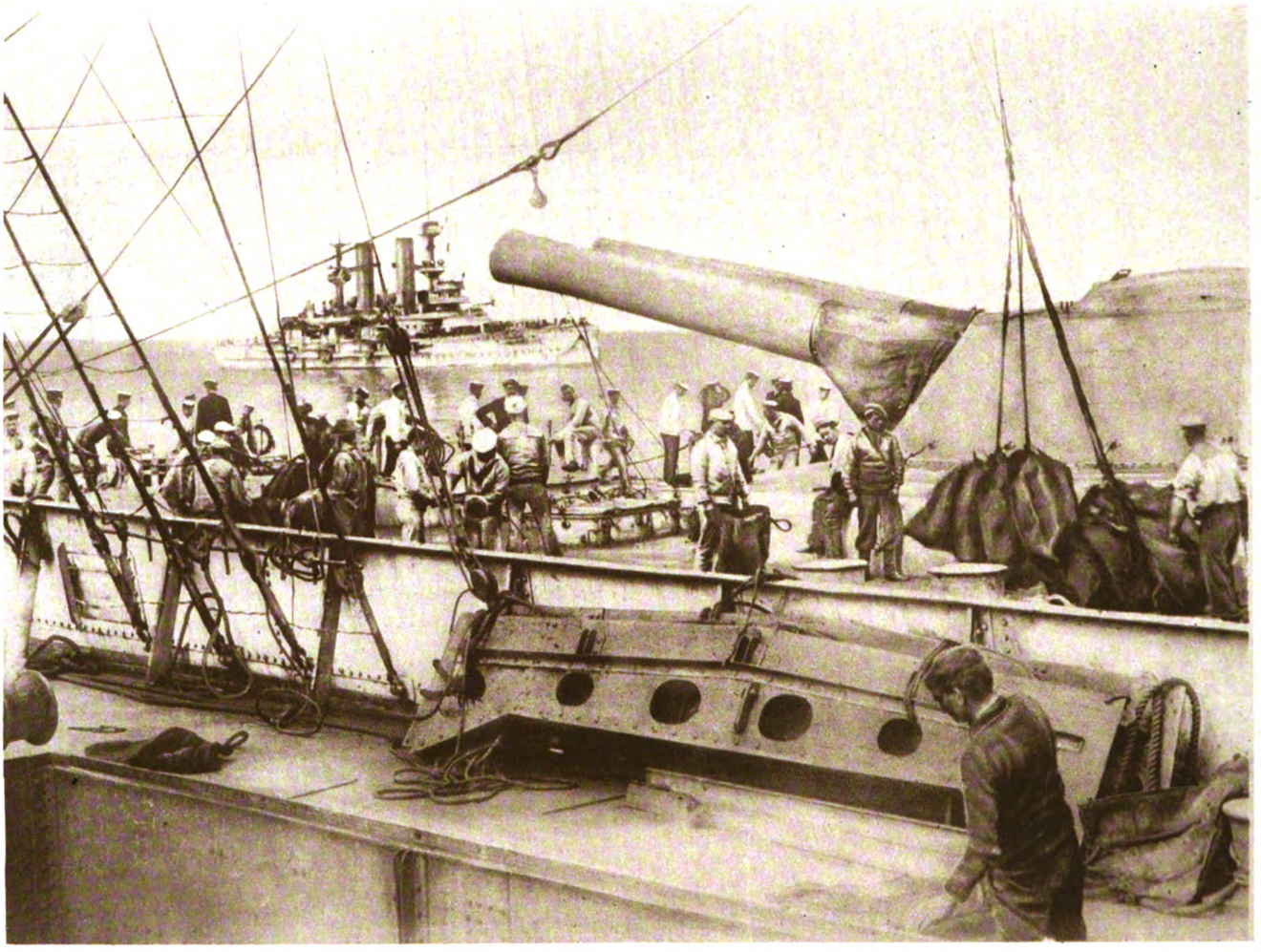
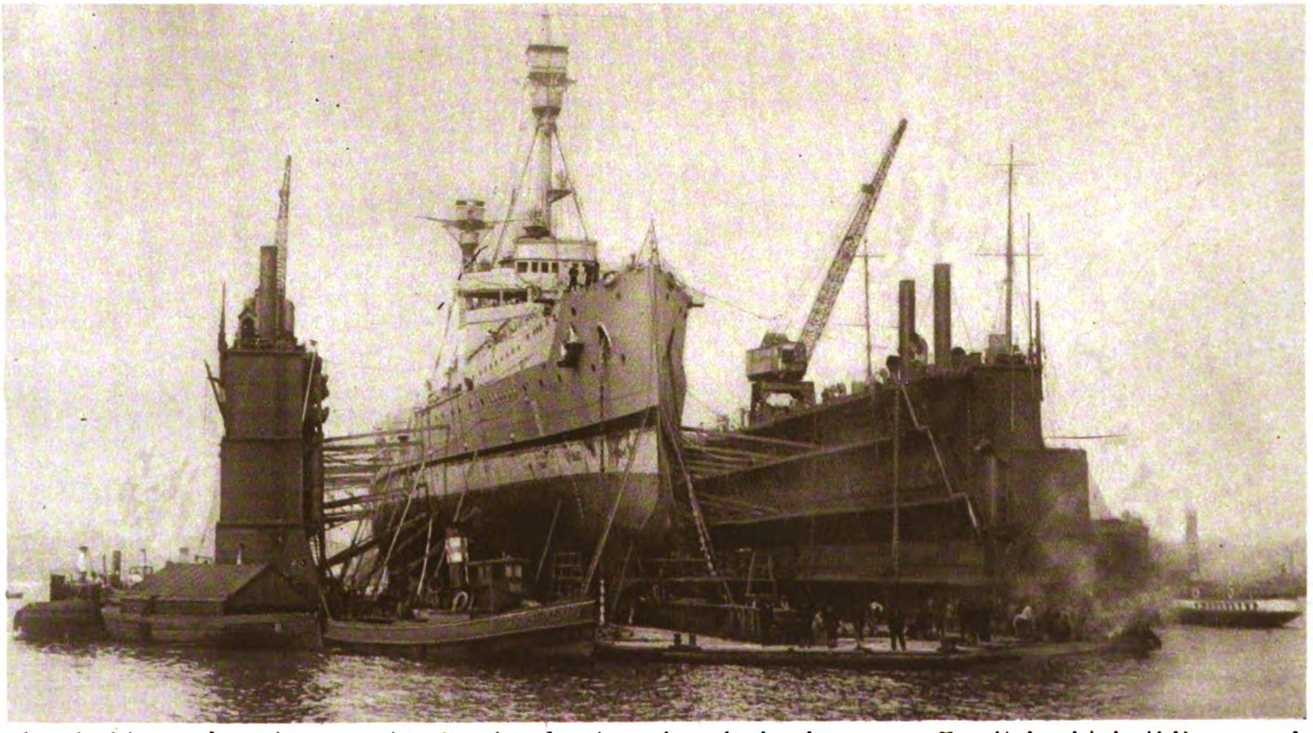


Replenishing the bunkers: Coal being taken aboard from lighters at sea.



Battleship undergoing repairs in the floating dry-dock of a great English shipbuilding yard.

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of developing in the most strenuous manner and with the utmost boldness the construction and design of aircraft. With a proper supply of aircraft there was no reason why Zeebrugge, instead of being bombed once a month, should not have been kept under a continual bombardment ; and why its destroyers, instead of being left free to harry the British coast, should not have been constantly attacked from the air in their own lair. What some observers in touch with airmanship had foreseen before the war had come true. "The seaplane was Britain's best weapon"—at sea. Unfortunately, they had not been able to convince the British Governments of 1913, 1914, and 1915.

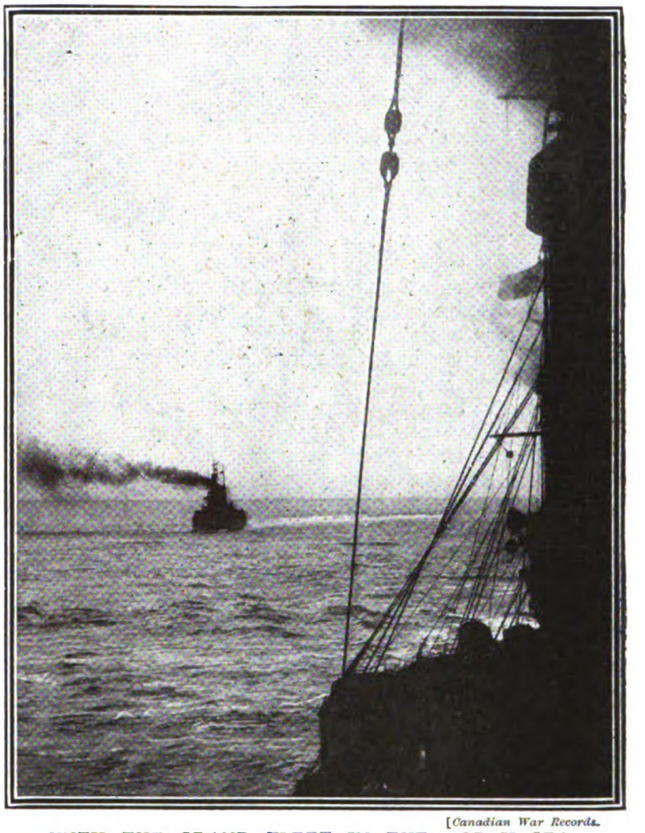
But though the flying navy had hardly put off its swaddling-clothes, and though the officer representing it on the Admiralty Board was the Fifth Sea Lord (and not the Second), though its work had as yet not been co-ordinated with that of the surface and submarine navies, so that it did not bring the immense results that might have been looked for, it still did something to annoy the Germans.

Reconnaissance work of the R.N.A.S.

A constant photographic reconnaissance of the Belgian (though not of the German) coast was carried out. "The work in progress at Ostend and Zeebrugge," stated an account of its operations, "the activities of submarines and destroyers inside the basins, locks, quays, and gun emplacements, and the results of bombs dropped thereon the night before, were all faithfully recorded by aerial cameras. The negatives were developed and printed, the resultant bird-pictures enlarged, studied through stereoscopic lenses, and finally given to the monitors for information and guidance. Not a spadeful of earth can be turned over nor a trowel of cement added to a bastion along the coast but a note appears a day or two later in the long chart." Great heroism and magnificent airmanship were displayed by the officers of the Royal Naval Air Service who carried out these reconnaissances. The best of material was available, and only waiting to be used. And many were the fights with German machines, whirling along at a speed which was rarely less than 100 miles an hour, and might be much more, and many the victims on both sides.

On the night of May 7th the first German night air raid was made with aeroplane on London. A solitary aeroplane appeared soon after midnight and dropped four bombs in a residential district. Some slight damage was done ; one man was killed and a woman was injured. Few people in the capital would have known anything of the affair but for the newspaper notices and the official report. The aeroplane escaped, though the night was very fine and bright. It had committed an act of mere murder. No military purpose whatever was to be served by wantonly dropping a few bombs from an immense height on a part of London where there were no munition works of any kind. No attempt at reprisal was yet made by the British Government or military authorities, but the fact remained that the certainty of swift and effective reprisals was the only protection against such attacks.

On May 10th, under Commodore Tyrwhitt, one of the most enterprising and energetic squadron leaders in the British Navy, a force proceeded towards Zeebrugge, acting in combination with British aircraft, which very early that morning bombed the port. Loud explosions were heard in Holland. The object of the attack was apparently to drive the German destroyers out to sea, and thus to give Commodore Tyrwhitt a chance of dealing with them. The Germans came out in due course. Eleven destroyers were discovered by the British light craft proceeding southward between the Dutch and British coasts in the North Sea. Chase was at once given to them, but the German boats were of the very fast type, built with the foresight which the German Naval Staff displayed, and went off at great speed under cover of a dense smoke-screen. For eighty minutes the pursuit continued, and the Germans were engaged at long range, but they could not be overtaken.



[*Canadian War Records.*

WITH THE GRAND FLEET IN THE NORTH SEA.

H.M.S. Lion with another battle-cruiser astern. The Lion, as the flagship of Vice-Admiral Sir David Beatty, played a great part in the Jutland Battle, when, said Sir John Jellicoe in his despatch on that battle, "Sir David Beatty once again showed his fine qualities of gallant leadership, firm determination, and correct strategic insight."

The British did not draw off till four of their destroyers had come within range of the Zeebrugge coast-batteries. The British loss was only one man wounded. The German destroyers were seen to be hit. The Germans professed that the British force was much superior—which it seems to have been—including light cruisers as well as destroyers, and alleged that when it retired they gave chase. In the bombing of Zeebrugge they stated that the British dropped sixty bombs, did no military damage whatever, and had two aeroplanes shot down.

On May 12th the "Vice-Admiral, Dover" carried out what was officially described as a "very heavy bombardment of an important area at Zeebrugge." A number of monitors were employed, with the special maps that had been prepared by the previous air survey, and a strong force of aeroplanes accompanied the warships and observed for their artillery. The fire, according to the Germans, was directed from "a great distance," and the weather was foggy, so that it is doubtful whether any very great result was obtained. The sound could be plainly heard on the British coast from 3 to 8 a.m., and it was also noted in Holland. No fewer than fifteen aerial engagements took place between British and German machines, in which four German aeroplanes, according to the British official account, were destroyed and five others driven down out of control. It was at first supposed that the attack marked the opening of continued operations against Zeebrugge, but this proved not to be the case. The French Press commented with a great deal of force on the policy followed :

Monitors bombard Zeebrugge

Foresight (said the "Figaro") would have dictated an unceasing renewal of the attacks. The enemy should have been harassed and allowed no rest. The attacks should have been persisted in until the new naval stronghold had been destroyed. But a contrary view has prevailed. Operations have only been carried out at

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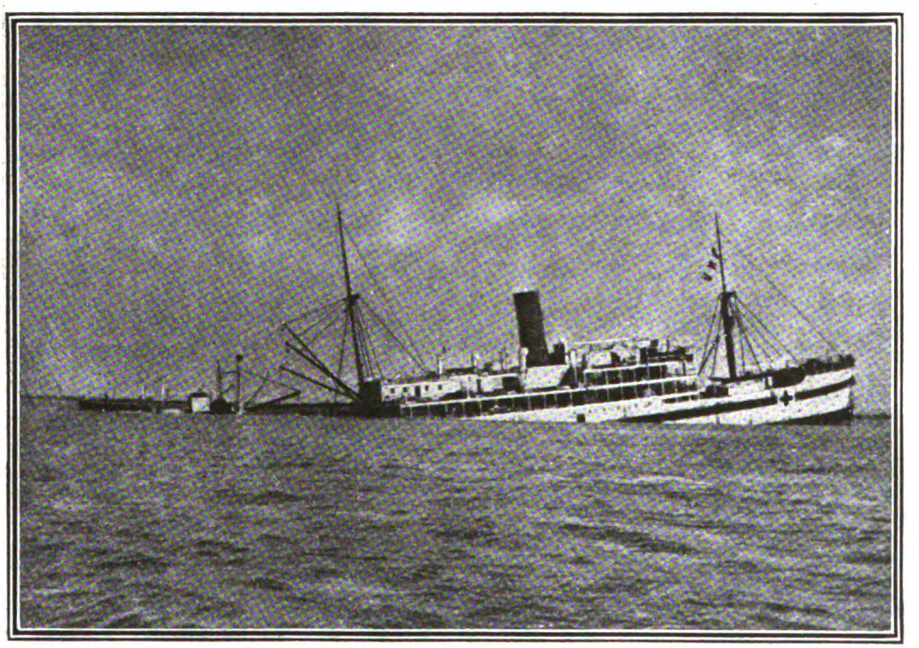
periodic intervals. The fear of losses paralyses any energetic and continuous action. In war no success is obtained without losses. All that is necessary to know is whether the losses to be expected are worth the result achieved. Who could doubt the capital advantage that would have accrued to the Allies with Zeebrugge annihilated and made unfit to serve as a base for the German fleets? There should be no more of these periodic attacks.

These words expressed the opinion of almost the entire British public, who watched, without being able to understand, the desultory attacks on the German naval base. At the same time, naval force pure and simple has always been unable to attack fortifications with effect. It appears to be one of the few "iron laws" of war that for ordinary ships to contend with forts involves hopelessly disproportionate risks to the ships. Monitors were repeatedly tried against forts in the American Civil War, and invariably failed.

The practical comment on the sanguine accounts of the damage inflicted at Zeebrugge which were published in England was the speedy reappearance of the German destroyers at sea a week later. They were sighted off Dunkirk by a patrol of four French destroyers early on



GERMAN DISREGARD OF THE RED CROSS.

On the night of March 30th, 1917, the British hospital ship Gloucester Castle was torpedoed without warning by the Germans in mid-Channel. Fortunately, the weather was good, and succouring craft protected the crippled ship from further injury, while the four hundred and fifty wounded aboard and the staff were rescued.

May 20th, while it was still dark, and were engaged, but they made off at full speed without loss or damage after injuring a French destroyer.

The Germans, throughout the naval war, owed very much to the work of their aircraft scouting over the North Sea. The unfortunate lack of foresight on the part of the British Admiralty had, as has been previously stated, left the British admirals in the position of blind men fencing with an antagonist who had full possession of his sight. The supremacy of the Zeppelins as scouting craft over the North Sea area had been favoured by the policy which failed to attack them resolutely so soon as they put to sea. This state of affairs was, however, beginning to alter, though very slowly, by the late spring of 1917. The Germans had already discovered that airship raids over British soil meant funeral parties for the Zeppelin crews. They were now to find that other perils awaited them in the North Sea. On May 14th a brilliant piece of work was acccomplished in destroying a Zeppelin close to her lair. Never before—except in the futile raid against the Schleswig airship sheds of March 25th, 1916, when three British seaplanes and a good British destroyer were lost, with trifling damage to the Germans—had the German aircraft been attacked so near their own coast. The airship in question was L22, and though there is some uncertainty as to her exact pattern, she appears to have been a vessel of the large type, but not of the largest, such as the super-Zeppelins of the L30-39 build. She was probably equipped with five propellers (against the six of the L30) and engines of about 1,000 horse-power (against the 1,440 horse-power of the latest airships)

Zeppelin air supremacy ended

Zeppelin destroyed in North Sea

She was seen from the Dutch coast majestically sailing through the air early in the morning of the 14th at a height of about 4,000 feet, north-east of the island of Terschelling, some forty to forty-five miles from the German island of Borkum. A little later she was seen north-north-west of Terschelling. After that the noise of firing was heard, and observers noted that the airship had suddenly been shrouded by heavy clouds of smoke, from which flashed flame, and over the sea came the sound of a tremendous detonation. A haze near the sea prevented the spectators from learning what became of her, but presently the cloud had gone, and with it the airship. That same day the British Admiralty made the curt announcement: "Our naval forces destroyed Zeppelin L22 in the North Sea this morning." This was the end of the German Zeppelin command of the air over the North Sea, and an event of historic importance. The German Fleet could no longer cruise in safety covered by the reconnaissance of its Zeppelins. That the German Admiralty, however, would make the most determined effort to recover control of the air was to be foreseen, and was a risk against which the British Admiralty was bound to guard with energy, insight, and vigilance.

The exact method in which L22 was destroyed was not officially disclosed. But the Paris "Matin" stated a few days after this event that she had been cut off by a squadron of British seaplanes and set on fire after an engagement of a few minutes. Two of the crew fell into the sea, it added, but the rest were burnt in her.

The power of the Zeppelin had gone. It is true that a few days later, in the night of May 23rd-24th, five Zeppelins, in cloudy weather, stole over to the British coast, where they dropped several bombs on the Norfolk seaboard. But they were careful not to venture inland, and they only killed one man. The cloudy weather prevented effective attack on them by the British aircraft.

Through all these weeks the German submarine war on Great Britain and on neutrals continued with varying result. Now at last Great Britain fought for her very life. Yet the fact was still obscured from the knowledge of her people by contradictory statements on the part of Ministers and by the misleading manner in which the statistics of losses were issued. A nation which knows that it is fighting for life will put forth unexpected strength, but it cannot be said that Great Britain really knew. And thus, amidst the sinking of ships and the agony of British seamen, the strikes and squabbles which rendered the industrial history of the war so melancholy and dispiriting

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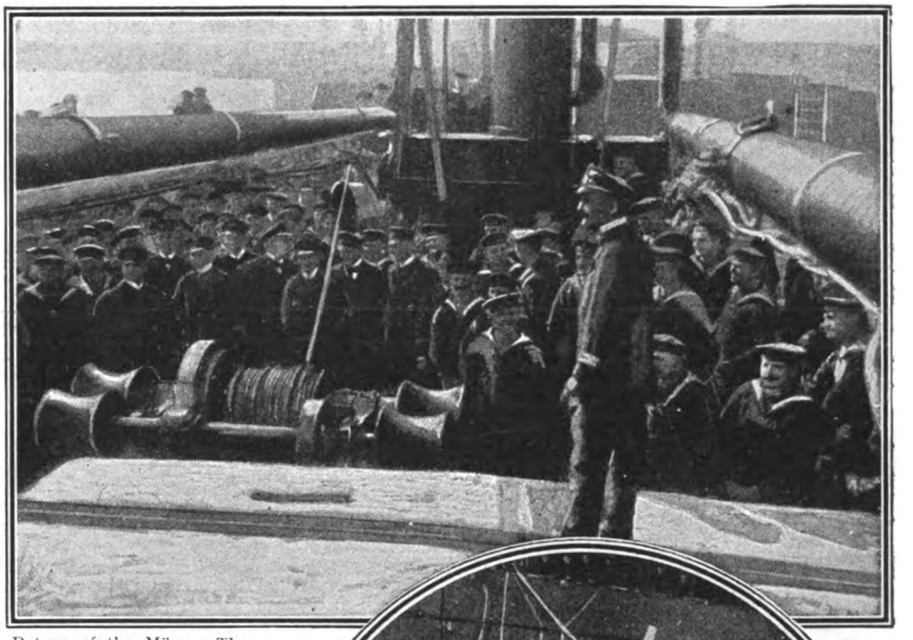
continued with unabated violence. Significant of forces more injurious to the nation's honour than even the successes of the German submarines was a prosecution, on March 6th, of a Birmingham munition worker, named William Slim, for "writing a note to a fellow-workman urging him to take his time, and make the job on which he was engaged last the week."

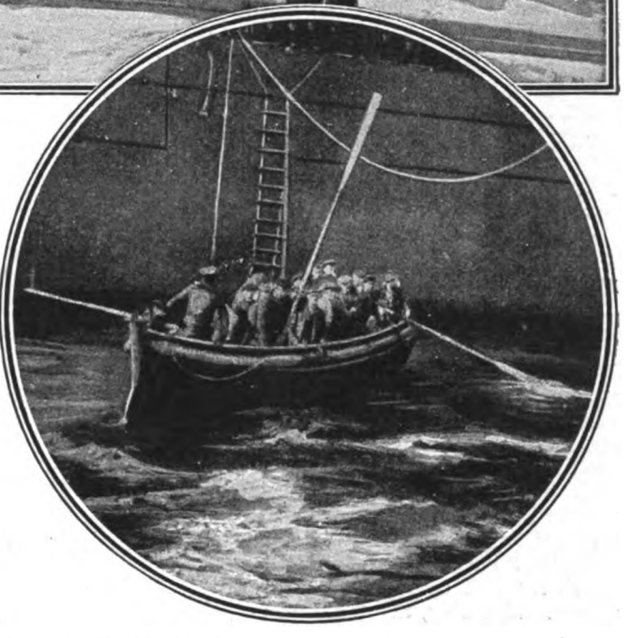
At the end of February the publication of the returns of ships lost, and the number of ships arriving and sailing weekly, was begun by the Admiralty. The figures were correct, but unsatisfactory because of two faults. They did not disclose the tonnage of shipping sunk, and tonnage was one of the most important factors. The loss of fifteen ships, averaging 3,000 tons and totalling 45,000 tons, mattered less than the loss of ten ships averaging 8,000 tons and totalling 80,000 tons. The second defect was that the sailings and arrivals necessarily exaggerated the number of ships moving, and made the percentage of loss seem smaller than it really was. The same ship might figure more than once if she went from port to port. People were improperly reassured when they saw that in the first week of March 2,528 vessels of all nationalities over 100 tons in displacement had arrived at British ports, and 2,477 had sailed from them, while only 14 British vessels of and over 1,600 tons and 9 under 1,600 had been sunk. It looked as though the week's losses only represented ½ per cent. of ships sailing from and arriving at British ports. Men did not reflect that ½ per cent. a week is 25 per cent. in a year (or one-fourth), or that neutrals and Allies were included in the ships arriving and departing, but not in the losses, though the losses, of course, included vessels sunk in the Mediterranean and Central Atlantic. While it was of extreme importance not to disclose to the Germans the precise name and description of the ships sunk, they knew approximately the tonnage destroyed, and thus the publication of the figures would have told them nothing.

Admiralty returns of shipping

After these limits and qualifications have been pointed



Return of the Möwe. The commander, Count Dohna-Schlodien, addressing his crew.



Crew of a British ship being taken as prisoners aboard the German Möwe after their own vessel had been sent to the bottom by the commerce-raider that so long eluded capture.

Prisoners, of whom on her return to Germany there were five hundred and ninety-three, on board the Möwe. They had been taken from the various peaceful vessels which the raider had sunk or captured on her mission of destruction.

Right: The crew of the raider, with some of the pets which they had taken from the ships they had destroyed. The photographs on this page are from an enemy source.

SCENES ABOARD GERMANY'S MOST SUCCESSFUL COMMERCE-RAIDER: THE MÖWE.

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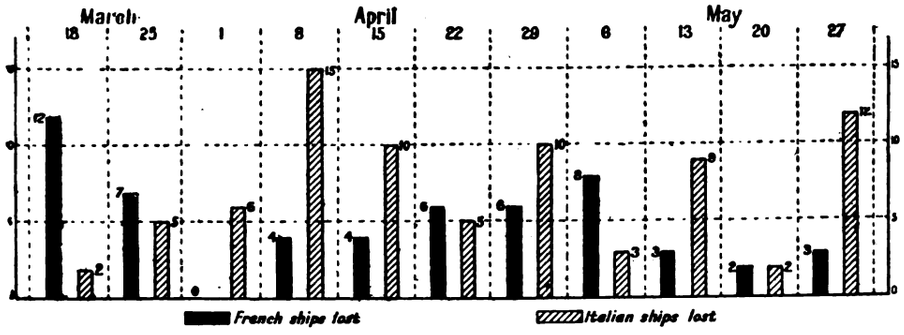

FRENCH AND ITALIAN LOSSES BY ENEMY SUBMARINES, 1917.
Diagram showing the destruction of French and Italian shipping through a period of the eleven most critical weeks. The fluctuations were more marked than in the British losses. Many of the Italian vessels sunk were very small craft.

out, the figures for the first three months of the blockade must be given, because of their historic importance, and because they afford, as it were, a bird's-eye picture of the campaign. They were:

1917.	All Ships at British Ports. Arrivals.	Sailings.	British Ships Sunk. 1,600 Tons and Over.	Under 1,600 Tons.	British Ships Unsuccessfully Attacked.
Feb. 25	1,985	1,959	15	6	12
March 4	2,528	2,477	14	9	12
,, 11	1,985	1,959	13	4	16
,, 18	2,528	2,554	16	8	19
,, 25	2,314	2,433	18	7	13
April 1	2,281	2,399	18	13	17
,, 8	2,406	2,367	17	2	14
,, 15	2,379	2,331	19	9	15
,, 22	2,585	2,621	40	15	27
,, 29	2,716	2,690	38	13	24
May 6	2,374	2,499	24	22	34
,, 13	2,568	2,552	18	5	19
,, 20	2,664	2,759	18	9	9
,, 27	2,719	2,708	18	1	17

The campaign, then, fluctuated greatly from week to week. This was to be expected, because certain of the German submarine commanders were more skilful than others, and as every submarine had from time to time to go back to port to refit and rest her crew, there were periods during which the best commanders were absent. Moreover, the disclosures of the German Press showed that officers of exceptional skill or brutality in the art of submarine murder had disappeared, never to be seen again. Such a one was Lieutenant-Commander Petz, who sank 50,000 tons in a single day in February, and vanished in March. Their removal by the agency of the allied fleets and flotillas was an unpleasant interference with what Germans had come to regard as an agreeable and comparatively safe pastime. Weather certainly influenced the losses. Very cold and stormy conditions seemed to hamper the submarines, as also did very fine weather.

As to the German losses, Admiral von Capelle claimed in the Reichstag that in the first two months of the campaign, apparently February and March, only six submarines had failed to report, and stated that many more than that number had been completed in the same period. His assertions could not be accepted as true, but it is not probable that in the early weeks of the campaign the British Navy was very successful. It had allowed itself to be surprised. For reasons which have been given, no one could be certain when a German submarine was sunk. If prisoners were captured —as they were still in some instances, notwithstanding the appalling barbarities of the submarine crews—that was proof. But there were necessarily many cases in which boats were sunk without any person escaping, and in these instances the British had no means of verifying or checking the loss of the boat. Oil on the surface was not a certain indication of a boat's destruction, as the oil-tanks in the German submarines were disposed in the outer hull, and could be damaged without the inner hull being breached. The real test of the Navy and of the Admiralty which controlled it was to be found in the losses. An efficient Admiralty would prevent all but a minimum of loss by harrying the submarines and giving them no leisure to attack merchant shipping. It would show results from the first, because it would be ready to meet new German moves.

Uncertainty as to results

Undisturbed by peril, faithful to the great call of duty, receiving scanty honour and little attention from those who ruled the country, the officers and men of the British merchant service "carried on." Theirs was a page of unmatched glory in the troubled history of the war. They had not signed on to confront one of the deadliest perils

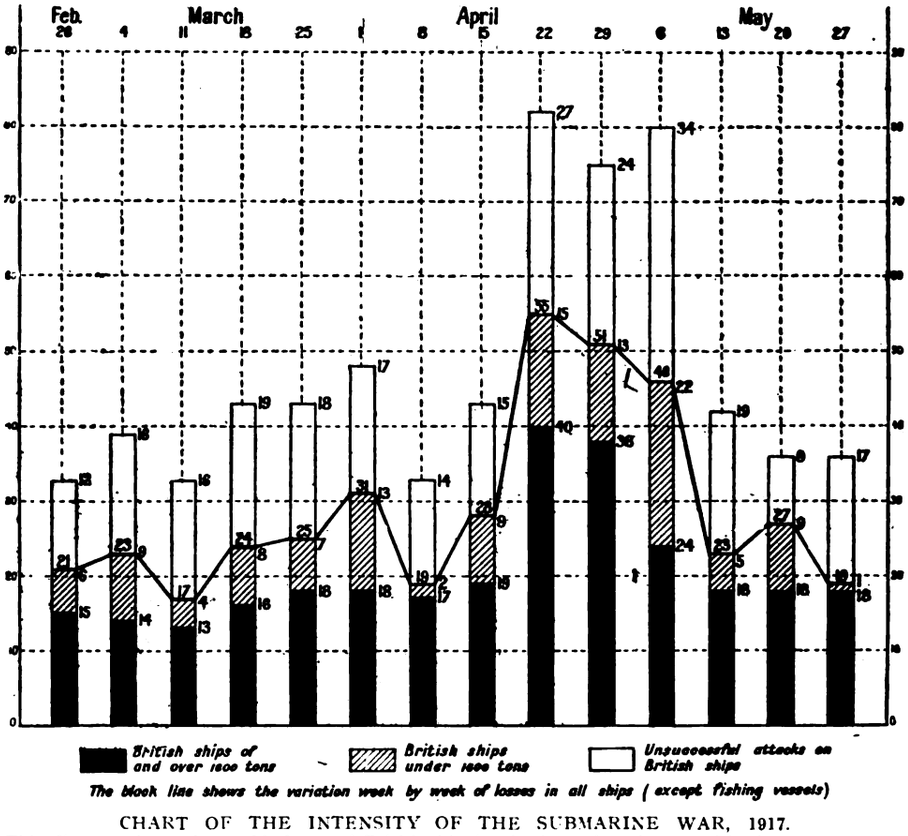

CHART OF THE INTENSITY OF THE SUBMARINE WAR, 1917.
This diagram shows the weekly losses of British shipping in the spring of 1917. The important figures are those of the losses, but the unsuccessful attacks also indicate the activity of the submarines.

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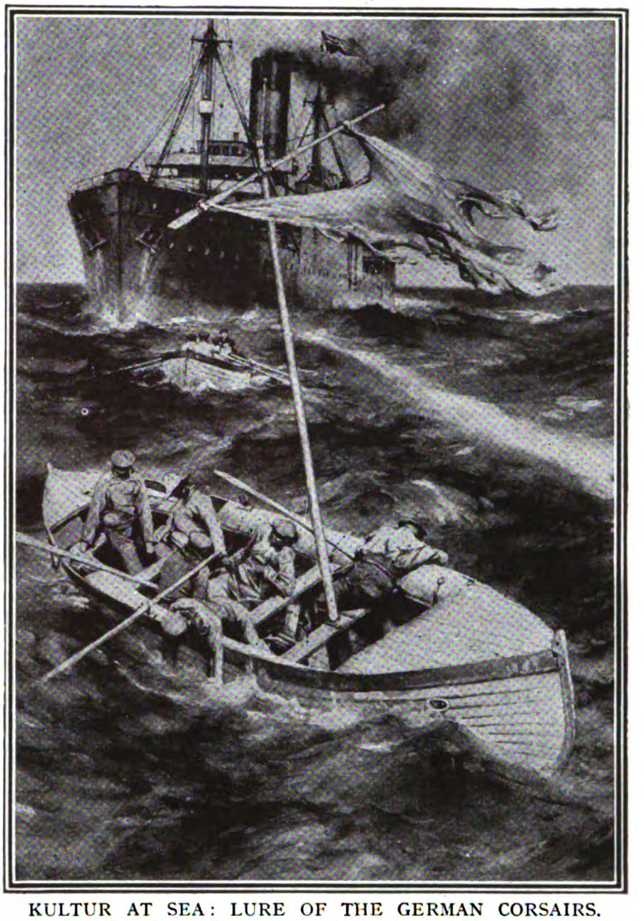
known to mankind. They wore no military uniform and could look forward to no medals. For this reason their vocation was on occasions mistaken, and they were presented with white feathers and other tributes which, not unrightly, the women of England and Scotland showered on those whom they suspected to be shirkers. The speeches of politicians and even of naval officials could be searched, and would yield scarcely an inkling of the fact that during the most critical period of the war, when the Navy failed to give the protection expected of it, the merchant service rose to the emergency. Where so many faltered or fell below the occasion, its men were true, and this though their ranks had been depleted by the withdrawal of thousands of good officers and seamen for purely naval service, where they did magnificent work. They might have been a race of Drakes and Blakes and Nelsons, all of whom had served in the merchant service and ever admired it.

The sufferings which they often had to endure were shown in the case of the Alnwick Castle, whose commander, Captain Chave, wrote a report of his experiences which has already become a classic, worthy of the pages of Hakluyt. His ship was torpedoed without notice in the Atlantic on March 19th, three hundred and twenty miles from the Scilly Islands. Extreme precautions had been taken and a thorough look-out had been kept, there being at the moment of attack two look-outs on the foremast, a steward on the forebridge, two cadets on the lower bridge, and the chief officer himself and fourth officer on the bridge. The six boats were lowered immediately after the explosion as the ship sank rapidly. The submarine emerged, showing a conning-tower and gun, trained on the sinking vessel, but then went off in pursuit of another ship, which she destroyed. In one boat was a woman with her baby, left callously by the submarine criminals on the open sea. After dark the wind freshened and the twenty-nine souls in the boat suffered piteously. All the 20th they spent "fighting the sea, struggling with oars to assist the sea anchor to head the boat up to the waves, constantly soaked with cold spray and pierced with the bitter wind, which was now from the north." Their torments increased. Some of the men became delirious from cold and thirst and want of food. Once the boat was swamped by a breaking sea in the dark, and it seemed that the agony was over. "A moan of despair rose in the darkness," wrote Captain Chave, "but I shouted to them, 'Bale, bale, bale!' and assured them that the boat could not sink." They got the water under, and at last, on the 23rd, after five men had perished in the boat, the surviving twenty-four were picked up in the last stage of misery and exhaustion by a French steamer, which treated them with noble tenderness.

Story of the Alnwick Castle

The case of the Alnwick Castle was typical of hundreds; with the sudden explosion, the disappearance of the great ship, the miserable struggle for life in open boats on a stormy sea by men who had no comforts and no warmth, and who were exposed to the waves and the bitter cold, with every prospect of perishing of starvation and thirst. Many boats were never heard of again; many ships vanished leaving no trace. What aggravated the infamy and inhumanity of the "brave and gallant" enemy was the German abuse of all laws regarded as sacred by seamen. The submarines persistently used the call of distress to attract other ships to them, when they callously destroyed these vessels. They tried even baser and more horrible stratagems. They set boats adrift, which looked as though they had human beings in them, poor derelicts of this war of murder, to which explosives and mines were attached. They disguised their submarines as fishing boats and ships' lifeboats, and hoisted in them the distress signal.

Attacks on hospital ships had been deliberately ordered by the German Admiralty, and were carried out with apparent enjoyment by the German submarine crews. The Note in which the German Government had publicly



KULTUR AT SEA: LURE OF THE GERMAN CORSAIRS.
A mean device of the pirates was to launch boats with dummy figures flying a distress signal. The pirate then submerged and torpedoed the first ship that came to rescue the apparently shipwrecked mariners.

intimated this barbarous intention on January 29th, 1917, has been mentioned already, and will remain as one of the most damning articles in the indictment against the Kaiser and Admiral Capelle. On the night of March 20th the British hospital ship Asturias, at which the Germans had fired a torpedo without making a hit in 1915, was torpedoed without warning and sank. She was steaming with navigation lights burning and with the Red Cross sign brilliantly illuminated, which, it need scarcely be said, made the work of the German miscreants much easier. She had nine hundred cases on board and a large number of R.A.M.C., nurses, and attendants. Forty-three persons, including two women, were killed and thirty-nine injured. The outrage had some importance from the light which it shed on British war organisation. The Government had announced in January that, if the Germans sank hospital ships, reprisals would be taken. The hospital ship had been sunk, yet the crime seemed to find the Admiralty without any definite plan of reprisal or redress. Further crimes followed, and illustrated the need of a stronger forethought department at Whitehall.

German war on hospital ships

On the night of March 30th-31st the hospital ship Gloucester Castle was torpedoed in mid-Channel, and the fact was announced by the German Admiralty in the wireless report which it issued. On this occasion all the wounded were removed, including a number of German prisoners, and there was no loss of life. On April 10th the hospital ship Salta was sunk during very bad weather by a mine which German submarines had laid. There were no wounded on board, but nine nursing Sisters and thirty-eight of the R.A.M.C. were drowned. And still the reprisals did not come. The delay, combined with the

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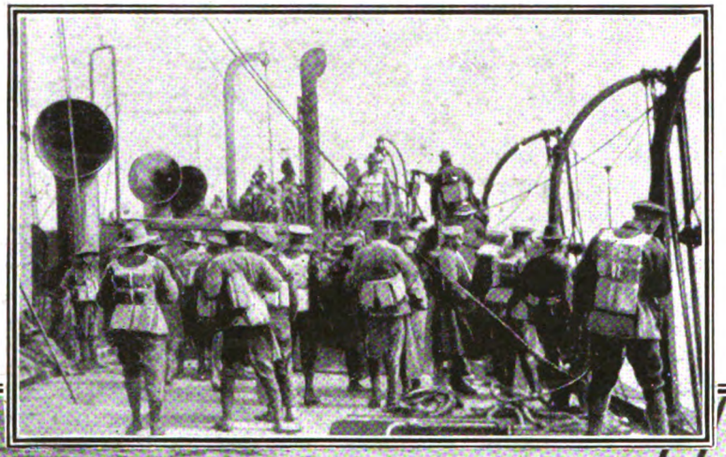
losses to British shipping, strengthened the general conviction that changes were urgently required at the Admiralty.

At last, on the night of April 14th, the reprisals took place. They assumed the form of an aeroplane bombardment of Freiburg, in Baden, an important military centre and headquarters of the 29th German Artillery Brigade, where were large munition works, so that, quite apart from the crime committed by the German submarines, an attack on the place would have been amply justified. It was, in fact, much as though the British batteries at Arras had fired a few extra rounds at the German trenches. Three British machines were lost in the bombardment, which took place at five in the afternoon by German time, and, according to the German reports, resulted in the death of seven women and four men or soldiers, and in injuries to twenty-seven men, women, and children. The German Government, which had killed and wounded some 1,200 women and children in the wanton bombardments of the North-East and South-East Coasts by Admiral Hipper's cruisers, in the Zeebrugge destroyer attacks, and in the cowardly Zeppelin raids, had the effrontery to complain that the British had attacked "an open town out of revenge." Its own "War Book," however, declared that military policy should be guided not by "sentimentality and flabby emotion," but only by "the fear of reprisals."

Sinking of the Lanfranc

On April 17th a submarine attacked and sank the hospital ship Lanfranc, on board which were a number of British wounded and also of Prussian Guards taken prisoners by the merciful British Army in the Battle of Arras. The moment they heard the explosion all the Prussian Guards who could stand rushed for the lifeboats, to the general contempt of the nurses and British wounded. Howling and panic-stricken, they demanded first place, and tried to fight their way into the boats till they were beaten back. They managed to secure one, but they so overcrowded it in their miserable cowardice that it capsized when it reached the water and they were thrown out. They struggled with one another and tried to fight their way into another already overladen boat crowded with badly-wounded British. The British wounded showed their usual calmness and forbearance. That same night another hospital ship, the Donegal, was sunk with wounded on board.



HEROISM OF AUSTRALIANS ON BOARD A TORPEDOED TROOPSHIP.

It was on April 25th, 1917, that the homeward-bound troopship Ballarat, carrying a large number of the Australian Imperial Forces, was torpedoed by an enemy submarine when about thirty-five miles from land. Thanks to the magnificent steadiness and discipline displayed, which, as the official notification put it, "were in keeping with the finest traditions of the British Army," everybody on board was safely transferred to patrol craft.

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Not the least sad feature of the story was that, when the Lanfranc's wounded were taken ashore and placed in a Y.M.C.A. hut used by British dockers, these dock labourers, who earned high wages in perfect security, grumbled and complained and were rough to the wounded who were in their way. For war brings out the best and the worst in men; and the best suffer for the worst, which is the law of human life. In the Lanfranc perished thirty-four souls, among them fifteen Germans; in the Donegal forty-one. Both ships were convoyed by destroyers.

The authorities now decided on a change of policy regarding the treatment of the wounded. The Navy, for the first time in the war, had met with failure in its efforts to protect the transport of men in the narrow waters of the Channel. New methods were necessary in view of this. Hospital ships were no longer sent out ablaze with lights to enable the German destroyers to find and sink them readily. German prisoners were usually carried in them when they went to sea, as there was scarcely a day on which a number of men were not captured by the British forces. The British wounded were, as far as possible, treated in hospital in France and not sent home.

New methods made necessary

This course involved some hardships for the men, but it had the very important military result of keeping the railways clear behind Sir Douglas Haig for the movement of troops and munitions. With the large British armies at that date in France it was becoming increasingly difficult to move the Red Cross trains across the rear if any manœuvring was required.

Two more hospital ships were torpedoed in early May without further reprisals.

AWAITING THEIR TURN IN THE BALLARAT'S BOATS.
Australia's brave sons—worthy of the Empire's Birkenhead tradition—stood singing or engaged in chaff while waiting orders to take to the boats, responding to their colonel's "Be steady!" with "We're all right!"

LINED UP FOR LEAVING THE TORPEDOED SHIP.
Within four minutes of the bugle sounding when the Ballarat was torpedoed every man was in his place and everything ready for abandoning ship. The men remained imperturbably cheerful in the hour of their peril.

The Navy in the early part of the war had generally been able to protect transports, but when the intensified submarine campaign became acute these also suffered. One of the most notable incidents of the war was the conduct of a battalion of the Middlesex Regiment in the Tyndareus, which struck a mine on February 9th off the coast of South Africa. The ship at once began to settle. The "Assembly" was sounded and the men put on their life-belts, paraded in excellent order, and at the command "Stand easy!" with death staring them in the face, they began to sing. They sang "The Long, Long Trail," and then "Tipperary." Lower and lower sank the ship, but the men maintained their calmness and their choruses, at intervals cheering the captain, who upheld the noble traditions of the merchant service by his firmness and skill. Help came in time, and they were rescued; the ship was eventually got into port not very greatly damaged.

The Birkenhead tradition

Three British transports were torpedoed in the Mediterranean in April—the Cameronian on April 15th, with the loss of one hundred and forty lives; and the Arcadian, the same day, with a loss of nineteen officers and two hundred and sixty men. On April 25th the Ballarat was sunk with Australian troops on board, but in her case there was no loss of life. In the case of the Cameronian the heavy loss was in large part due to the violence of the explosion, which undoubtedly killed many of the troops and crew. The Cameronian's chief officer, Robert McBurnie, after exhausting his energy in getting out the lifeboats, had boarded a destroyer, when, seeing a man struggling in the water, he dived to the rescue and gave his heroic life to save another. In the Arcadian the wireless operator went

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AFTER THE EXPLOSION.
On February 9th, 1917, the Tyndareus, Captain G. Flynn, struck a mine off Cape Agulhas, 105 miles south-east of Cape Town.

down in the ship with the receiver on his head, sending and receiving messages, faithful unto death. Always the troops behaved with a courage and composure that covered them with glory. Not in one but in every instance was the heroism of the soldiers who met death in the Birkenhead repeated.

The sinking of neutral ships proceeded monotonously. On April 2nd, almost the eve of the United States declaration of war, the first American armed ship to sail for Europe was torpedoed. She was the Aztec, carrying two 5 in. guns, manned by gunners of the United States Navy, but as the attack was made on a stormy night they never saw the submarine, and were unable to fire. The Aztec went to the bottom very quickly, taking with her twenty-eight officers and men.

Some days later the first German submarine was fired at by an American armed ship. This was the Mongolia, which, while on a voyage to a British port, sighted a German submarine, when the American naval gunners on board opened and obtained a clear hit on the submarine. Much oil was seen after a violent explosion.

The United States declared war on April 6th. The incalculable historic importance of this event is dealt with elsewhere. Here its naval consequences have to be set forth. It placed on the side of the Allies a Navy of great strength with magnificent traditions, though unfortunately that Navy was weak in men. There were at the date of war no fewer than fourteen American battleships of the Dreadnought type completed for sea, and most of these were vessels of extraordinary gun-power. In weight of metal the American Dreadnoughts were equal to the German Dreadnought battleships. Thus the force of heavy ships which the Allies now had available was so crushingly superior as to enable the High Commands to take risks which had previously been impossible or inexpedient to face, and to remove any excuse for want of enterprise. The British Battle Fleet in itself might be calculated to have had a superiority of over 60 per cent. in weight of metal, and now this further reinforcement was thrown into the scale and ready to aid it. In small craft the American Navy was relatively weak. The German 1916 "Naval Pocket Book" showed forty-seven large modern destroyers complete and sixteen older destroyers ready for sea, in addition to eleven large boats which were building. Another weakness was in the fast light cruisers, which had proved their value so remarkably in the war. Of these the United States Navy had only three. It was peculiarly well equipped in the matter of naval bases on the western side of the Atlantic, while the denial of the American ports to the German submarines was a very serious further blow to the pirate Navy. Probably that had been anticipated from the first by the German Staff, but it is also probable that they counted on obtaining secret aid from sympathisers in the United States. This now carried with it the grave penalties of treason.

The shipbuilding resources of the United States were great,

SAVED BY SEAMANSHIP: THE TYNDAREUS NEARING PORT.
The Tyndareus was carrying a battalion of the Middlesex Regiment, commanded by Lieut.-Colonel J. Ward, M.P. (above). All ranks displayed conduct which "upheld the splendid tradition of the Birkenhead," and by "devotion and perseverance" Captain Flynn brought his ship to port without loss of life.

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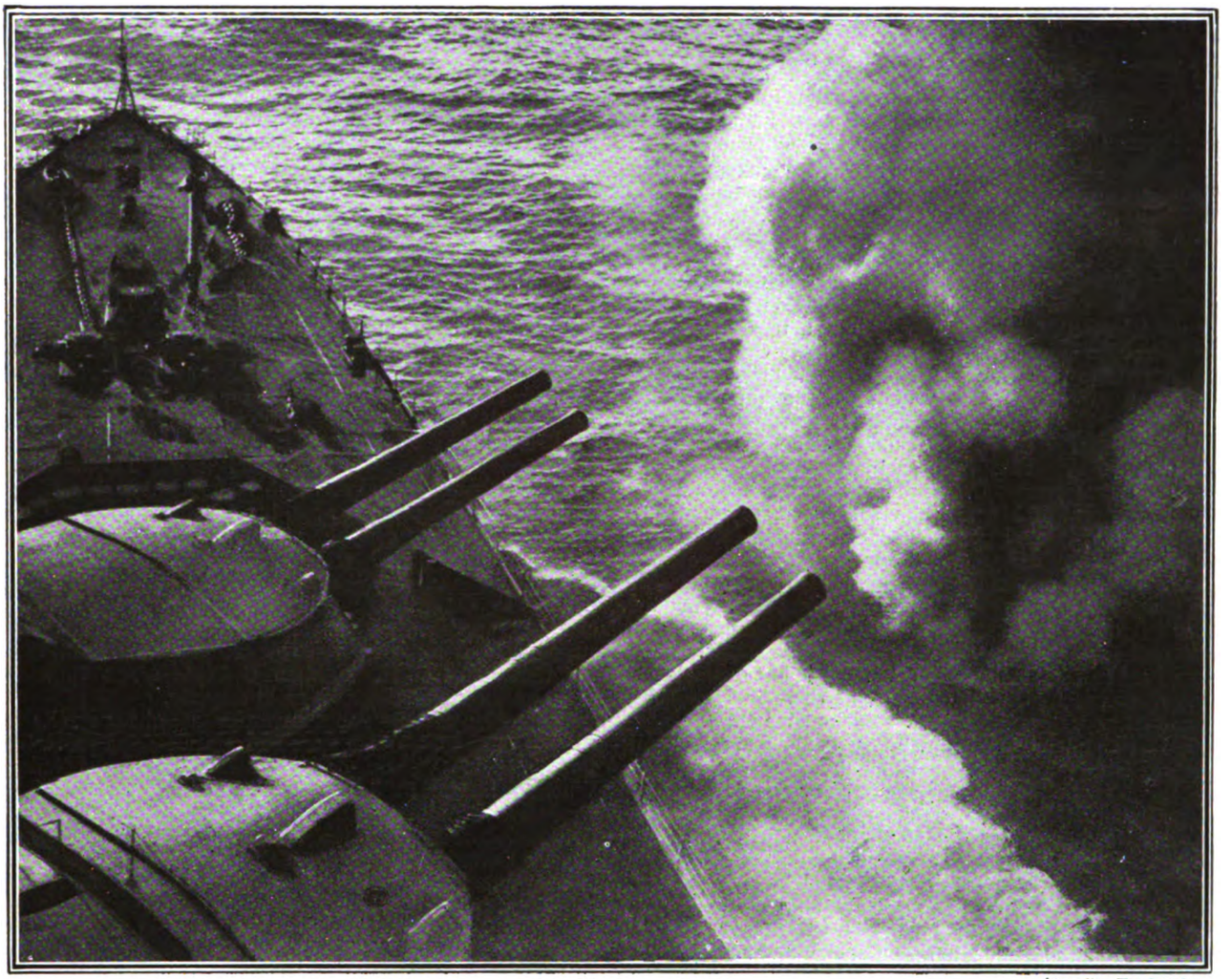

[Canadian War Records.

FIRING THE 15 IN. GUNS OF A BRITISH BATTLESHIP.

The Queen Elizabeth, completed in 1914, was the first British Dreadnought to be armed with 15 in. guns, of which she carried eight, representing 15,600 lb. weight of projectiles discharged by a single broadside. In theory a direct hit from a 15 in. gun will pierce nine inches of the best type of armour from a distance of eight miles. Practically, the biggest gun is the most accurate gun for long-range firing.

only surpassed by those of Great Britain and Germany, and they were not, like the British and German yards, affected by the withdrawal of hundreds of thousands of able-bodied workers for service in the fighting ranks. The output of merchant tonnage a year was estimated at over 1,200,000 tons, while warship tonnage could also be produced with reasonable speed. Though many of the great American engineering and munition works had, prior to the declaration of war, been engaged in work for the Allies, the Government arsenals and dockyards, which had not hitherto been employed to anything like their full power, were now available. In addition to this, one hundred and nineteen German and Austrian ships of 719,000 tons were in American ports, and were promptly seized, repaired, and put into use.

Naval results of U.S. intervention

The total strength of the American naval personnel before the war was about 66,000 officers and men, which was the strength of the German Navy in 1912.

The first attack upon an American warship was made on April 17th, when a submarine fired at the destroyer Smith a hundred miles south of New York. The torpedo missed the Smith by thirty yards, and the submarine, which was running submerged, disappeared. The German Admiralty subsequently declared that no German submarine was on the western side of the Atlantic, but to such a statement no value could be attached, in view of the German record for mendacity. Early in May a powerful contingent of American destroyers, which had been detached from the American Atlantic Fleet and despatched to Europe, arrived in a British port, and was welcomed with the greatest enthusiasm by the British Navy. Sir David Beatty, commanding the Grand Fleet, telegraphed this message in honour of the event, and of the glorious comradeship of the two great Navies :

> The Grand Fleet rejoices that the Atlantic Fleet will now share the task of preserving the liberties of the world and maintaining the chivalry of the sea.

To which Admiral Henry T. Mayo, commanding the Atlantic Fleet, replied :

> The United States Atlantic Fleet appreciates the message from the British Fleet, and welcomes the opportunities for work with the British Fleet for the freedom of the seas.

The Atlantic Fleet further undertook the patrol of the Western and Southern Atlantic, thus freeing large British forces for work in the North Sea.

Atlantic fleet gets to work

This help came most opportunely at one of the critical moments of the war, when to all appearances the German submarines were fulfilling the hopes that the German Staff had entertained of them. They were being turned out, according to an able American official who left Germany late in March, at a maximum rate of ten a month. There were then, according to his information, three hundred submarines in existence ranging from 300 tons to 1,500 tons. The smallest type of submarine mine-layer does not seem to have been included in this estimate; it operated mainly from Zeebrugge and infested the Channel

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and southern parts of the North Sea. The submarines, this authority stated, were constructed in sections at Barmen, Elberfeld, Düsseldorf, and other manufacturing centres, and were then sent to Hamburg or Stettin to be assembled. There were usually sixty submarines at sea at any given time, and as these returned or were captured or sunk others took their place.

No respect was shown by the German commanders for humanity or international law. On April 4th the Brazilian steamer Paraná was torpedoed and sunk with heavy loss of life; and, failing to obtain any satisfaction, Brazil seized all the German shipping in her ports, a total of 240,000 tons, and opened her ports to allied warships. On April 10th, the Argentine Government in a Note recorded its condemnation of German submarine practices; but, despite this protest, placed an embargo on the export of grain, thus hampering the Allies. The turn of Spain came next. On April 10th the Spanish steamer San Fulgencio, with a German safe-conduct, was sunk without warning, and the Spanish Government, which had hitherto maintained a masterly inactivity, protested vehemently. Nor was the slightest regard shown for the limits of the "danger zone." Several steamers flying the Norwegian flag were sunk in early April off Bergen, which was well outside. No State suffered more cruelly than Norway. In the single month of April she lost seventy-two ships destroyed by the pirates, some of them in Norwegian territorial waters, and many of them outside the "danger zone." In all, since the outbreak of war, she had lost four hundred and seventy-six vessels of 675,000 tons by the end of May, 1917. Sweden, despite the strong anti-Ally sympathies of her upper classes, did not escape. Three Swedish steamers carrying food to Sweden were wantonly sunk, with the loss of ten lives, in May.

Utter disregard of Neutral rights

Through all this, while State after State broke off relations, the Germans continued their insolent boasting over their crimes. Never did a people so preen itself on its infamy. At the close of April, Admiral Capelle declared that all expectations had been confirmed, that the reduction of allied tonnage was proceeding with mathematical regularity, that the U boat war had "hit the vital nerve of England." Dr. Helfferich, the German Minister of the Interior, announced that 1,600,000 tons of shipping had been sunk in February and March, of which 1,000,000 were British, and that the British Government dared not disclose the facts. Admiral Capelle, on May 9th, stated that not less than a million tons had been sunk in April, and said that while the Staff had calculated upon a total destruction of 1,800,000 tons in the first three months, the tonnage actually sunk had been 2,800,000, and the number of ships 1,325. Moreover, the German submarines were constantly growing in skill and experience; their weapons were being improved; new boats and new torpedoes were constantly being completed; officers and men crowded forward for submarine service; the losses were small beyond expectation, and the British reports of large numbers of U boats destroyed were false. In the better weather of the summer even higher figures of destruction were to be expected. The tone was confident, even jubilant.

A state of affairs in which the Germans sank fifty British ships a week and 1,000,000 tons of shipping a month made the British command of the surface of the sea a mockery, and must have been speedily fatal to an island State. Anxiety as to British naval policy deepened. It was pointed out in the Press that the Admiralty, as it existed at the opening of the war, as it still remained in that fateful April when the destinies of nations trembled on the knees of the gods, was not a good instrument for the conduct of operations. Critics alleged that no member of it had studied deeply the scientific side of war. Yet science was everywhere conquering. The British Admiralty doubtless included many able officers, but they were, said the reformers, specialists—gunnery men, torpedo men—rather than strategists. The War Staff was alleged to be comparatively uninfluential, the humble subordinate of the Board, which was at once unwieldy and oddly composed for the control of so highly technical a business as naval war.

Five Sea Lords, all of them naval officers, figured on the Board; but, instead of being free to consider strategy, they were said to be for the most part overwhelmed in administrative detail. The First Sea Lord had in practice to look after most things, for all the business was centralised to a remarkable degree. The Second Sea Lord was in charge of personnel; the Third Sea Lord attended to material; the Fourth Sea Lord controlled supplies; the Fifth Sea Lord directed the Naval Air Service. In addition to these there were five civilians on the Board, the First Lord, Civil Lord, Additional Civil Lord, Parliamentary Secretary, and Permanent Secretary, the last one of the most powerful figures in the organisation. This was not an Admiralty of the kind which had fought and won the great wars of the remoter past, but a body which had been designed for peace conditions and their own convenience by politicians. Naval strategy was left very largely to chance and hurried decisions. The Chief of the Staff, Sir Henry Oliver, had held his office since the autumn of 1914, through a period when there had been frequent warnings that a great submarine campaign was imminent. Yet the success of the German U boats seems to have come on the Admiralty as a great surprise.

The nation and its Allies naturally asked for results in the shape of submarines sunk and British ships protected from attack. Victory or defeat hung in the balance. Whether it was to be victory or defeat for the Allies depended ultimately on the British Admiralty and, at the British Admiralty, on the ability of the War Staff to foresee German moves, to parry them when made, to co-ordinate the naval action of the Allies, to meet the submarines with such energy, skill, and resource as to overcome them. The chief charge brought against the Admiralty in the Press was that it had played for safety rather than victory, and that, as the result of playing for safety, as many ships and lives had been lost as would have given victory. Now there was overwhelming force available owing to the addition of the United States Fleet to the allied forces, so that on no theory was ultra-caution necessary. The question put was whether the Admiralty could change its whole habit of mind and cast of thought—could turn instantly from the passive defensive to an active and resolute offensive.

The first requisite of such a change was a good Staff, to plan operations systematically and scientifically. A department similar to the Ministry of Munitions in the War Office was created under a new official—though his title was old—the Controller. To this post a civilian, Sir Eric Geddes, was appointed with rank of a vice-admiral. Vice-Admiral Oliver became an additional member of the Admiralty Board with Rear-Admiral A. L. Duff, who had previously been in charge of the anti-submarine operations, under the respective titles of Deputy-Chief and Assistant-Chief of the Staff. Sir John Jellicoe, the First Sea Lord, took the additional title of Chief of the Naval Staff. It now remained to be seen whether this advance in the dignity of the War Staff and the renaming of officials would bring the desired result. The submarine campaign had brought the bankruptcy of the old system, the failure of which every thinker had predicted for twenty years. Now this reconstruction of it was to be tried in the fiercest of furnaces.

Changes at the Admiralty

At the end of May there was some improvement in the British position. Though the British shipping losses continued to be heavy, Mr. Lloyd George was able to tell the House of Commons on May 25th: "We are making substantial progress. During the last three weeks or a month we have dealt more effective blows at the submarines than during any corresponding period of the war."

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YEOMANRY SKIRTING THE EDGE OF A MINE-CRATER. [British official photograph.

CHAPTER CLXXXI.

THE CLOSING BATTLES OF THE ANCRE AND THE OPENING OF THE GERMAN RETREAT.

By Edward Wright, Author of "The Great British Battles of the Somme."

Ludendorff Uses Hindenburg as a Screen—Plans for the Great Retirement to the Arras-Laon Line—Manœuvring Masses Used to Threaten Italy and Southern France—Sir Hubert Gough Opens the Great Advance—Scotsmen and Irishmen in the Le Transloy Salient—Breaking of German Line at River Trench and Capture of Grandcourt—Why the Hamburgers Surrendered at Baillescourt Farm—Capture of the Supreme Key Position on the Ancre Front—Nemesis Overtakes the Militarised German Tribes—Signal of British Victory from German Trenches—Main Enemy Line by Bapaume Breaks and Retreats—Prussian Guard at Gommecourt Abandons Position against Orders—British Advance Hindered by Lack of Ample Superior Flying Machines—Sir Douglas Haig Dominates the European Theatre of War—Marshal Joffre's Opinion on the Situation—Allies' Plan of Action Disarranged by Weakness of Russian Democracy—New British Railway System Counters New U-Boat Campaign—Balance of Opposing Forces on Western Front—Why the Army Council Called For another Half a Million Men—Grand Importance of the Huge American Reserves.

AT the end of November, 1916, the British armies on the Somme and Ancre, as described in Chapters CLIV. and CLV. (Vol. VIII.), had a strong sense of victory. The German armies on the two rivers had a deep sense of defeat. The natural consequence was for the enemy to profit by the winter standstill and gradually withdraw to a new line. The British, however, hoped that considerations of both civilian and military moral in Germany would induce the enemy to continue to fight desperately on the weakened river lines.

Ludendorff, the new dictator of the Central Empires, thought of a way out of the difficulty. It was Ludendorff who had picked out Hindenburg from a Hanover café, won the victory of Tannenberg for him, and turned all the limelight of the German Press Bureau upon the picturesque figurehead he used. Ludendorff had stilled all the jealousies in the German General Staff against himself by making Hindenburg the popular idol. Then, under cover of Hindenburg's artificial popularity, Ludendorff had stalked and brought down Falkenhayn and became the secret master of Middle Europe. He conquered Bethmann-Hollweg, and as Hollweg was little more than the gramophone of the Kaiser, Ludendorff actually brought the German Kaiser under his control.

At the same time he became the practical master of the young Austrian Kaiser. He had all the principal Austrian and Hungarian forces sandwiched between German troops, directed by German Staffs, and controlled by German commanders. Some important Turkish and Bulgarian divisions were also directly under his orders. Bismarck never enjoyed, never dreamt of enjoying, such power as Ludendorff exercised. The position of this bull-necked, energetic, cruelly jovial master of the Central Empires resembled that of a mayor of the palace under the decadent Merovingian Frankish kings.

He possessed the unusual virtue of preferring real power to outward fame. Herein he resembled Bismarck, and, like Bismarck, he was a man of veritable genius, loyal to his caste and esteeming his Emperor and all the rest of Germany and Austria as a means to the triumph of Prussian Junkerdom. The lack of personal ambition in

[Canadian War Records.

GOOD HEART MAKES LABOUR LIGHT.

Working a heavy howitzer on the Canadian section of the Somme battle-front; labour in which there was practically no intermission after the great British offensive began in July, 1916.

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Ludendorff was one of the main elements of his strength. Not only was he neither a Cromwell nor a Napoleon, he was not even a Hindenburg. He did not merely allow the old Field-Marshal all the popular applause; he went out of his way to help in the campaign of advertisement of his nominally commanding officer.

There seems to have been no friction between him and Hindenburg. He was absolutely necessary to the man whose reputation he had created, and he was also the ablest politician on the reorganised General Staff. He appointed one of the German generals who had been defeated on the Somme—General Stein—to be Minister of War in Berlin. Stein became his faithful and obedient ally occupying the place from which Falkenhayn had worked against Moltke. Mackensen, one of the ablest of German commanders in the field, owed his position largely to Ludendorff, and though he had been put forward by Falkenhayn in 1915 as a rival to the Hindenburg-Ludendorff partnership, Mackensen was ready to act with the new dictator.

The man behind Hindenburg

Falkenhayn had not done so well as he should have done in Rumania. Moreover, he had exposed Mackensen, who was a vehement gambler in war, to serious risks in the Argesh River action. Ludendorff, who waged war in much the same way as Steinitz in his prime played chess, was a sound, careful, and very patient strategist of the unadventurous, scientific school.

In the winter of 1916 he fully possessed the confidence of all the other leading German commanders, most of whom were, like himself, unknown to fame, and acting behind the Crown Princes of Prussia and Bavaria and behind

[*British official photograph.*

THREE DISTINGUISHED BRITISH GENERALS.

Sir Herbert Plumer, K.C.B., commanding the Second Army, to whose care and thoroughness the success at Messines was chiefly due in June, 1917, and Generals Sir E. H. H. Allenby and Sir H. S. Horne, who commanded the Third and First Armies on the western front.

GENERAL SIR HUBERT GOUGH, K.C.B.

Commanding the 3rd Cavalry Brigade in the early stages of the war, Sir Hubert was afterwards given command of the Fifth Army, and did splendid work in the Battles of the Somme and Arras.

Duke Albrecht of Würtemberg and Prince Leopold of Bavaria.

Ludendorff, being as resolute as Bismarck, resolved to sacrifice the Press-made fame of Hindenburg to the task of evading the British trap on the Somme. He ordered a retirement to be at once organised, instructing the official Press controllers to work the Hindenburg legend for all that it was worth, and thus steady public opinion against the effects of the extraordinary retreat.

The proposed withdrawal was more significant than the retirement from the Marne. The Battle of the Marne was an open-field struggle, from which the worsted enemy had drawn back to a strong natural fortress line, with caves and quarries, on which he made a victorious stand. On the Somme, however, he was arranging to give up the most powerful fortified line in the world, and flee beyond the range of the medium heavy British artillery, simply because he had been hammered out of the positions he had spent two years in fortifying. The line to which he was fleeing was weaker than the lines from which he was being driven. Therefore, he could not use any excuses similar to those with which the younger Moltke had fairly successfully covered the failure on the Marne.

Marne and Somme contrasted

It was a testimony to the inventive mind of Ludendorff that he lighted upon the figure of his nominal chief as a screen against the general depression that would have invaded the Teutonic soul had the movement of confessed defeat been conducted without any plausible explanation.

Hindenburg, who had recoiled for a victorious spring in both East Prussia and Russian Poland, was supposed to be entirely responsible for the proposed withdrawal from the Somme and Ancre. The argument, as prepared by

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Ludendorff, ran at first that no admission of the pressure on the part of the allied armies was implied by the retreat. When this excuse had worn too thin to quieten the German mind, Ludendorff assuaged the growing unrest by mysteriously hinting at the preparation of a grand and masterly plan of an offensive to which the partial withdrawal was a key.

All the winter work energetically proceeded upon the new line, running from Arras to Laon, and commonly known as the Hindenburg line. General Stein and his subordinates in Berlin rigorously "combed" the Central Empires of their last recruits of good quality. The new system of industrial compulsion was vigorously applied in order to dilute skilled labour in munition works, railway transport, and other industries of vital importance. Young men and men in the prime of life were obtained in great numbers, with the remarkable result that Ludendorff was able at the beginning of 1917 to reckon on a new general reserve amounting to about one million men.

He placed the enormous number of four hundred thousand troops in and about the Black Forest. They were echeloned from Basle to Constance, and from Mulhouse to Strassburg. Thus they threatened the French Vosges line on the one side and the Swiss Jura line on the other side, and were popularly supposed to be aimed at turning the French flank below Belfort by a drive through Switzerland.

Germany's new general reserve

Another group of four hundred thousand troops of the new reserve was more loosely collected in Southern Germany, menacing Italy by means of an enormous reinforcement of the Austro-Hungarian troops in the Trentino. There was, however, no sure ground for supposing that either of these preliminary great concentrations was definitely intended for use against South-Eastern France or Lombardy. Indeed, Ludendorff is said to have decided against the Austrian scheme for a renewal of the Trentino offensive.

Ludendorff and his Staff well knew that the concentrations would be soon known to the Allies. The two new masses were in the nature of demonstrations, intended to facilitate operations in the spring, and meanwhile confuse and mislead the Allies. Ludendorff was still relying upon the German railway system for a rapid rehandling of his striking forces. There were indications that a sudden thrust at the Russian front at Riga was among the strokes contemplated, and that very strong forces of men and artillery were being directed towards the Champagne front in France and the Yser and Ypres line in Flanders.

Ludendorff's plans delayed

Undoubtedly, Ludendorff intended to strike with his grand reserve, but he met with a series of difficulties during his winter preparations. The German railway system was wearing out, owing to the pressure put upon it by the British Fleet. Lack of sufficient lubricating oil, combined with incessant traffic, seems to have produced serious damage to the rolling-stock. Troop and munition trains in motion could be heard at a distance of ten miles, through the wheels shrieking upon the axles. When the stock was sadly in need of a period of relief for repairs, an extraordinary spell of long and severe frost froze the German canals and navigable rivers, caused great disorder in the transport of war stores and general goods, and increased the burden upon the overloaded railways. Such a winter had not been known for the best part of a century. By stopping all the canal traffic it upset the plans of the German Staff and disastrously delayed the rearrangement and munitioning of their armies.

GERMANY'S WAR-LORD ON THE SOMME.

The Kaiser with his Staff watching the operations at one point of the Battle of the Somme, 1916. He is the third figure from the right of the photograph, apparently looking at a map. Ironical fate decreed that the presence of the German War-Lord at a battle should have almost invariably presaged victory for the other side, and this occasion was no exception to what had come to be looked upon as the rule.

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[*British official photograph.*

THE VICTORY LINE.

British soldiers laying a railroad on ground they had newly captured in the course of their victorious eastward advance.

Sir Douglas Haig was in the same difficulty as Ludendorff. He had not sufficient railway power. The British commander may not have known what the enemy intended to do. Indeed, he may not have much cared; for his design was once more to compel the Germans to meet him in a grand battle on the ground he again chose. In order, however, to select his own ground, Sir Douglas Haig needed more railways, and needed them at once The chief reason why he had been unable, in the summer and autumn of 1916, to open and maintain a double offensive at widely separated points was that he lacked the lines, locomotives, and trucks necessary for feeding two mighty and separated battle forces.

[*British official photograph.*

PLEASURABLE PROSPECT OF A MEAL IN SECURITY.

German prisoners drawing rations, watched with interest by their comrades behind the wires. Many of the Germans captured were half-famished, the intense and incessant British artillery fire having effectually served to prevent rations being brought up to them in their trenches.

In the winter of 1916 Sir Douglas Haig appealed to the British railway companies to help him. Magnificent was the effort they made. First, with the consent of the British Government, the passenger traffic in Great Britain was restricted and the carriage of many kinds of material was diminished. This enabled rolling-stock to be moved to France and Flanders, and at the same time entire tracks were transported by patriotic railway companies. Even the ballast was conveyed to France. Tens of thousands of tons of macadam for new road-making were given to the sappers of the British armies, who, under officers of genius, developed quite an incomparable speed in road-making and track construction.

Triumphs of British engineering

All this railway work and engineering work was the fundamental factor of future successes. The war had become an engineering affair. Even superior troops with superior guns could not achieve victory by their own exertions. Success in both victorious advances and disconcerting retreats rested with the side that possessed the best and most numerous means of movement and supply.

It was the merit of Sir Douglas Haig and his Staff that they clearly perceived these primal conditions of modern warfare in its latest developments, and energetically worked all through the winter of 1916 to improve their means of communication. Two hundred miles of main railway track were added behind the British front, together with new lines of light railways and new motor roads.

By February, 1917, Sir Douglas Haig began to reckon that the tonnage his improved railways were capable of carrying was fairly commensurate with the tonnage landed at his sea bases. All that he then wanted was more heavy artillery and a larger reserve of men. Some of his heavy guns had to be lent to Italy, and strikes in the British engineering trades hindered vital output. Yet the British commander was able to obtain sufficient shell to enable him at last to throw at the enemy forty thousand tons a week. This, however, did not content him. He wanted still more heavy guns and more heavy shells, as it was his design to blast the Germans out of their lines by an unending hurricane of high explosives of unparalleled intensity, and thereby save his infantry the immense sacrifices they had made on the Somme.

The campaign that had been checked in November, 1916, by the swimming clay in the Ancre Valley, was, notwithstanding the check, carried on in the latter part of the same month, through December, and through January. The British infantry did not make any

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important move but, as described in Chapter CLXXVIII., continually raided the hostile lines in an intensification of the ferocious winter sport of the previous year. The campaign was mainly continued by the artillery. In the Somme area the Germans were under observation from the great ridge they had lost, and from the sky immediately above them, where their fighting pilots had temporarily lost the lead in aerial warfare. The plight of the beaten German forces was hopeless, and the British guns never ceased, either by day or night, to hammer the shallow hostile line.

At first the men in the firing-trenches on both sides were in a deplorable condition. On the ground where the action had been broken off there was little more than rough connections between shell-holes, undrained and without protection of either parapets or dug-outs. In some places, such as our position near Grandcourt, no connected lines existed, but merely a series of rough outpost positions with the approaches covered by British and German batteries.

The predominance of the British artillery told upon the physical condition of the front-line German troops. They were unable to get up provisions in a regular manner, or obtain boarding for revetting their trenches and lifting them out of the mud.

On the other hand, British soldiers in a similar position were well served and regularly rationed, and by the first week in December some means of comfort were installed in most of the transformed shell-hole lines.

When the wet weather was succeeded by sharp frosts the Germans were helped by the light white mist rising at night. Covered by the haze, they came out into the neutral zone and there erected new barbed-wire entanglements sometimes seven feet high and fifty feet broad. Thereupon, the British troops also came out in the night mist to the neutral zone and bombed and dispersed the night workers. In the day-time, when the mist lifted, the Stokes mortars and field-artillery shattered the enemy's labour of the night, and if his guns tried to engage in a duel the heavy ordnance of Sir Henry Rawlinson's and Sir Hubert Gough's armies beat down all opposition.

German retreat preparations

The German commanders prepared for the great retreat by leaving only outposts in the broken, shallow fire-trench and small reinforcements in the support line. Both these German positions on the Somme front were open to shrapnel fire and entirely without shelter from high explosives. Only in the third reserve line were there tunnel dug-outs in which the main bodies of defending troops could sit with some security. The Germans had no leather, fur, or sheepskin coats, and took no change of clothes into the trenches. They suffered badly from stomach and chest complaints, and when sick were often harshly treated as malingerers. Many of their rest billets were within the range of the British railway guns, so that when they escaped from the misery of the wet trenches they had to crowd together in damp cellars.

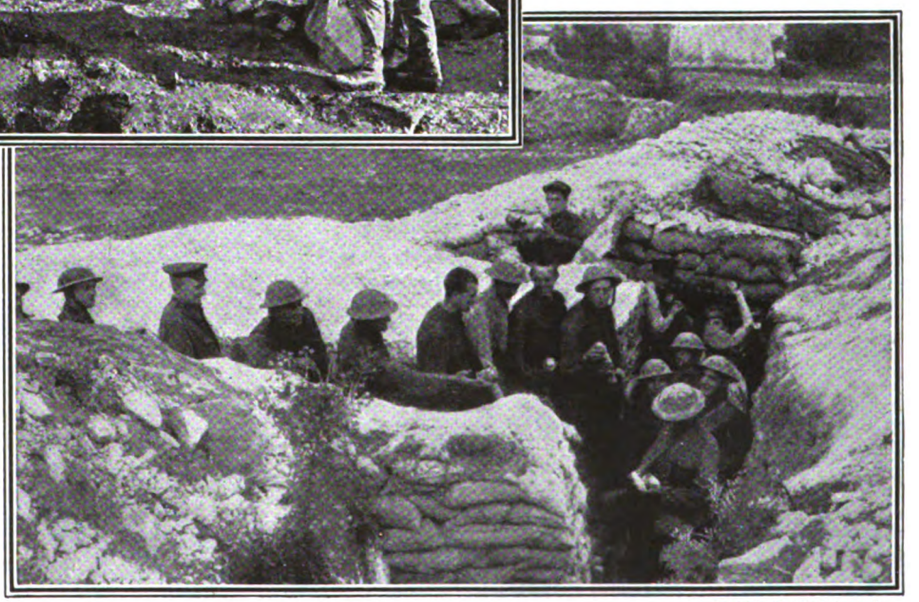
Towards Christmas the activity of the British raiding-parties increased all along the hundred-mile front. They made daylight swoops behind gas-clouds and smoke-screens, explored the German lines at night, often without meeting a German soldier, and generally did all they could to keep the enemy nervous and subdued. During this display of force the British troops began their new southward extension towards Roye, and took over from the French a sector of the Somme.

Sir Hubert Gough, the conqueror of Beaumont-Hamel, and

[*British official photograph.*

AN IMPROVISED "BILLET."

British soldiers had here arranged a "billet" with corrugated iron and tarpaulin against the remnants of a French farmhouse.



[*British official photograph.*

AT AN UNDERGROUND CANTEEN ON THE WESTERN FRONT.

Men of the British force making purchases at a trench canteen. During the long trench warfare on the western front in some places dug-outs were conveniently converted into canteens, where the soldiers could get such "extras" as imparted greater variety to their daily fare.

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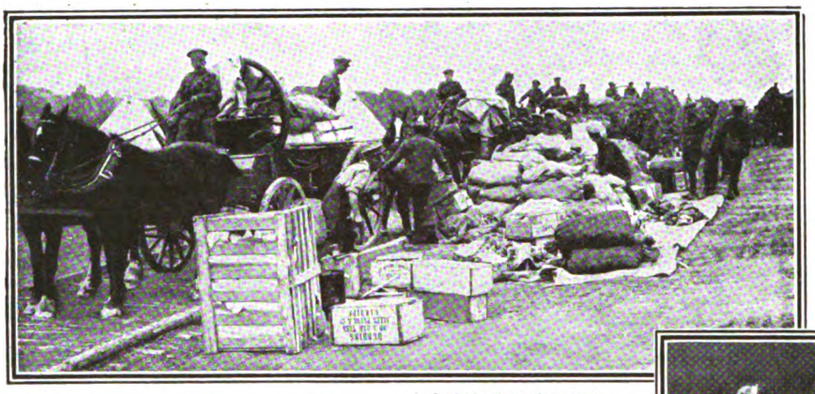

[British official photograph.

FETCHING RATIONS FROM THE RAILHEAD "DUMP."

Rations were sent up daily to divisional rail-heads, where waggons attended to take them on to battalion quartermasters at some convenient point nearer the front for further subdivision among companies.

the brilliant partner of Sir Henry Rawlinson in the Somme campaign, remained in control of affairs along the Ancre and the Serre plateau, ready for the drive through Bapaume and the struggle along the middle of the Hindenburg line. General Allenby, with his army reinforced for a new offensive around Arras, maintained his old position on the left of the forces of Sir Hubert Gough, with the upper part of the Hindenburg line as his objective. Sir Henry Horne, one of the master British gunners, moved from the Somme towards Arras to assist in the next grand offensive.

The Canadians, under Sir Julian Byng, were transferred from the scene of their victory south of the Ancre to the lower slopes of the Vimy Ridge, south of Lens. This was the critical point in the new line the enemy was arranging, and the position of attack given to the conquerors of Courcelette was a telling tribute to their fighting fame. Their offensive was planned long in advance, in February, 1917, thus anticipating Ludendorff's scheme for retiring his centre and striking with his wings. The Australians were also given an important line of assault that afterwards led them into the Hindenburg system at Bullecourt; while the South Africans, covered in tragic glory by their stand in Delville Wood, were so placed as to enter the still greater battle in a scene of even more terrible trial.

Canadians moved to Vimy

Sir Hubert Gough opened the infantry advance towards the new German line. On the night of January 2nd, 1917, the Germans provoked the new Ancre campaign by jumping one of the British advanced posts in front of Serre. A Staff officer, inquiring into the affair, found a dead British sentry amid a quagmire of ponds and mud-swamps, through which it was impossible to build a strong line.

The only way in which to strengthen the front was to capture the nearest German positions and link them together into a protective barrier. In the night of January 5th two small parties crawled through the mud towards the German posts. The first party of twenty men

[British official photograph.

FRIENDLY NEUTRALS SAMPLE BRITISH RATIONS.

General Primo de Rivera, one of the Spanish officers who visited the allied armies in the field in France, inspecting the bread turned out from one of the Army bakeries.

rushed their objective and made forty-four German prisoners, at no cost to themselves in fatal casualties. The second party, that attacked a strong point on the right, also trapped the defending troops, but were counter-attacked by a detachment of Bavarian bombers. After a sharp fight the enemy's supporting force was shattered and the conquered position consolidated.

The points thus won commanded an important system of enemy trenches. The German commander, therefore, would not give up the struggle. On January 7th he turned his guns on to his lost positions and, after a heavy bombardment, made another vain counter-attack. The consequence was that the British artillery also opened heavily and on a wider front of two miles, and on January 10th English patrols climbed up the battered slopes behind their deadly barrage, and took one hundred and twenty prisoners from an upper line of dug-outs. As in the previous case, the prisoners were more numerous than the attackers and the cost of the little local victory was slight.

These things showed that the enemy was enfeebled and disheartened. Sir Hubert Gough, therefore, resolved to press onward and upward, in spite of the severe weather conditions. So on January 11th, when a thick morning mist, followed by a snowstorm, veiled all the Serre plateau, a strong attack was delivered by English county regiments on the high ground above the Ancre.

Very slowly the English troops moved. They were ankle-deep in mud on the firm ground and up to their thighs in slime in other places. Sometimes, when an officer was sucked in the mud he had first to pull his feet out of his long boots and go on in his stockings until his boots were dug out. Notwithstanding all the difficulties of the ground the German line

[British official photograph.

DRAWING RATIONS FROM THE BATTALION QUARTERMASTER.

Company quartermasters served out the meat to their cooks and divided the rations into portions for platoons, labelling them and sending them on to the company ration-parties still farther forward, by whom they were distributed to the men in the front line.

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was reached, under cover of mist and snow, before the hostile machine-gunners could get to work. Some of the German officers fought to the death, but their men surrendered by the hundred without a struggle.

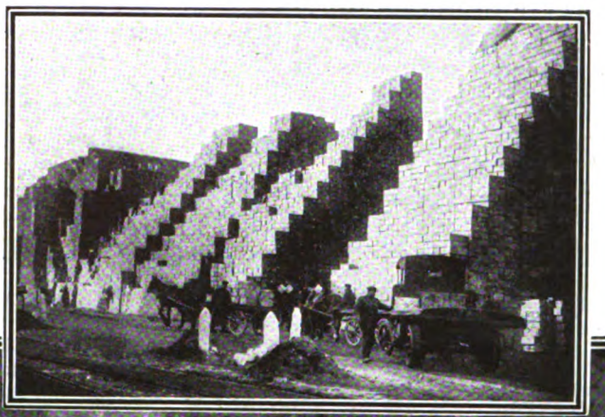
When the German artillery tried to put a shell curtain over the edge of the plateau, something went wrong with their fire-control system. Their observation-officers had been killed or captured, and the falling snow prevented the others from seeing what had happened. The wild shooting did scarcely any damage, and, when the weather cleared, the forward observation-officers of General Gough's army were securely fixed upon the high ground of the Serre plateau, and thence directed their massed guns upon the enemy's lines.

Holding attack at Le Transloy

Then came the great frost that whitened the battlefield for weeks. The mud hardened, the shell-pools froze, the brown, rusty barriers of barbed-wire put on beauty, and became looped and graceful tangles of ice crystals and clinging snow. But winter could not silence and frost could not subdue the tireless British guns. The general bombardment of the enemy's reserve line and communications increased rather than diminished, and the continual thick fogs were employed as screens in great raids all along the front.

On January 27th the raids were varied by a holding attack against one of the positions on the Bapaume sector. The enemy occupied a sunken road at Le Transloy, on a slope going down to the ruined village. It was a bitter morning, with a sharp wind blowing over the snow. Three German battalions were making coffee in their dug-outs, leaving only a few numbed sentries watching the breadth of a hundred yards between the lines.

Suddenly, at half-past five o'clock, there was a clash of artillery and, as the guns spoke, a force of Scotsmen and Irishmen charged across the snow. Before the Germans could man their trenches or use a single machine-gun they were trapped and bundled into old London omnibuses which used to run to the Bank. Only from two isolated trenches on the right was there any rifle fire, and the victorious troops at first drove a third of a mile beyond their objective. But finding the ground there was too hard to



[*British official photographs.*

BUSY HOUR AT THE PORTABLE FIELD-KITCHENS ON THE ANCRE.

British soldiers drawing their dinner rations from the field-kitchens near the fighting-front on the Ancre. The feeding of the vast numbers of troops was a triumph of organisation. The method by which the supplies were taken up and distributed to the various units is graphically described in an earlier volume of this work (Vol. VIII., p. 447). Above : Huge stacks of supplies accumulated for British troops on the western front.

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NATURE'S PROTECTIVE COLOURING ADOPTED BY HIGHLANDERS ON A SNOWY BATTLEFIELD.

Men of a Highland regiment, clad in white, making a night raid over snow on German trenches on the western front. With their steel helmets painted white, with white smocks reaching below their kilts, with rifles ready loaded and bayonets fixed to avoid making any noise, the Highlanders crept silently over the snowy space of No Man's Land to the hidden dug-outs of a German company. When they reached their objective they called to the men to surrender, and a few did so, after which bombs were thrown in and the nest of dug-outs effectually destroyed before the White Company returned with their prisoners.

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dig, they drew back to the sheltered dug-outs in the sunken road.

The German gunners then endeavoured to bombard the Scotsmen and Irishmen out of the Le Transloy salient. This only led to further trouble for the enemy. All his movements and attempts to organise counter-attacks were defeated by the power of absolute observation which the British had won by their former victories on the great ridge by the Somme. The Germans soon tired of provoking an artillery duel, and began to remove their guns towards St. Quentin. The continual mist in the Somme Valley favoured the enemy's retirement of his heavy pieces. Nothing, however, could screen the increasing weakness of his lines, as these were being incessantly tested by vigorous raids. The German commanders had to sacrifice thousands of men in demonstrative counter-attacks, in a vain endeavour to maintain an appearance of strength.

Yet the first and preliminary British thrust between the Ancre and the Serre plateau steadily and methodically continued. On February 3rd Sir Hubert Gough made a moonlight attack from Holland Wood over a valley to a crest dominating the village of Miraumont. The ground was white with snow and the moon shining in a clear sky, but happily a low-lying mist veiled the movement of the khaki figures, crawling forward and dragging their rifles and trench spades.

Just before midnight the British guns crashed with the same surprise effect as before. The defending troops fled to their dug-outs, as sudden bombardments of this kind with no infantry action following had become common. On this occasion the infantry were scarcely more than twenty-five yards behind the volcanic line of shell fire. They overran the enemy's fire-trench, and then followed their own pillars of fire and smoke and stormed a strong position known as the River Trench in which there were three strong redoubts. Two hundred prisoners were made, all of them men from Schleswig-Holstein. They were Danes, especially selected for the work of holding the worst position on the German front so that their Prussian masters would profit almost as much by their death as by any victorious stand made by them. They had been sent out to die in order that, when peace came, there should be fewer recalcitrant Norsemen in the country near the Kiel Canal.

[*Canadian War Records.*

LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR JULIAN BYNG, K.C.B., K.C.M.G.

After magnificent service at Ypres and the Dardanelles, Sir Julian Byng was appointed in 1916 to the command of the Canadian Expeditionary Force, and won the victories at Courcelette and Vimy Ridge.

The next morning the hostile commander furiously and continually launched real German troops in counter-attack after counter-attack upon his lost line of redoubts. Wave after wave of grey figures went down under rifle fire, machine-gun fire and great explosions from the new Stokes gun. Each assembling force was also caught flank and front by the British artillery. At a disastrous cost in life the Germans recovered one of the redoubts on the southern part of the River Trench, but lost the position again as the British troops returned to the conflict with hand-grenades and trench-mortars. One German machine-gun party in a shell-crater made a long and heroic fight, but was at last enveloped.

Fight on the River Trench

About this time the enemy tried, on the southern part of the Ypres salient, a trick he had used on the Russian front. A German force was dressed in white sheets, with the men's heads concealed in white hoods, and their faces whitened with chalk, and was sent over the snow in the moonlight to make a surprise attack. After the elaborate preparation in make-up all surprise effect was exploded by a preliminary bombardment. The two ghostly attacking parties were broken by machine-gun fire and rifle fire, in spite of the fact that most of the British troops in the section were new recruits undergoing their baptism of battle.

German retreat definitely begun

Meanwhile, on the Ancre front the German High Command and General von Below, the commander of the First German Army, gave up the struggle. On February 7th, 1917, the retreat towards the Hindenburg line definitely began by the evacuation of the riverside village of Grandcourt. British patrols cautiously advanced into the trenches west of the village and, after exploring the snow-mantled walls and cellars, established a new line on the road to Miraumont. The German position had become a neck of shell-craters, broken walls, and dug-outs, overlooked by the new British positions on the Serre plateau.

Combles was the first place from which the Germans crept without a fight. Grandcourt was the second place. In both cases the enemy was caught in the pincer-like movement of two enveloping forces, so that he was compelled to retreat in order to avoid heavy and utterly useless losses. It was at Grandcourt that the German artillery had massed during the Somme battles at Contalmaison and the Pozières ridge. A small German rearguard came out with their hands up, being so terrified by the creeping barrage of British shells that they refused to carry out their orders and make a last, desperate, delaying resistance.

Sir Hubert Gough pressed the advantage he had won by attacking in the night the fortress manor-house of Baillescourt, whose gabled roofs and massive walls rose, like an observation-tower, above the furrowed landscape between Grandcourt and Miraumont. German engineers had done all they could to make Baillescourt a position of strength by means of loopholed galleries, machine-gun emplacements, and bomb-proof caverns. A hundred Hamburgers—sturdy dockers and factory hands—garrisoned the ancient buildings and the dug-outs round about. But, like the other rearguard, they surrendered practically without a struggle. Helped by the clear moonlight, the British gunners swept the farm with a whirlwind of heavy shell, causing the Hamburgers to retire to their underground shelters. Before they could regain their fire-trenches the bombers of General Gough's army were outside the dug-outs demanding surrender. The unusual rapidity of interaction between the lines of attacking artillery and infantry surprised the German force, and they gave in without any attempt at resistance.

An incident to which reference has been made already occurred at about this time. Some of the Canadians, hearing of the German white-sheet attack at Ypres, bought a hundred women's night-dresses and, crawling in them

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[*British official photograph.*

A LINK IN THE AMMUNITION SUPPLY.

Section of a British supply column waiting to fetch ammunition for the guns. Throughout the pauses caused by weather and other conditions in the offensive campaign that began in July, 1916, the British artillery continued its incessant hammering of the hostile lines, whose supply service was almost broken up.

across the snow, made a very successful raid. The Gordon Highlanders likewise dressed themselves in white smocks, and went over the German line in two waves, trapped and killed an entire company in a large cavern, and blew up a bomb-store.

By reason of the strategic conquest of the Grandcourt line and the high ground north of the Ancre the German positions on the dominating Serre plateau were endangered. Almost daily small bits of ground were seized by the British troops, enabling them to reach out farther round the last remaining buttresses of the Germans' original first line of defence.

On the night of February 10th a force of North-countrymen stormed into the south-eastern approaches to Serre. They had to cover eight hundred yards of difficult ground that dipped and rose and then dipped again, and ended beneath the main plateau from which the enemy stared down. Moreover, there was a deep gully cutting across the line of attack, and in this gully was a German outpost force with machine-guns and the usual underground retreats.

The movement had to be conducted by stealth, with no sight or sound to give the enemy warning. The guns bombarded the hostile position without creating any alarm, as bursts of artillery fire had been the regular characteristic of the British winter campaign. Nearly half an hour after the barrage opened, the crawling North-countrymen covered the half a mile of No Man's Land and, after a fierce fight in the ravine, stormed the higher German position, breaking up a Prussian regiment and taking more prisoners than their own casualties.

Important gain near Serre

The importance of the gain was shown next morning by the heavy counter-attack which the German commander vainly delivered with a view to getting back the edge of the plateau. Only a few of his men arrived within bombing distance of his lost line. The British artillery, firing from both the southern and the western sides of the downland, completely shattered the counter-attacking masses. On February 17th the men of London and Southern England and the Midland Counties drove in a wedge south of the Ancre. The advance was made on a front of two miles, and stretched across the river to Baillescourt.

The ground was thawing and greasy and shrouded in a thick mist. The fog prevented observation and hindered artillery action. Nevertheless, all the decisive objectives on the northern bank of the Ancre were won with little difficulty, and the line of posts forming the enemy's centre was also secured. But on the south there was a fierce struggle over a steep and isolated hill that commanded Miraumont, Petit Miraumont, and Pys.

The English troops secured their first goal, consisting of a few trenches at the base of the hill, and then, by a bitter fight lasting two hours, they climbed up the height and pushed the Germans well over the crest. A fresh, strong German force, however, came unperceived through the mist and attacked the English right flank, compelling a withdrawal to the foot of the high position. In spite of this check, the advance was a general success. The British line was advanced five hundred yards on a front of two miles, six hundred Prussians were captured, and Miraumont was completely dominated from the new high ground captured north of Baillescourt Farm.

The hill above the farm was the supreme key-position to the German front on the Ancre. It overlooked the enemy's intricate rear positions on the Serre plateau, and enabled tornadoes of fire to be directed on three sides of the peninsula of downland to which the Germans were clinging. It also overlooked the upper valley of the Ancre, running north of Pys, and thus prevented the enemy from concealing his forces on the open, rolling ground by the Ancre.

Key-position at Baillescourt

In addition to these two advantages of this position, the Baillescourt Hill rose well above the northern valley of Puisieux brook, and afforded direct observation across a large space of ground to the enemy's railway junction at Achiet-le-Grand. The German main gun-positions came under observation. In many cases the flames from the hostile guns could be seen by British forward observing-officers, and these officers could also steadily and minutely measure the answering effect of the fire of their own howitzers.

The consequence was the Germans had either to submit to the rapid destruction of both their artillery and their infantry or retire under cover of the mist, tacitly acknowledging complete defeat in the Battle of the Ancre. The German commander made one last desperate attempt on Saturday, February 24th, 1917, to recover the hill that dominated his line. In the darkness of early morning his troops came on in fierce waves of assault, only to be swept by shrapnel and raked by machine-guns. Large fresh reinforcements were employed in this forlorn hope, and their determined gallantry showed that the German Army still had plenty of fight left in it.

On the other hand, the extraordinary persistence with

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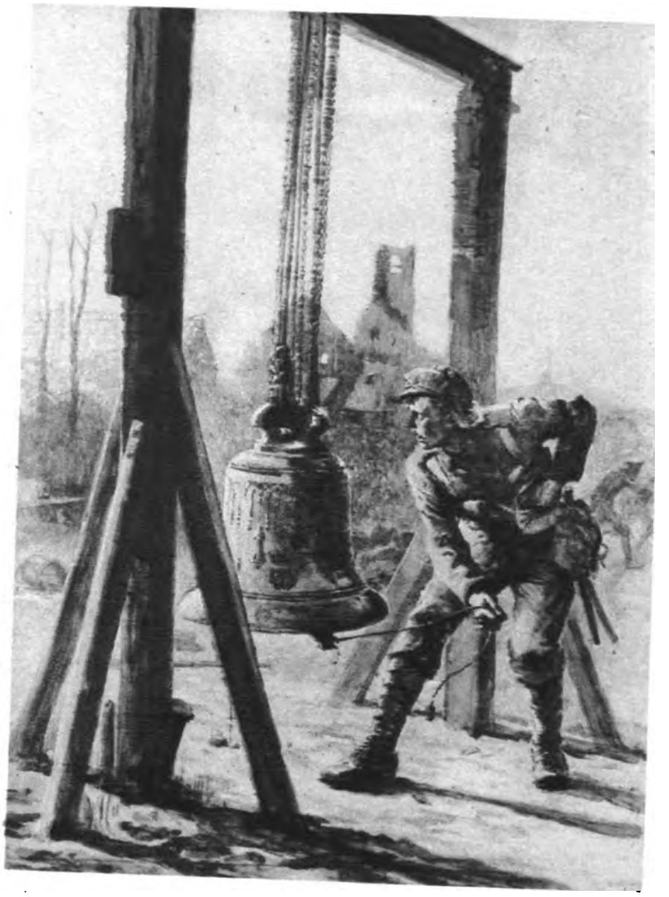
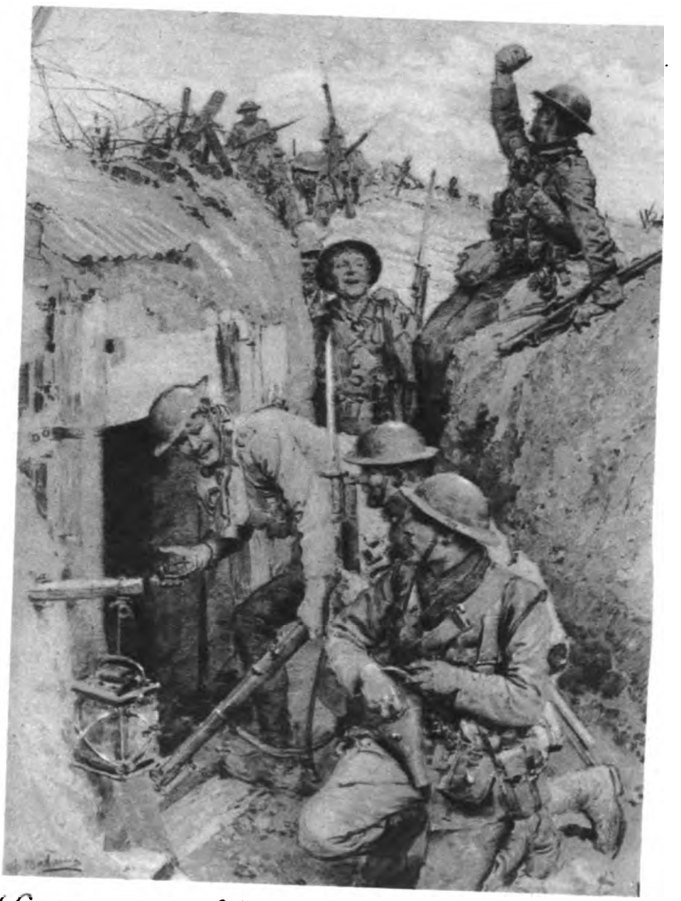
End of the vigil in a German observation post.



Tolling the gas alarm on a sanctuary bell.

Surprising an enemy patrol in No Man's Land.



"Come on, you fellows, there is no one here.

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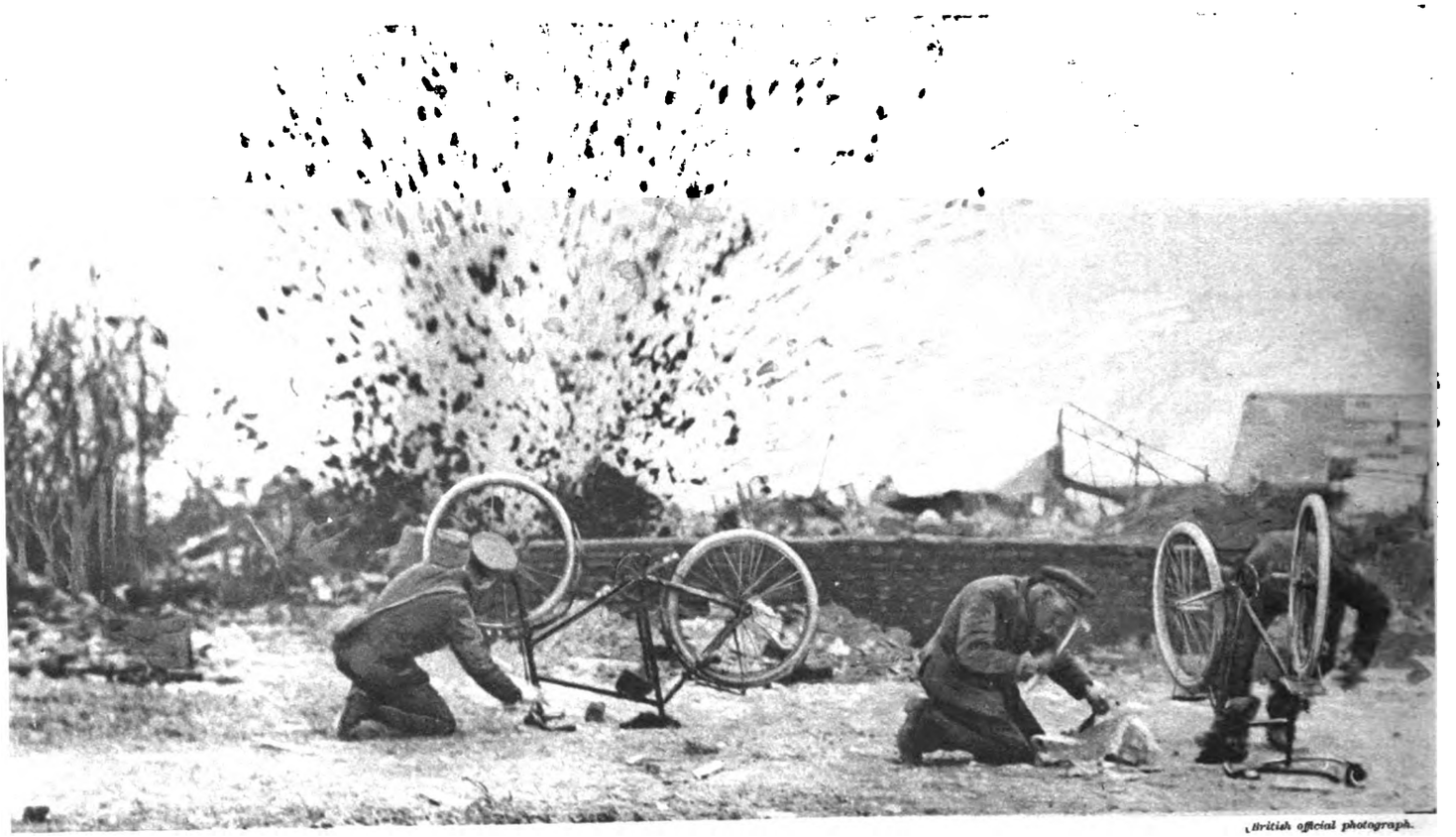

[British official photograph.

Placidity in midst of peril: Cycle orderlies at work under heavy shell fire.

[British official photograph.

A corner of the battlefield near Arras, with "tank" in the background on the left.

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[British official photograph.

Irresistible determination on the move: British infantry moving up in "artillery formation" to the attack

[Canadian War Records.

Canadians establishing a signalling headquarters and communication post for British aeroplanes.

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[Canadian War Records.

Heavy ordnance behind the Canadians: Making ready to fire a large naval gun.

[Canadian War Records.

Crushing the foe by sheer weight of metal: Heavy guns at the moment of discharge.

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which the attack was maintained indicated a mere brutal stupidity of mind on the part of the hostile commander and his Staff. When the first grey wave was obliterated, long before it reached the British defences, it must have been patent to the enemy that all succeeding attacks would be only vain and appalling sacrifices of life. There was no military justification for the ghastly slaughter of some ten thousand men of some famous Prussian regiments. They perished by the useless and irresponsible act of a defeated German general, who wasted brigade after brigade in the sorry personal design of preventing himself being relieved of his command.

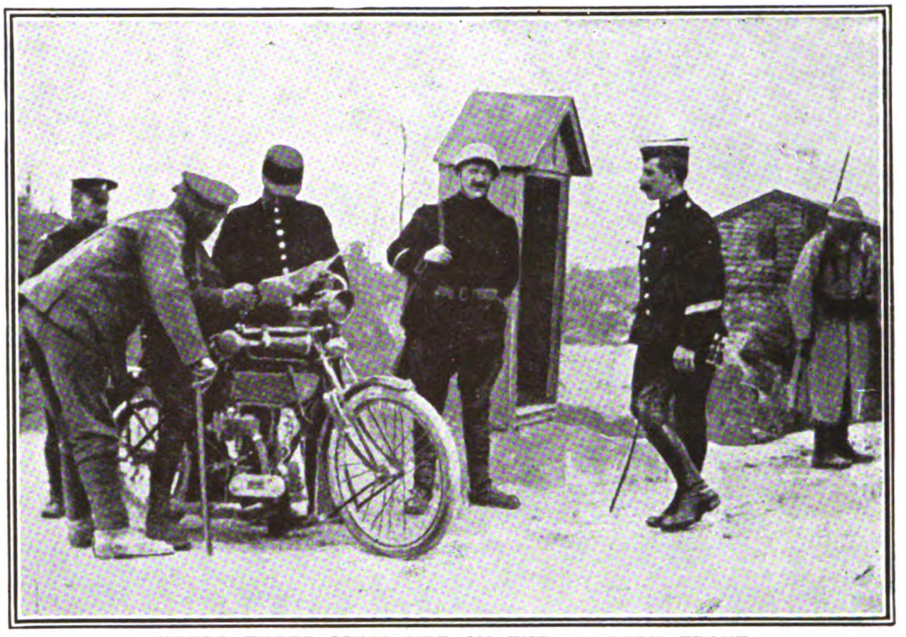
In this way Nemesis overtook the militarised federation of German tribes. For more than a generation the Teutons had devoted themselves, in both body and mind, to the organisation of a system of universal preying, submitting to the loss of all real independence in the prospect of becoming the master race of the earth. In almost every defeat, however, their own system was turned against them, and their national strength was viciously and foolishly wasted by men of the Zabern school, who were only anxious for their own damaged personal reputation. The Germans were at first sacrificed by the hundred thousand to save the individual position of some army commander. Then they were destroyed, actually by the million, to salve the dynastic interests of the Hohenzollern family and the connecting interests of the German nobility.

Sacrifices to militarism

After the great counter-attacks on Baillescourt Hill were shattered, and the remnants of the Prussian regiments were pursued beyond the railway junction of Achiet-le-Grand, the First German Army retired from the Ancre in worse condition than it had retired from the Marne. It was a pretty piece of historic irony that the former command of General von Kluck, whose first orders were to destroy "the contemptible little British Army," should have been the first German host fully to feel the weight of power wielded by the most able of British generals at Mons. Sir Douglas Haig had not reaped in the autumn of 1916 the full harvest of his victory on the Somme. Lack of reinforcements and imperfect railway communications had compelled him to wait, and give the enemy the winter months in which to recuperate and reorganise. Yet, such was the strength of the new British war-machine, that an interval of hard frost and clearer air in February, 1917, was sufficient to enable it victoriously to end the first great battles on the north-eastern rivers of France.

Ludendorff could neither stand nor counter in strength, on the original great German fortressed line of downland running down from Gommecourt. His front-line troops could not be properly fed or reinforced, as their communications were dominated by the deep crescent of British artillery. The German railway line was destroyed, only a ditch of shell-craters indicating where the track had been laid. For some time signs of a general retirement from the great Gommecourt salient had been visible, and British preparations were speeded up for a modern kind of pursuit.

Had the frost held and the air remained fairly clear the German commander would have had great difficulty in effecting a withdrawal. His forces would have been deluged with long-range heavy shell fire, controlled from high observing positions. The darkness of night would not have saved the enemy, as the breadth of eight thousand yards between the Bapaume ridge and the hills of the Ancre would have been illuminated by the incessant play of searchlights. Unhappily, the fog that came with the great thaw in the latter part of February saved the enemy from the gravest disaster. The persistent thickness of the air enabled him to get most of his guns away, though he paid a heavy toll while traversing the great zones of curtain fire maintained on three sides of the salient by the British artillery.



WHERE THREE LINES MET ON THE WESTERN FRONT.
Examination of a British despatch-rider's papers. The rider had reached a point on his journey where British, French, and Belgian lines ran together, and was held up by the sentries representing the three Allies of the western front that his bona fides might be established.

The German gunners began their operations by working their ordnance in a remarkable manner. They seemed to have received a sudden abundance of shell, enabling them to cope with the increasing power of the British artillery. This, however, was only a sign of weakness. The Germans were merely firing off their shell-dumps because they had no time to remove them. In the evening of February 23rd, 1917, just after the breaking of the German counter-attack against the Baillescourt Hill, the German Army ceased the struggle and, for the first time since the Battle of the Marne in September, 1914, drew back without a battle on the western front, in patent confession of a great defeat.

The signal of the British victory was a line of fire from the German trenches. The enemy was burning his timber-lined dug-outs with a view to making them useless to the conquerors. Through the blurring fog and over a sea of thawing mud British patrols went forward and cautiously felt their way among wire entanglements and ruined and steaming earthworks. Obstructing parties of German troops were scattered in shell-holes and supported by machine-gun posts all along the enemy's rear. At every likely place traps were laid for the advancing forces of Sir Hubert Gough.

Fire signal of victory

Trip-mines and other devices, such as the Australasian and British forces had employed in the Dardanelles retirement, were largely used. Objects likely to be picked up as souvenirs were filled with high explosives. Charges were laid in the streets and in the underground galleries between the concrete forts from which machine-gun batteries had played. In some cases the larger mines were exploded just as the last Germans tramped away. This was done so that no cover should remain against the

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[British official photograph.

FORCED TO DESCEND BEHIND THE LINES ON THE WESTERN FRONT.

Dismantling a damaged British aeroplane that had been compelled to descend. The personal skill, individual courage, and heroic sacrifice of British airmen prevented any important check to the advance on the Ancre, despite the temporary superiority snatched by German aviators.

barrage of heavy shelling intended to hinder the progress of the main British forces.

These forces, however, did not move forward into the traps set for them. They merely sent out increasing numbers of patrols to secure the ground and discover where the First German Army proposed to make its next stand. Petit Miraumont was first occupied in the night of February 23rd. About the same time a forward movement was made north of the Ancre down the road to Miraumont village. By the morning of February 25th all the German line from Serre and Pys to the Butte de Warlencourt was being occupied by the British patrols. In some places the German retirement reached in the evening a depth of two miles.

This historic advance was strangely devoid of any large dramatic interest. As one officer said, when returning from the reclaimed village of Pys, the affair was as exciting as searching a muddy field for a lost trinket. Only occasionally did a knot of Germans open a fierce little rearguard action and need handling by a slowly exploring, enveloping movement by the patrols.

Some of the hostile snipers showed high spirit, and fully carried out their orders to display as much activity as possible and make the utmost noise. Their object was to induce the reconnoitring parties of British troops to expect a strong resistance and call for reinforcements before advancing. Then, before the advance was made, the bravest Germans stealthily retired, feeling they had successfully gained time for the rearrangement of their main forces.

Delaying rearguard work

Although, however, the enemy command selected special men for this delaying rearguard work and promised them special privileges, they were not always equal to the task assigned to them. For example, a Guards battalion was ordered to hold the fortress of Gommecourt to the very last moment. Gommecourt was the pivot on which the German line was swinging back. But when a British patrol entered Gommecourt in the evening of February 27th no resistance whatever was made. The famous works on the high westernmost point of the German lines was tenanted only by a blind man. He was a Guardsman who had lost his sight, and his battalion fled so hastily that he still thought the stronghold was well held. The Guardsmen seem to have perceived some British patrols pushing northward from Serre, and became fearful that they were about to be cut off. Instead of attempting to make a stand they bolted at once to Bicquoy, and their dug-outs were still burning when the British detachment arrived.

The morning after the memorable capture of Gommecourt the British line was pushed forward a thousand yards north-east of the fortressed down, and the defences immediately in front of the city of Bapaume were driven in by the capture of the villages of Le Barque and Ligny. At the same time the western and northern trench systems around Puisieux were occupied. During the month of February eleven villages were either captured by the British or surrendered to them by the Germans. Some twenty-one hundred German troops were captured, including thirty-six officers. The villages recovered were Grandcourt, Petit Miraumont, Miraumont, Serre, Warlencourt, Pys, Le Barque, Ligny, Gommecourt, Thilloy, and Puisieux.

Eleven villages recovered

Sir Hubert Gough's army would probably have worked forward more quickly and with less loss had the pilots of the Royal Flying Corps been provided with all the machines of superior type of which they could make use. It will be remembered that, at the close of the Battle of the Somme, Sir Douglas Haig especially demanded in his famous despatch that aeroplanes of the most modern and progressive type should be abundantly provided.

Owing, however, to the imperfect conditions of construction established during previous years, the output of British-designed and British-made aero-motors had been much inferior to the output of German engines. For this practical lesson in the application of British State Socialism in a progressive industry the British forces in the field had to pay. There had been amply sufficient engineering talent in England and Scotland to

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counter the engineering talent in Germany. British officialism had, however, proved less enlightened for a time than German officialism. Private British motor designers, such as the very able men working for the Sunbeam Company and the Rolls-Royce Company, were not encouraged, either before the war or during the first phase of the war, as the German Government had encouraged their leading private engine designers.

The later public agitation in Great Britain in regard to the fighting inferiority of Royal Aircraft Factory machines seems to have produced no immediate effect. A scheme of reorganisation was gradually established, but this scheme came into operation just at the time when the British Navy wanted powerful aero-motors for anti-submarine purposes, while the British Army also required similar motors to cope with the enemy's military aeroplanes.

The Admiralty authorities appear to have been at least more foresightful than the War Office authorities. They were able to make some claim to some of the most promising British engines. The result was that when the Germans covered their retreat by sending up scores of fighting machines of first-rate quality in the early spring of 1917, the lieutenants of Sir Douglas Haig had only a comparatively small number of the latest and most powerful British machines with which to contend for the practical mastery of the air.

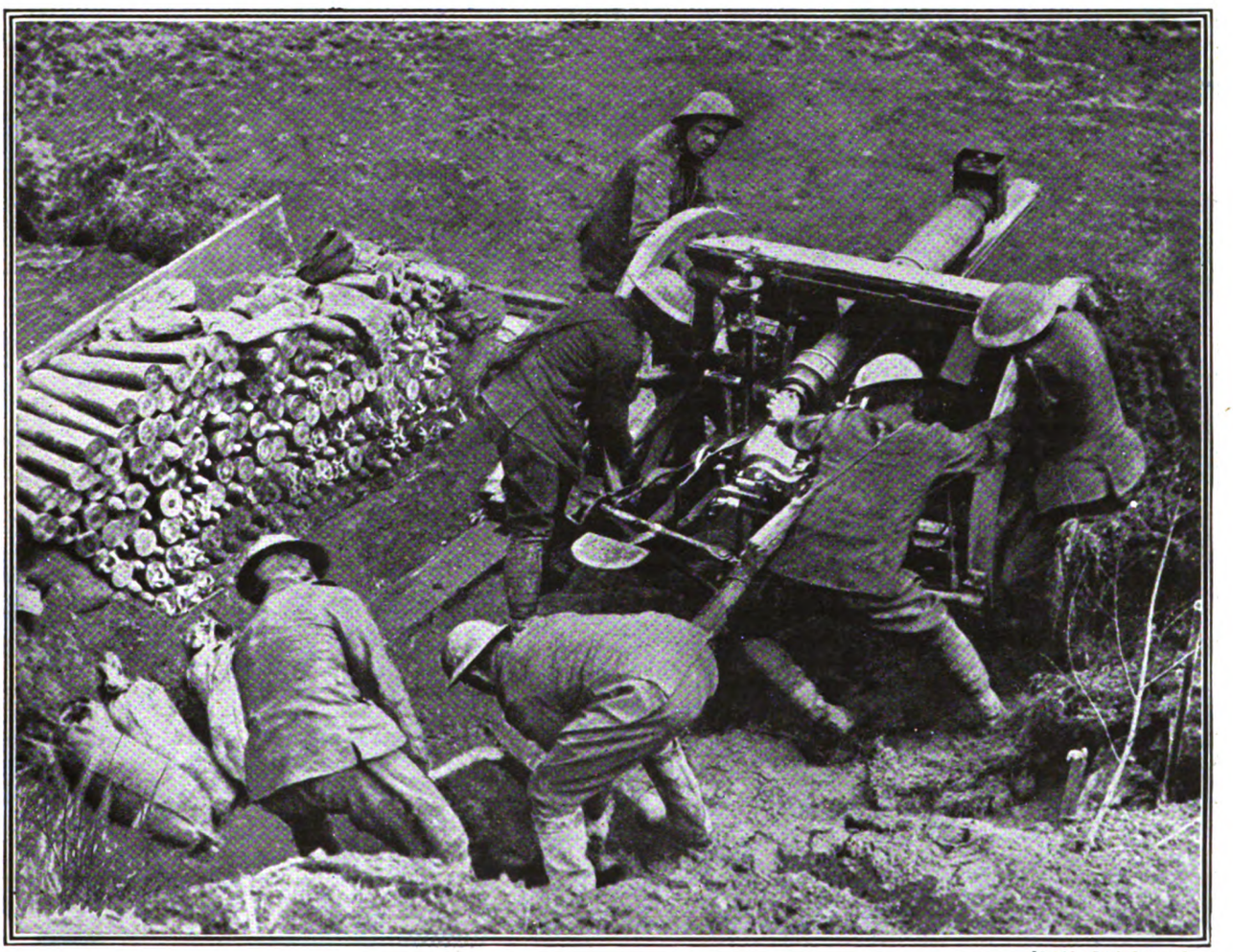
Insufficiency of fighting aircraft

At the beginning of the German retreat the enemy employed two large forces of machines of the newest type, under Captain Baron von Richtofen and Captain von Bülow. In superior masses these two formations swooped upon the smaller squadrons of new fighting machines sent up by the British commanders. The personal skill, individual courage, and large sacrifices of life of Britsh pilots happily prevented any important check to the advance of the attacking army.

Air-mastery temporarily lost

Apparently, there had been no time between the receipt of Sir Douglas Haig's despatch and the opening of the German movement of withdrawal to effect in aerial material a revolution similar to that which Mr. Lloyd George had previously effected in the production of heavy artillery material. The new German machines were not superior to the newest British machines; but, unfortunately, they were at first more numerous. Consequently, the British Army was not able to maintain during the closing operations on the Ancre front that practical mastery of the air which it had managed to assert during some of the most critical days of the battles on the Somme front.

The continual misty weather aggravated the difficulties of the advancing British Army and lightened the task of the retreating German Army. On the whole, the enemy escaped from an impossible position almost as lightly as the British and French Mediterranean armies escaped from their lines on the Gallipoli Peninsula. The Germans got practically all their guns away, left nothing behind



[*British official photograph.*

FIELD-ARTILLERY GETTING A GUN INTO POSITION IN THE ADVANCE.

Hindenburg's retreat, which was described as being "according to plan," in the spring of 1917, was conducted with a celerity that imposed most strenuous work upon the British artillery following hot upon his heels. Batteries limbered up and galloped over ground gaping with pits, intentionally exploded by the Germans in the vain hope of retarding pursuit, and took up new positions whence to speed the parting foe.

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[*Canadian War Records.*

LOADING LARGE NAVAL GUN ON THE CANADIANS' FRONT.
Artillerymen at work on part of the western front, held by the Canadians. Sir Douglas Haig, in the Ancre advance, was enabled to throw at the enemy forty thousand tons of shells a week.

of material importance, and ferociously wasted and bedevilled the territory from which they withdrew.

The remarkable power of the machine-gun, with curtain fire from long-range artillery, was the instrument of the successful retreat. As Sir Charles Monro had shown on the Gallipoli Peninsula, after his masterly experience in holding the Ypres salient, modern artillery had a tremendous defensive value. The Germans faithfully copied all the British tactics of the Dardanelles withdrawal, and, wherever time permitted, they constructed numerous traps for the advancing victors.

In their Ancre retirement, however, they were considerably hurried. They left behind them new artesian wells, with other recent important works, showing that it had been their original intention in January, 1917, to stand on the Ancre front for at least several months longer.

British Empire dominates the world

Their new lines, on both the Bapaume ridge and on the Hindenburg system, were far from being properly completed. Ludendorff had proposed but Sir Hubert Gough had disposed. By his sudden break into and over the Baillescourt Hill the famous kinsman of the conqueror of the Sikhs upset all the plans of the German dictator, and compelled him abruptly to alter his arrangements for the spring campaign. The German drive at the Russian front had to be countermanded, and the still more important threat against the eastern French flank had also to be allowed to fade into a vain shadow of action.

The intention of Sir Douglas Haig dominated the entire theatre of war in Europe. The German Empire, which had entered the struggle for world-dominion in the expectation of meeting only some sixty thousand British troops, was in February, 1917, opposed by a British Army stronger than the enormous active German Army that had joyously taken the field in August, 1914. Russia was weakened, and France, though magnificent in spirit and strong in machinery, was lacking in a decisively large reserve power. The British Empire, however, supplied the lack of great French reserves, and by a gigantic and unparalleled effort in munition work compensated for the tragic weakness of Russia.

As against her chief original opponents—Russia and France—Germany had won some striking advantages. Either by means of a separate peace with Russian autocracy, or by a cunning armistice with the Russian peoples, she might have been able to negotiate a European settlement that would have left France very weak and still overshadowed by the prestige of Prussian militarism. France might have obtained Metz by negotiation. She certainly would not have recovered the most valuable part of Lorraine and the potash mines of Alsace. She would have remained in economic servitude to the German Empire, and been crippled during the reconstruction period by the impossibility of working her ruined northern coal-fields.

[*Canadian War Records.*

OPENING THE BREECH AFTER FIRING.
Large naval gun on the Canadians' front, which had just been fired, showing the volume of smoke and fumes released on the opening of the breech preparatory to the reloading.

No Frenchman had anticipated at the outbreak of war the enormous development of the military strength of the British Commonwealth, which was clearly evident on March 1st, 1917. The British, Canadian, Australasian, and South African forces, extending from the north of Ypres towards Roye, had grown into the grand, human battering-ram of the Alliance. The forces of the Oversea Dominions approached three-quarters of a million men under arms.

In the opinion of an officer on the Staff of Marshal Joffre, it was then certain that the Germans could be pushed out of Belgium and France at the cost of one million lives among the attacking forces. According to the same authority, this expense of a rapid movement to the German frontier was considered to be too high from a political point of view. It was thought that a slow, steady pressure would eventually so tell upon the moral of the German

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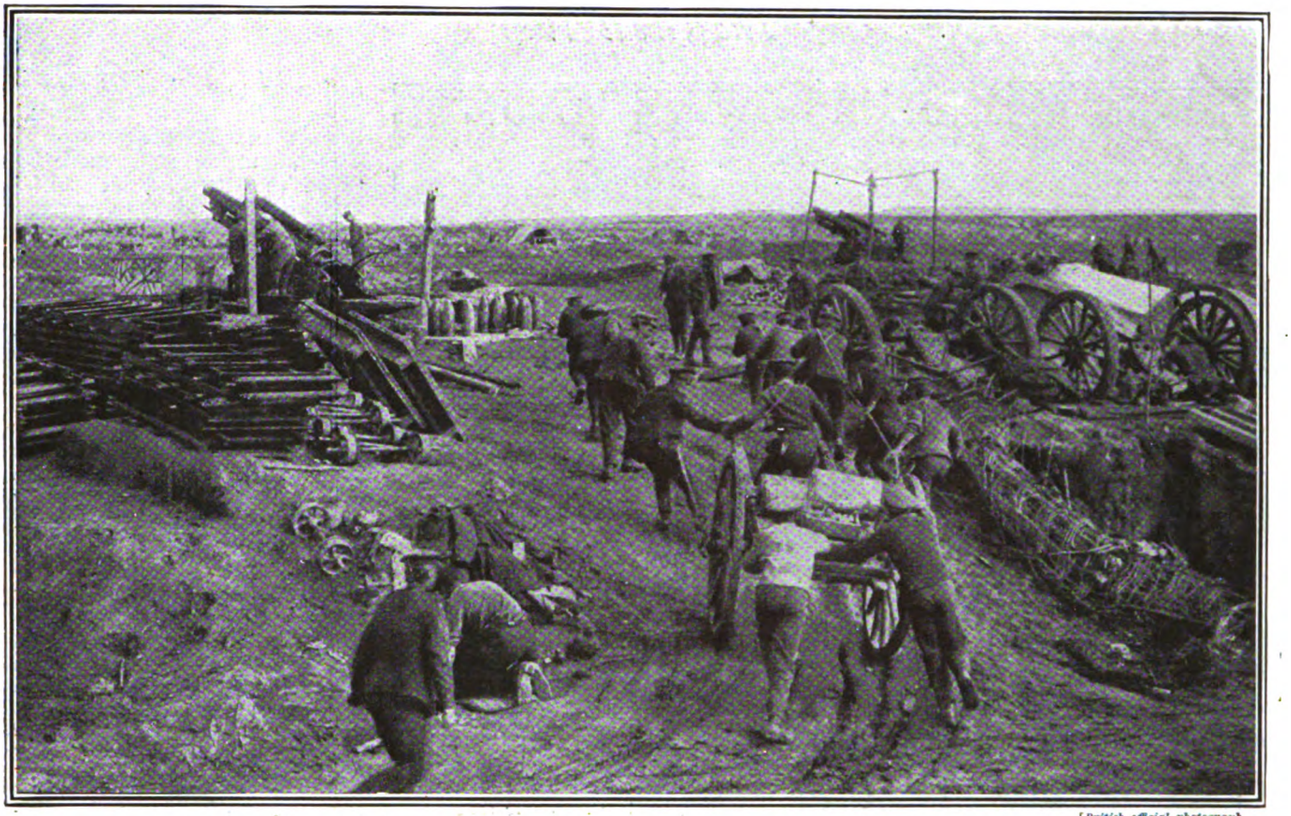

[British official photograph.

In November, 1916, bad weather set in, turning the Valley of the Ancre into a vast morass of swimming clay, which entirely precluded any important move by the infantry, and thereby interrupted the offensive campaign so vigorously waged by the British since the previous July.

[British official photograph.

Throughout this interval the artillerymen were busy, laboriously bringing up heavy guns and shells to satisfy their infinite requirements by sheer man-power, through the seas of mud, to new more advanced positions in anticipation of the resumption of the offensive in the spring.

WINTER WORK IN PREPARATION FOR THE CLOSING BATTLES OF THE ANCRE.

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[British official photographs.

WARRIORS OF THE EAST AT WORK IN THE WEST.

Indian Hotchkiss gun-crew at their sand-bagged gun emplacement on the western front, and (above) Indian cavalry engaged in studying the lie of the land, preparatory to taking a share in the advance.

nation as to achieve victory at less cost in life to the British, French, and Belgian races.

By an arrangement made between the French and British authorities the mighty New Army of Sir Douglas Haig remained under the direction of the French High Command. It was most important that the Western Allies should act as an organised whole. Had they not so acted, the enemy would have enjoyed an important advantage by reason of his centralised power over all the forces of Middle Europe. He would have been in a position similar to that occupied by Napoleon when fighting against loosely connected and self-centred nations.

Happily, the feeling of loyalty and absolute comradeship between the French, Belgian, and British High Commands was strong, enlightened, and permanent. France had borne heroically and skilfully the main burden of the long western campaign, and it seemed both fair and sound that her Commander-in-Chief should continue to exercise the supreme direction in the conduct of the war of liberation. Thus the relation between Sir Douglas Haig and General Nivelle and General Pétain was different from the relation between the Duke of Wellington and Blücher and Gneisenau. Owing to the reserves behind it the British Army had become more powerful than the French Army. It was indeed almost strong enough to engage the entire remaining forces of Germany in an open-field conflict with a probability of final though costly victory.

Loyalty among the Allies

On the other hand, the struggle was not taking place in the open field. The enemy was still ably placed in lines of fortified earthworks. In front of him extended long, gradual downward slopes, which the British infantry had to climb against machine-gun fire and under curtains of artillery fire. It was not, therefore, practically certain that the existing force of British soldiers could either break through or press back the German line when Ludendorff brought up the larger part of his huge reserve.

[British official photograph.

CONSOLIDATING A NEWLY-WON POSITION.

Working-parties in a great mine-crater on the British front in France. Putting aside for awhile the rifle and bayonet, the soldiers shouldered picks and shovels and set to work making good the ways of the devastated country over which the advance had passed.

Like General Grant before the long, fortified line of General Lee, Sir Douglas Haig needed, for assured success, a large superiority in men and guns over his opponent. When the attacking force was only about equal in number to the total available defending force there was no sure prospect of a grand decision. In combination the British, French and Belgian Armies were more powerful than the western German armies, even when full allowance was made for the strength of the enemy's fortifications. In the first week of March, however, it was becoming clear that the reactionary Ministers of Russia were intriguing for a separate

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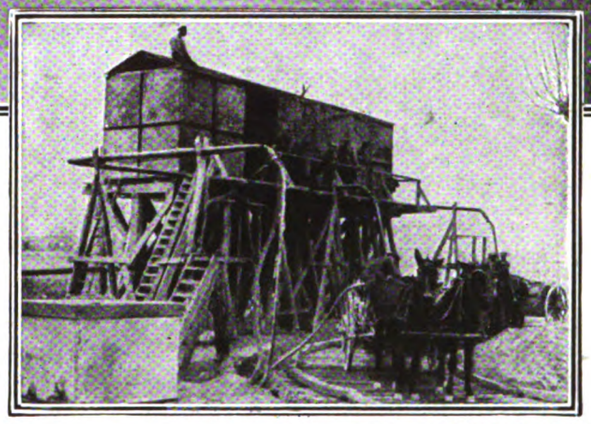
peace which would have enabled the Germans to concentrate entirely against the western democracies.

A general allied plan had already been worked out in detail for a series of combined movements in great strength by the Allies. Great Britain, who had been the last to move in 1916, was to be the first to resume the offensive in 1917. France was to follow, with a great and persistent attack, as soon as it was seen that the British were attracting the enemy's reserve from Alsace. Then, when the reserve forces in Southern Germany clearly separated from the Austrian forces and moved into France, the main Italian Army was to renew its assault upon the mountainous approaches to Trieste. Afterwards the allied army around Salonika was to engage and hold the principal Bulgarian force. Finally, the Russian Army and the reorganised Rumanian Army were to assail the weakened German, Austro-Hungarian, and Bulgarian Armies on the eastern front, and help to maintain an enveloping and increasing pressure all through the summer and autumn on the Central Empires.



[*British official photograph.*

WATER SUPPLY TANK IN THE SOMME AREA.

A big water depot on the western front—a form of tank with which the whole zone of military operations was studded. Above: Mules bringing up water for the toiling gun-crews.

This general allied plan had soon to be altered. By the second week in March the Western Allies began to see that they could not count upon Russia again putting forth her full power for at least a considerable time. The British Commonwealth had to shoulder the main burden of the land war as well as the naval struggle, while suffering under the grievous disadvantage that all the main sea paths of communication were partly invaded by hostile submarines.

British Empire's heavy burden

The German dictator was inclined publicly to admit the superior strength of the British armies opposed to him, and to confess that he was employing a system of submarine piracy in the final hope of evading defeat on land by successful operations under the sea. His desperate submarine campaign served at least one of his purposes in that it kept the spirit of the German people from breaking during the spring of 1917.

Strange and distracting at first was the apparent revolution in the positions of the British Commonwealth and the German Empire. The mistress of the seas promised to become a dominant Power on land, while the greatest military State on earth was trying to save itself by asserting a practical control of the seas.

Happily, in regard to the enemy's interference with communications of Great Britain and France, the power exercised by hundreds of new U boats was not so disturbing as Ludendorff and his advisers had calculated. From a purely military point of view the

[*British official photograph.*

AFTER THE "ASSEMBLY" HAD SOUNDED.

British infantry, under the doubtful cover of a battered chateau, awaiting the order to move forward. Although one or two of the men appear to have been interested in the dilapidated state of the house, the attention of most was focused on the official camera.

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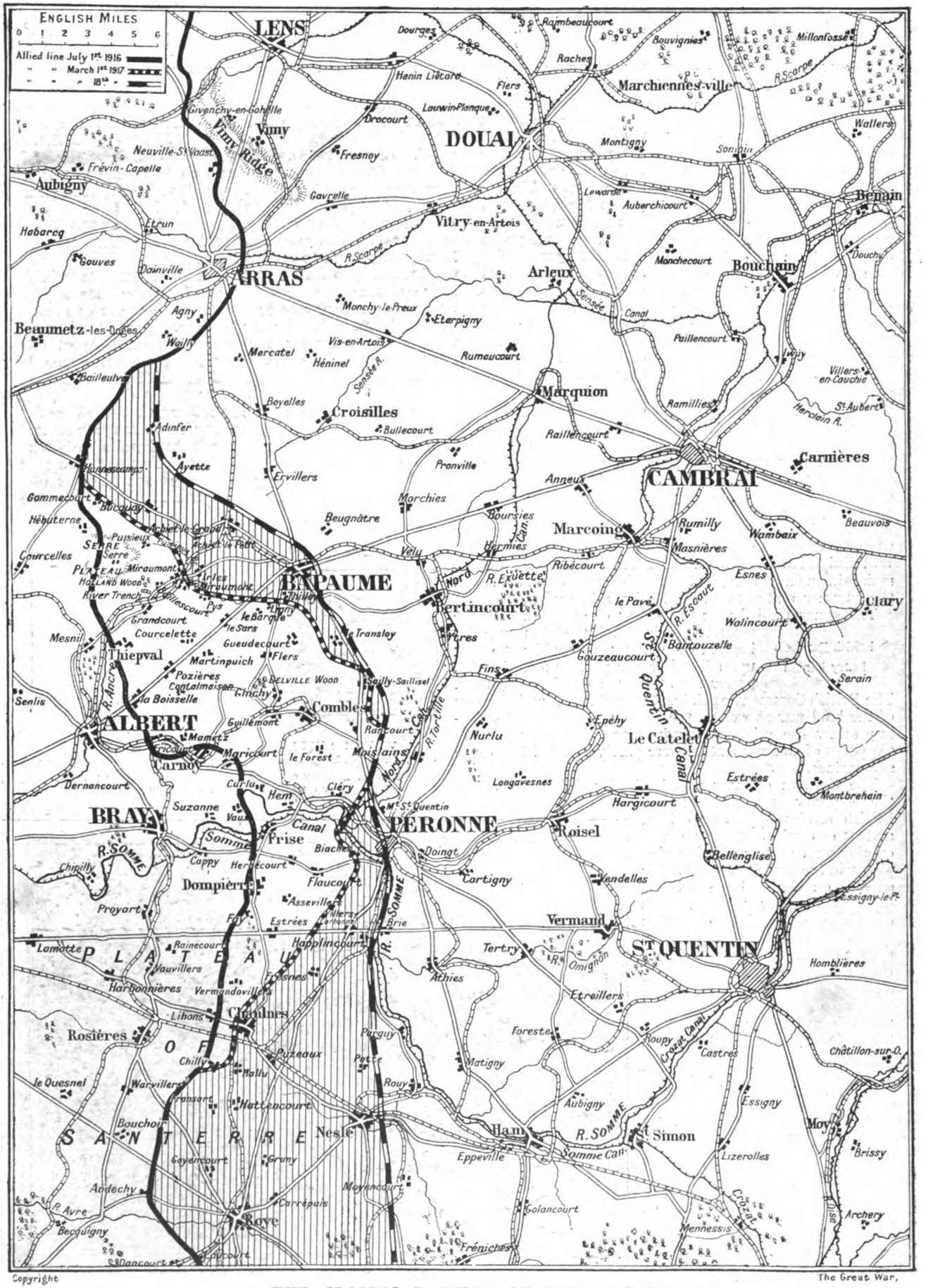

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The Great War,

THE CLOSING BATTLES OF THE ANCRE.

Map showing the area of the British advances on the Somme and Ancre between July 1st, 1916, and March 18th, 1917.

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new railways Sir Douglas Haig had constructed and the large additional number of locomotives and trucks he had obtained more than compensated for the direct and indirect damage done to the British sources of manufacture, food supply, and means of sea transport.

He suffered at times some serious losses in transit, both to the war factories behind him and to his sea bases on the Continent. Yet the speed with which he was able to move all the material brought to him balanced the delays and losses inflicted by the enemy at sea. His general power was greater in the spring of 1917 than it had been in the summer of 1916.

According to an estimate from French Headquarters, the total strength of the German forces was two hundred and nineteen divisions, consisting of about two million six hundred and fifty thousand fighting men. It was reckoned that some seventy-six of these divisions were in the eastern and south-western theatres of war. The western front was held by one million two hundred German combatant troops, at the back of whom was a strategic reserve of another five hundred thousand men. Against this total force of one million seven hundred thousand Germans, Great Britain, France, and Belgium had deployed some three million fighting troops in the line and in reserve.

A Washington report, claiming to derive information from the American War Commissions that visited the western front, stated that there were six million men—Britons, Overseas Britons, Frenchmen, and Belgians—under arms from the North Sea to Switzerland. About half of

[*British official photograph.*

WAITING TO GO FORWARD.

British troops ready for the signal to go up and over during the advance on the Ancre.

[*British official photograph.*

VISUAL SIGNALLING DURING THE ADVANCE.

Heliographing by British soldiers in France. As the advance became more pronounced it became possible to use this method on the western front. The man at the telescope was reading the answering flashes. With a large mirror this sun-signalling can be used over a range of many miles.

[*British official photograph.*

THE POINTING FINGER IN THE ADVANCE ON THE ANCRE.

Sign which there was no mistaking. This eloquent notice-board was put up behind the lines on the western front, and the British soldiers followed its simple direction when the opportunity offered, and, having secured Pozières, passed on and captured Bapaume.

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these men, however, were auxiliary to the actual fighting forces. The Kaiser, in a message which he sent to the Sultan of Turkey, referred to the superiority of his opponents on the western front in regard to numbers and material.

In mere numbers the Germans were scarcely so inferior as they tried to make out. In addition to their first strategic reserve of five hundred thousand troops, mentioned in the report from French Headquarters, the enemy appears to have possessed a second strategic reserve of similar proportion, with which he at first contemplated striking at Russia. When through force of circumstances General von Ludendorff was compelled to divert this second reserve to the western front, and was further allowed by the action of the wilder among the Russian Revolutionists also to shift from east to west a considerable number of competent divisions, the balance of opposing forces in France and Flanders became practically equal for the time.

Germany's strategic reserves

The British Army Council then called forth another half a million men. There was, unfortunately, some delay in raising in England, Scotland, and Wales the new army that would be badly needed by the autumn. British local tribunals did not seem to be alert to the vital need for more men wherewith to achieve a decision in 1917, and thus save the enormous cost in life and treasure of a more prolonged and dragging war.

Happily, at the time when the enemy began to retire towards the Hindenburg line, an important new factor was introduced into the military situation by the entrance of the United States into the struggle. A vast new source of reserve power came suddenly into existence and influenced the plans of the commanders of the western democratic armies.

Although they could not expect any immediate military aid of decisive importance from the great American nation, they could yet confidently look forward to receiving help from a new army of at least half a million men at the end of a year.

This prospect of the future accession to the fighting forces on the western front of so considerable a factor enabled the British, French, Belgian, and Italian High Commands to recover from the disappointment in connection with the Russian part of the grand operations. They then felt strong enough to continue to fight forward in a thrusting and very violent manner, instead of adopting a cautious and waiting attitude, which would have permitted the enemy to exercise the power of initiative. The great American reserves, that were expected to come into action in 1918, were a dominating influence upon the awful battlefield of Europe in the early part of 1917, when Sir Douglas Haig moved against the Hindenburg line, and there began to grind down the last huge accumulation of troops of good quality with which Ludendorff was prepared to make a desperate stand.

Influence of the American factor

WAYSIDE REST OF BRITISH CAVALRY ON THE WESTERN FRONT.

Off-saddle halt for lunch of British horsemen behind the lines in France. During the retreat of the Germans on the western front in the spring of 1917, a retreat which was rapidly accelerated though the German command claimed it was "according to plan," the cavalry got into action on several occasions, their patrols getting well forward into the country from which the enemy had been pressed back on to his Hindenburg line.

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OFF TO ATTACK AT EARLY DAWN. [British official photograph.

CHAPTER CLXXXII.

THE GERMAN RETREAT FROM BAPAUME AND BRITISH ADVANCE TO THE HINDENBURG LINE.

By Edward Wright.

Ludendorff Achieves Nothing by Retreating from the Ancre—Remarkable Failure of Prussian Guard—Whirlwind Attack on Irles—Great Key Position Won in German Panic—Ludendorff Has to Change His Plans Through Defeat—Grand Retirement from Arras to Soissons Hurriedly Prepared—Why the Germans Thought the British Could Not Follow Them—The Siegfried Line, the Siegfried Troops, and the Siegfried Myth—Victory of Loupart and Capture of Bapaume Ridge—Australians and Prussian Guardsmen—Battle for Bapaume—Victorious St. Patrick's Day—The Mark of the Beast as He Fled from the Guns—Dreadful Condition of Bapaume and Péronne—Poisoning of Wells and Destruction of Historic Edifices—The Australians in the Apple Orchards—Liberation of Forty-five Thousand French People—Skirmishes between British and German Cavalry with Airmen Intervening——Magnificent Charges at Twenty-three Miles an Hour Through Village after Village—Fine Work by the British Patrols in the Hindenburg Line—Australians Give Battle in Beaumetz and Advance on Lagnicourt—Alarm of Ludendorff at the Speed of the British Pursuit—Swift Thrusting Actions all Along the Hindenburg Line—Battles at Doignies and Croisilles—Great British Successes Around St. Quentin—Ronssoy Garrison Forced Against Its Own Wire Entanglements—Results of the Superb Strategy of Sir Douglas Haig—German Reserves Concentrated in the Wrong Positions—Grand British Offensive Opens.

AT the beginning of March, 1917, General von Ludendorff, who was personally directing the operations on the western front, had retired the First German Army to the Monchy-Bapaume Ridge. This ridge runs from Monchy, south-east of Arras, to Bapaume, south-west of Cambrai. The new German position formed a large salient, projecting between Arras and Bapaume. The salient was about fourteen miles broad along the Arras-Bapaume highway, and about eight miles deep at its extreme point on the Hill of Monchy.

The heavy British artillery dominated the whole of this salient. Extending for four miles in front of the Monchy point was a great plateau of land, more than three hundred and twenty-five feet above sea-level, running from Berles to Gommecourt, and occupied by British infantry and artillery and observation-officers. The enemy held only a small patch of land of similar altitude at Monchy, with still smaller patches near Essarts and near Bucquoy. Between the isolated high downs retained by the enemy were valley gaps in his line, through which British gunnery officers could both fire and observe. The railway system that served the forces in the Monchy salient naturally worked at grave disadvantage, as the British heavy ordnance had a plunging fire across the northern, western, and southern sides of the large German wedge. Even the rearmost German line of communication was at the mercy of the 15 in. howitzers employed by the British gunners.

[British official photograph.

STUDYING THE NEXT STAGE FORWARD.

British officers in Péronne studying maps in preparation for their continued advance eastward—a stimulating change from their long concentration on maps of the trenches behind the Bapaume Ridge.

The Monchy - Bapaume Ridge is one of the most important geographical features of France. It forms the dividing watershed between the North Sea and the English Channel, separating the drainage of the Scheldt from the basin of the Somme River. The hills of which the ridge is composed are not formidable in themselves, because all the rolling, broken country is about four hundred and sixty feet above sea-level. The topmost heights are barely more

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[*British official photograph.*

REINFORCEMENTS ON THEIR WAY TO THE FIGHTING.

British troops passing through a battered town on the way to reinforce their advancing comrades. Shattered walls and gaping roofs were familiar objects of the advance, for what artillery had spared had been wantonly and even viciously destroyed by the retreating Germans.

than sixty-five feet above the valleys. In most places the enemy had only winding vales, about sixty feet deep, in which to shelter his howitzers and his brigade reserves. Into these shallow vales the British guns threw a plunging fire from the higher ground which they occupied.

It was thus clear that General von Ludendorff had achieved nothing by his retreat from the hills above the Ancre. He had merely narrowed the Monchy salient by some three miles. Over these three miles, between Gommecourt and Loupart Wood, the British commander speedily pushed all his artillery. The consequence was that his guns came three miles closer to the heart of the German salient, and thereby obtained a more deadly power of fire against the enemy garrisons.

On the other hand, the German commander acquired considerable advantages of position against infantry attack. In order to reach his new lines the British troops had to cross, by the Upper Ancre, a wide, shallow valley raked by high-placed machine-guns and artillery of every kind.

It was the intention of the German High Command to make a long stand on the Monchy-Bapaume Ridge, and use it as the main pivot for a great retreat southward at Noyon. The enemy had spent months in erecting a formidable new double barrier behind Gommecourt and Irles, and was still engaged making many new trenches. In advance of his two new lines of defence he retained a connected string of outpost positions, of which the more important were Nightingale Wood, on a spur between Gommecourt and Puisieux, and the village of Irles and Loupart Wood.

The weather in the first week of March was foggy and favoured the enemy by hindering observation for the British artillery. Some ten days were spent by Sir Hubert Gough in bringing his guns forward, constructing new roads and lengthening railways. His infantry profited by the haze and advanced to a depth of a quarter of a mile near Gommecourt on March 3rd, and the following day broke into the German front by the wood of St. Pierre Vaast, taking a considerable number of prisoners.

In the movement from Gommecourt more progress was made for another half a mile, and the Prussian Guardsmen were driven from the forested spur of Nightingale Wood and from their more northern positions in Biez Wood. The Guardsmen fled in the night from the high wooded ground which dominated the way of advance between Gommecourt and Bucquoy.

After the surrender of the woods, which surrender did not speak well for the courage of the most famous of Prussian corps, another intricate system of defences was abandoned without a struggle. This was the farmstead of Rettemoy, which was so fortified and so connected

[*British official photograph.*

WATCHING THE TIDE GO FORWARD ON THE WEST.

Members of the British R.A.M.C. and some of their combatant comrades watching the advance from the remnant walls of a ruined building. From some of the higher parts of the long front over which the Germans retreated extensive views of the operations of their pursuers were obtainable.

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with switch-lines that it exceeded in strength and strategic value the famous farm of Mouquet. It had a labyrinth of underground communications and machine-gun positions, against which brigade after brigade of British troops might have broken. Yet the position was conquered without any important loss by a small British patrolling force, that worked from one end of all the linked positions to the other end, meeting only with some weak parties of bombers, who came from Essarts, and retired more quickly than they came.

On March 6th there were snow-storms along the western front, but around the Somme the air cleared and the Royal Flying Corps became very active, photographing the enemy's new positions, bombing his depots, and controlling a series of fierce outbursts of artillery fire. With drying winds and clearing air the enemy would have been placed in grave difficulties. General Gough had a magnificent force of road-builders and railway constructors, including some fine Canadian hustlers, and they all drove forward the British communications with a surprising speed. Entire parks of field-howitzers pursued the enemy over the broken downland country and kept remarkably close behind the advancing infantry.

[*British official photograph*

IN A RUINED VILLAGE OF THE ARRAS DISTRICT.

British troops marching past Athies Church, which had been destroyed by the Germans in their enforced retirement from its neighbourhood. The village of Athies is on the left bank of the Scarpe, about three miles east of Arras and about half that distance from the southern end of Vimy Ridge.

The weather dominated everything, and the British Army found that its special weather-lore Staff was of supreme importance in arranging operations. Unhappily, mist and mud continued to serve the enemy. His vast preparations for retreat were veiled in haze or completely blanketed by fog. General Gough could do little more than prepare for pursuit, as General Rawlinson was also doing, and make use of the mist for local operations of high tactical value.

[*British official photograph.*

BRITISH ARTILLERYMEN FIRING CAPTURED ENEMY GUNS.

Artillery in one of the devastated villages on the western front from which the Germans had been driven. In his hurried retreat the enemy was compelled to abandon some of his guns, which were effectively turned on him to accelerate further his movement.

On March 10th the fortified village of Irles, lying in front of Pys and defending the height known as Hill 129, was carried by an enveloping movement. The position was held by a battalion of the Prussian Guard, who was acting merely as a rearguard, and intended to retire to Hill 129 when the new defences were completed. Only two hours before the German plan of retirement was executed the British field-howitzers opened one of their whirlwind bombardments, in which Sir Hubert Gough had specialised. Under cover of the massed fire one British force of infantry worked up from the south, while another swung round northward towards the shoulder of the down. At the same time a detachment of Fusiliers swept up a sunken road which was held by hostile machine-gun crews, and broke the farther flank of the Irles garrison.

The Germans were mastered by very little fighting. They were completely overcome by panic when they perceived the British troops streaming behind them. Surrendering in hundreds, they

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BRITISH HEAVY ARTILLERY TAKING UP A NEW POSITION DURING THE ADVANCE.

It was largely the surprising rapidity with which the British Army organised its advanced field-howitzer positions and brought forward its 8 in. and still heavier siege ordnance, rushing up ammunition to the guns and timber for the works in great motor-lorries, that frightened the German Command, and made it seek security and freedom of action by withdrawing prematurely to the new lines it had been preparing.

enabled the conquerors, whose casualties were remarkably small, to snatch the fortified system on the hill slopes and get within a few hundred yards of the wire entanglement at Loupart Wood.

Slight in extent as the British advance was, and small as were the forces engaged, the action was of tremendous importance. Sir Hubert Gough had not merely repeated the success he had won at Baillescourt Hill, by abruptly breaking into the heart of the enemy's defence system, but he had entirely disarranged the plan of General von Ludendorff in regard to the western front.

Irles Hill was a little lower than Loupart Wood. Nevertheless, it was the key-position to practically the whole of the Bapaume Ridge; for its possession enabled the British forces to turn the western side of the main down. The enemy commander had placed the Prussian Guard at Irles, because of the supreme importance of the hill behind it. When the best soldiers in Germany became so panic-stricken that they could not fight their way back to the hill of which they were the advanced guard, and allowed the British troops to occupy the slope, the scheme upon which Ludendorff had worked since October, 1916, had hastily to be altered.

Vital importance of Irles

The day after the capture of Irles Hill open preparations were made for a gigantic retirement over a winding front of about one hundred miles. From a point near Arras to a point near Soissons the German forces prepared in anxious haste to withdraw towards Cambrai, St. Quentin, and Laon.

Nothing, of course, will be certainly known about the intentions of the enemy, unless the German General Staff publishes an honest history of the war. Seeing that this Staff grossly falsified its story of the Franco-Prussian War, and made the luckiest chance strokes of the older Moltke appear to be the result of wonderful calculation, it is not likely that the truth about the great German retirement from Bapaume to Noyon will ever be related frankly by German Staff historians.

In these circumstances, one can only consider the matter thoroughly from the British side. From this point of view, it is almost certain that General von Ludendorff intended to make a long and fierce stand upon the Bapaume Ridge. As was afterwards discovered by British patrols, an enormous amount of new fortification work was being carried on when Irles Hill was lost. Vast triple-thick barbed-wire entanglements had been recently erected. Intricate new trench systems were being excavated, and the ground was marked for further long extensions at Achiet-le-Grand and elsewhere. Thousands of German troops and allied prisoners were being employed in transforming the great lumpy ridge of chalk into a mighty modern fortress system. Clearly it was intended to use the ridge as an obstacle that would delay the army of Sir Hubert Gough for several months.

Ludendorff's aim in retreating

Immediately after the fall of Irles Hill, however, the French people in towns and villages and hamlets in German possession, from the vicinity of Arras to the neighbourhood of Soissons, became aware that a great general enemy retirement was being hurriedly prepared.

The panic of the Prussian Guard produced something like a panic in the mind of Ludendorff and his lieutenants. As German Staff publicists afterwards admitted, their ablest commander became afraid of the power and speed of movement of the British artillery and the British road-makers. It was largely the surprising rapidity with which the attacking army organised its advanced field-howitzer positions, and brought forward its 8 in. and still heavier siege ordnance, that frightened Ludendorff and made him seek security and freedom of action by withdrawing prematurely to the new line he had been preparing since the autumn of the previous year.

Ludendorff had a double aim. He wished to escape from the overwhelming British gun fire around the Ancre and the Somme, and to avoid being compelled to waste his reserves there in another gigantic pitched battle. He calculated that Sir Douglas Haig would require months of new preparation to organise the country which was to be abandoned to him, or to move his main armies for a prolonged offensive in another direction.

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Technical considerations formed the base of the German dictator's plan. Close behind the British armies, north and south of the Somme, were reservoirs of drinking water of a size suitable for London. There was also a system of main and light railways, motor roads, store and provisioning depots, which had taken nearly a year to construct. The system of works was so vast that if, for instance, it were transferred to Canada, it would have provided for years for the needs of all new immigrants. The task of moving this system forward or northward or southward seemed almost as stupendous as would be the removal of London to the sea-coast.

The Germans, on the other hand, had already spent six months' labour of their own troops, and of enslaved civil and military prisoners, in constructing huge water supplies, new railways, stations, store places, gun-pits, and trench systems at a distance of about a day's march behind their front. Their commander, therefore, reckoned that he could stand in full strength on his new front between Arras and St. Quentin, and send out rearguards in superior numbers and with superior equipment, while the British commander would be able only to send out small advance guards.

German plans to hinder pursuit

The essence of the German plan was to make the vast new zone of evacuation an utter desert. Large British or French forces were to be prevented from quickly traversing the zone of retreat by blasting up the roads, poisoning the wells, destroying all towns and villages that afforded cover, and arranging numberless machine-gun ambushes along all the ways of advance.

This, at least, was what Ludendorff proposed to do and ordered to be done. Members of his Staff, who frequently and regularly instructed the military writers on the German Press, informed them of the great new plan for open-field warfare conducted over open country from a strongly fortified line. Thereupon, all German newspapers began first to hint of the invention of a promising new way of warfare, and then openly to expatiate upon the glorious and scientific advantages of Hindenburg's scheme for bringing the half-trained British troops out into the open field, where their inexpertness in rapid manœuvre would lead to their defeat.

Hindenburg, it will be observed, was still credited with the supreme invention of the man who was using him as an advertisement marionette. The old wooden idol of Berlin still served as cover to Ludendorff,

Working the Siegfried tradition

who at first named his new system the Hindenburg line, and only later divided it into the local distinction of Siegfried and Wotan lines. From the beginning of the operations, however, the more westerly line was known to the German Army by its Wagnerian title, and special bodies of troops, picked for bodily strength and firmness of character, were formed into Siegfried forces, for the dangerous work of open warfare in front of the new line.

It is hard to believe that Ludendorff himself had such a strain of romance in his temperament as to turn to the greatest of German dramatic musicians as a source of inspiring courage for his rank and file. Ludendorff had as much feeling for poetry as Hindenburg. Yet he had sufficient versatility to discern the moral value of the Wagnerian tradition, with its glorification of the ancient German legends of the heroic age.

He adopted the Siegfried idea and worked it with characteristic energy in his Press Bureau. He also supplied a sound, prosaic foundation for the poetic superstructure of Siegfried warfare by arranging that every Siegfried soldier should be allowed especially luxurious rations during the period of food shortage, when ordinary German troops were kept on limited diet in the manner in which farmers were keeping their store animals during the hard, long winter.

REINFORCING THE BRITISH BARRAGE DURING THE ADVANCE ON THE WESTERN FRONT.

Royal Horse Artillery batteries that had just been galloped into a fresh position to reinforce the barrage behind which the British infantry was pressing forward. The rapid movement of the artillery of different calibres formed a great feature of the advance, and entire parks of field-howitzers pursued the enemy over the broken downland country and kept so close behind the infantry as to disarrange the German plans.

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[*Canadian War Records*

BRINGING IN THE WOUNDED BY LIGHT RAILWAY.
Again and again during the German retreat parties of their delaying forces surrendered to the rapidly following British forces, and were marched back with the wounded, sometimes acting as stretcher-bearers.

Ludendorff was undoubtedly a master of men. Yet he could not master the Briton or the Frenchman. In the Ancre section his half-broken and critical positions were subjected to continuous bombardment immediately after the capture of Irles Hill. Especially upon the thick, black, high belt of trees, rising against the sky on Loupart Down, were convergent streams of smashing shell fire directed. The Germans were caught just as they were removing their field-artillery, and could only reply with their distant heavy guns.

Rain came down in a dense drizzle and blotted out Loupart Wood. The German gunners ceased to shoot except in a mechanical way. Yet, despite the weather, all the roads along which they were dragging their heavy pieces were continually kept under fire. The British army quickly brought forward a large number of 8 in. howitzers and, placing them close behind the field-artillery, maintained a tornado of light and heavy shell from Monchy to the southern bastion of Bapaume at Le Transloy. The pieces were aimed through the curtain of rain by means of photographs of the enemy's lines taken by the Royal Flying Corps.

British capture Bapaume Ridge

Screened by the rain and heralded by a line of havocking shells, strong British patrols started to work round the great down of Loupart and the smaller hill in front of Grévillers. When the weather cleared on March 12th, enabling the British gunners to see their immediate targets, the decisive struggle for the Bapaume Ridge was concluded in a remarkable manner. The German troops fled. They could not stand against the gigantic British war-machine that slew them at long range with merciless thoroughness. The reconnoitring-parties of British infantry met with only slight resistance from a few machine-guns and snipers. In a morning of mist, on March 13th, they stormed right through Loupart Wood, topped the dominant height, and, going down the farther slope, completed the work done at Irles.

Before them stretched the low plain of French Flanders, where the lazy Scheldt rose and slowly wound northward towards Antwerp. From the last ridge of downland there could be seen no high position from which enemy gunnery officers could direct their artillery against the advancing British army. German rearguard batteries still fired over the ridge, working by the maps they had made and ranges they had measured before the retreat began.

Yet, save for the information wirelessed to them by a few daring aerial observers, they could only guess by what paths the British troops were working forward, and sprinkle high explosive and shrapnel in a blind and wasteful manner. By the evening of March 13th Grévillers Hill and Grévillers village were occupied by British troops, who began to work westward around Bapaume.

As night fell, the enemy was still holding on to the north-western end of the ridge from

[*Canadian War Records.*

GERMAN PRISONERS SERVING AS STRETCHER-BEARERS.
Canadian soldier bringing in a wounded comrade and three prisoners—one of them of the German Red Cross—who were apparently glad to be on their way to the safety of internment.

Monchy to the Achiets. But close to Bapaume itself he had only a line of rearguards at Logeast Wood and the low hills around. For all practical purposes the enemy's salient between Arras and Péronne, which since 1914 had formed his most westerly line of advance in France, was pierced and overwhelmed. At the northern end British reconnoitring-parties were progressing from Gommecourt. At its southern end a strong force of patrols was penetrating, by the help of a whirlwind bombardment, into the famous fortified wood of St. Pierre Vaast, against which the French offensive had stopped in the autumn of 1916.

In the clear sunshine of March 15th it seemed unlikely that the enemy would escape from the great salient without severe damage. There were, indeed, great hopes that he would be unable to avoid grave disaster if only the weather remained clear for combined aerial observation and exact and heavy gun fire. Unhappily, rain again beat on the battlefield and veiled the enemy's withdrawing movements. By means of maps the British gunners maintained a fierce and far-ranging fire. They hammered the last

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German rearguard out of the great jungle of St. Pierre Vaast, and enabled their infantry to sweep so quickly through the wood as to trap and annihilate a German company and make a breach of two miles and a half in the hostile line between Bapaume and Péronne.

The tempest of rain in the middle of March was, however, the last aid that Thor gave to the errant branch of his former worshippers. The weather became fine and dry, hardening the ground, making rapid movement possible, and facilitating the frenzied labours of the British track builders. British flying squadrons obtained a clear view over the enemy's line of activities, and all the British forces around the Somme soon knew that a great event was impending.

In vain did the German commander pretend he was still standing in strength on his old line. On March 15th he sacrificed a large body of men in making a sally from the Achiets, which was beaten off. On March 16th he launched on the British line above Gommecourt another fierce assault which was also easily broken. He made the mistake of demonstrating in the wrong places.

[*Canadian War Records.*

WOUNDED AWAITING REMOVAL.

Stretcher cases ready for transference to a light railway for conveyance from the battlefield to the base.

The British commander only pressed forward more strongly in the face of the enemy's show of resistance. Instead of striking back at the points from which an attempt had been made to strike him, he suddenly and violently thrust clean through the German front at Bapaume. Between Arras and Noyon were two German salients, with a wider British salient extending between them. Sir Douglas Haig left the German forces in their own two wedges, and struck directly eastward from each side of the Albert-Cambrai high road, along which he had been fighting since July 1st, 1916.

The German commander feared that a violent attempt to break his line would be delivered from the extreme point of the British salient. He placed a fresh force of Prussian Guards around Bapaume and excavated a new and strong system of earthworks on either side of the Albert road. Three great belts of new and unbroken wire covered the new system of defences, on which the Foot Guards were still working when the final storm of shell broke upon them in the grey dawn of St. Patrick's Day. From the west and south-west approaches to the city strong Australian and British patrols came forward with ladders, bombs, and machine-guns. They climbed over the unbroken wire and, in a fierce, short action, scattered the Prussian Guards. As one company fled it was trapped in a machine-gun barrage and destroyed. The Australians then entered the town in pursuit of the enemy, who detonated charge after charge of high explosive to cover his retreat.

Soon after Bapaume fell, Le Transloy, forming the southernmost defence of Bapaume, was surrendered by the enemy without a shot, the garrison retiring eastward to the village of Rocquigny. They were pursued by British patrols and thrown out of Rocquigny by nightfall. Then, on the other side of Bapaume, a more daring and rapid method of advance was made. A force of British cavalry worked past the high wood of Logeast,

Victorious St. Patrick's Day

and, penetrating eastward of the great, new, vain system of defences at Achiet-le-Grand, turned the whole German line and reached to open country towards Béhagnies. Achiet-le-Petit and Biefvillers were taken, and British airmen, cavalry, and infantry scouts were, by the evening, moving beyond the old shell-ploughed battlefields into the Siegfried zone of warfare.

The darkened theatre of the new campaign was horribly picturesque. A great belt of burning villages and smoking towns marked the ebb of strength of the most powerful army of invaders in history. The nocturnal sky was illumined with infernal splendour by their star-shells, by green clouds of fire from their shrapnel shells, and by volcanic bursts of high-explosive projectiles from their rearguarding batteries. The ancient, charming city of Bapaume was an indescribable ruin. Scarcely one house remained intact. Inside and out were the marks of the beast.

Every dwelling was looted, and where there had been

[*British official photograph.*

INTERROGATING GERMAN PRISONERS JUST BROUGHT IN.

British officers questioning a batch of prisoners immediately on their arrival at a base. The Germans, whose supplies had been held up sometimes for days by the deadly fire of the British guns, frequently arrived in a half-famished condition and were immediately given food.

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BRITISH FIELD-BATTERIES RUSHING FORWARD TO PRECIPITATE THE GERMAN RETREAT FROM BAPAUME.

The Germans expected that the British Army would be tied to its positions by the mass of material accumulated during the winter, and were disconcerted by the marvellous rapidity with which the artillery pursued them. Mud was thick over all the terrain, but eight horses were furnished to each gun instead of the usual six, and extra ammunition was sent up on pack-horses, each carrying six to eight rounds in panniers.

no time to cart the furniture away it had been broken up. Family portraits were rent, and in some cases smeared with human ordure. The only unbroken thing left in the town seems to have been a trunk, that was found in the open street. A charge of explosive was placed in it, so arranged as to shatter any British soldier who tried to open it. Small war souvenirs were also scattered about to tempt the inexperienced Australian and Briton.

The Australians, however, had played similar tricks upon the Turks when evacuating the Anzac position on the Gallipoli Peninsula. The Briton, also, was well instructed in the art of avoiding booby-traps and trip-mines. The Germans were like savages with inferior cunning. They wasted their labour and their material on insignificant devices, and neglected tasks of great importance. The time they spent in setting fire to Bapaume, in breaking up the furniture of the townspeople, spoiling the houses and destroying the ornamental trees must have amounted to a week.

They were so thoroughly occupied with a great variety of dirty monkey tricks, directed against the feelings of the civil population of France, that they were finally in too great a hurry to complete the destructive work of real military importance. Bapaume was a city of deep cellars, which the invaders had connected and extended into an immense system of bomb-proof shelters. Had all these old and new dug-outs been thoroughly blown in when the Australians entered the city under a heavy bombardment from the distant German batteries, the victors' casualties from gun fire might have been very heavy.

Insane destruction in Bapaume

The foolishly savage Germans, however, had blown up only a part of the great underground retreats. They had been too busy destroying the homes of the civil population of Bapaume, and hacking pictures and furniture, and putting paraffin and petrol in private houses. As a military position Bapaume, though but a smoking ruin above ground, was still an admirable concentration base for operations eastward.

Even the highway from Albert remained available for traffic. There were about three mine-craters in it, but British army vehicles were able to swing round them and quickly bring up the food material required by the advancing army. The damage to the road was speedily made good, and the British railway lines prolonged across the old battlefield.

In the night of March 17th, while the conquerors of Bapaume were extending their gains northward and eastward, other British forces were working into and around Péronne. Patrols had begun to feel their way, in the afternoon of St. Patrick's Day, towards the dominant mass of Mont St. Quentin. It was against the hill of St. Quentin that the armies of General Fayolle had been stayed both north and south of the Somme. The French Ordnance Department had even had a special gun at last made for action against Mont St. Quentin without, however, succeeding in mastering the hostile batteries concealed in and about the historic down.

British occupation of Peronne

With the breaking of the enemy's line at Irles Hill, which directly opened Bapaume, Mont St. Quentin was in great danger of being stormed by a sudden flank attack. The Germans hastily removed their powerful batteries. On March 17th there were only a few machine-gun teams and snipers clinging to the crest and watching the British movements at Biaches and in the Tortille ravine.

By midnight strong scouting-parties were gathering at the foot of the height and clearing Moislains and the hamlets by the bend of the Somme. In the morning of March 18th a party of field-grey figures was seen escaping from Mont St. Quentin to avoid envelopment, and soon afterward both the height and Péronne town were occupied by the British army.

Some of the men crossing the river from Biaches had an unexpected bath. The retreating Germans had broken

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the wooden bridges over the Somme, and then artfully covered the gaps with straw screens to prevent British aerial observers from noticing the evidence of withdrawal by the breaking of communications. This was an ingenious trick that met with the success it deserved. Not only was the destruction of the bridges unperceived, but some British soldiers thought the straw was solid and fell through into the water. The cost in life of taking Péronne, however, was nil.

The enemy prepared explosive devices in habitual ape-like imitation of the Dardanelles evacuation traps. But there was not, so report ran at the time, a single British casualty. A cavalry patrol first entered, followed by Midland and London infantry. The condition of the renowned old lovely town that used to adorn the curve of the Somme was heart-breaking. The heart that bled for Louvain must have run white for Péronne.

Wreck of Péronne's ancient town-hall

For example, after blowing out the front of the beautiful fifteenth-century town hall of Péronne, the wreckers placed high upon the ruins a large placard with the cynical message: "Nicht ärgern, nur wundern!"—"Don't get angry, simply wonder!"

The ruins of this ancient jewel of the country-side of Picardy were a monument to the character of the modern descendants of the race that had produced Bach, Goethe, Schiller, Wagner, and Hauptmann. The destructiveness of scientific barbarians was combined with the filthiness of sewer rats. High-explosives, solidified paraffin, and the contents of latrines were employed by the new Siegfrieds to shatter, fire, and sully the houses they had completely looted.

In the village of Barleux, close to Péronne, the discovery was made of the poisoning of wells by the Germans. They began in scientific fashion by using arsenic, and ended in bestial manner by throwing in ordure. This was done to hinder the advance of the British armies by infecting the natural water supplies and compelling the troops to wait for pure water to be brought forward.

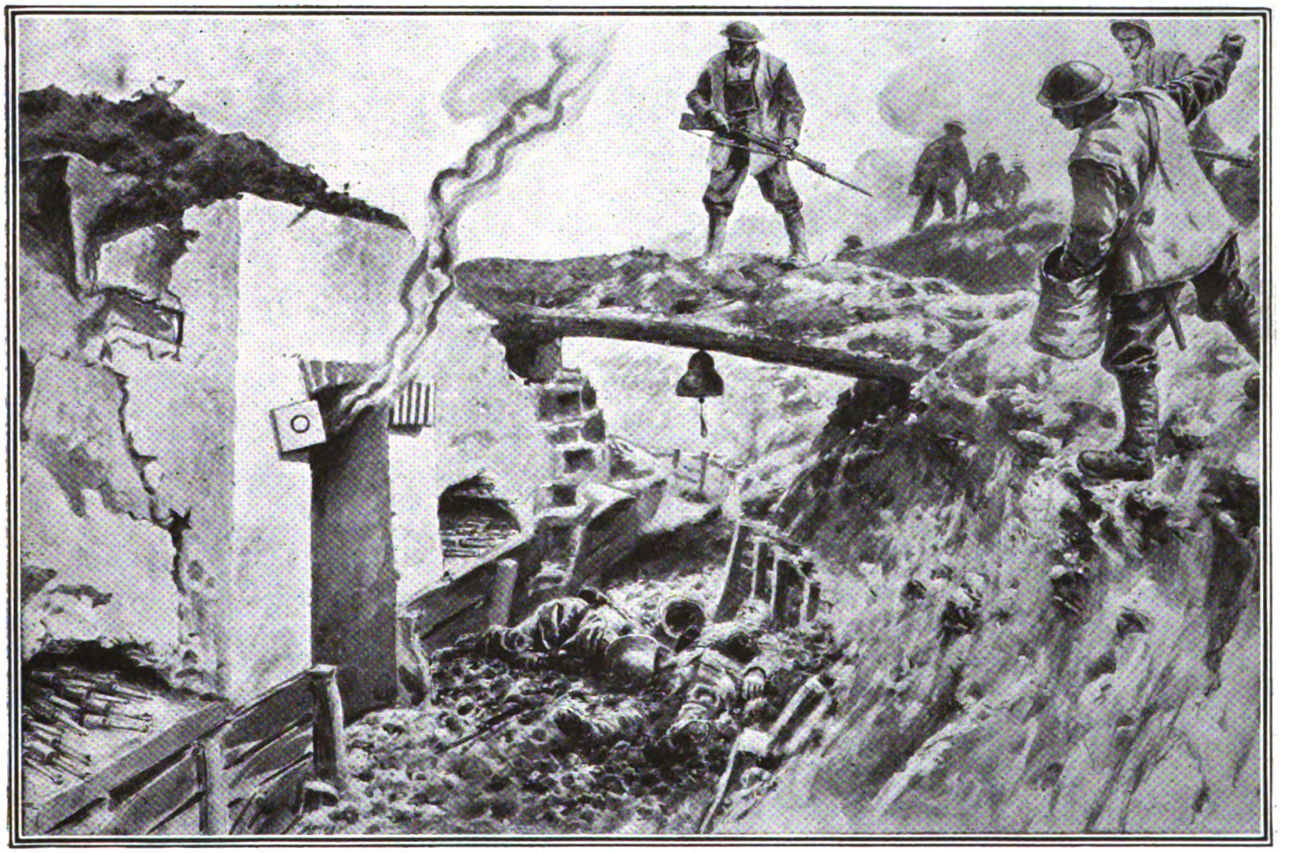
The chief design of the gigantic system of destruction, extending from the Arras suburbs to the villages near Soissons, was not, however, of a direct military nature. The intention was to appal the imagination of the civilian population of France. Apparently Ludendorff fancied that the intrigues for a negotiated peace, which he was about to conduct through Scheidemann, Troelstra, Lenin, Stauning, and the Socialist minorities of Great Britain, France, and Italy, would be facilitated by the methods he employed in surrendering French territory.

Object of the wholesale destruction

The Australian forces, advancing from Bapaume, were the first troops of the British Commonwealth to respond to these methods. They did so in a manner peculiarly British. Nothing they heard or saw seemed to touch them keenly until they came to an orchard in which all the fruit-trees had been felled. The enemy had destroyed towns and burnt hundreds of villages and thousands of farms. He had left behind starving crowds of pitiful children, parchment-faced women, and enfeebled old men. The girls with any beauty surviving his manner of rule had been taken away, nominally as officers' servants, but really for purposes of a most dreadful kind.

Yet it was the sight of some felled or ringed fruit-trees that loosed a passion of anger in the Australians. From the Australians the fierce emotion spread to the home divisions. A stranger might have thought that it was a foolish sentiment.

It was merely a symbol. The men had grown full of



A "MOPPING-UP" PARTY BOMBING A CAPTURED TRENCH WHENCE SHOTS HAD BEEN FIRED.

In the Battles of the Somme and Ancre the Germans, when driven out of positions, left men in dug-outs to come up later and attack the conquerors from behind. Having been taught by experience, however, the British troops organised "mopping-up" parties to follow close on the heels of the attack and bomb all lurking Germans out of their captured trenches while the attack was being pressed on.

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explosive rage, while continually suppressing it and endeavouring to keep cool and calm. Mastered at last by their feelings, they saw some broken fruit-trees, and, with disconcerting abruptness, took the ruined orchard as a small but significant token. During the Indian Mutiny British troops in the relieving army took with them fragments of the clothing of the murdered women of their race to inspire them in avenging victory. The Australians and their comrades took with them only the memory of some gashed and broken apple-trees. But, when they afterwards went into action at Bullecourt, the armed forces of Germany fully paid for all the vile, mean things they had done around Bapaume, Péronne, Nesle, and Roye.

Symbol of the orchards

At Rouy, by the Somme, the Germans placed some hundreds of women, children, and old men in the ruined village, fired all the hamlets from which the people had been collected, and then trained their guns upon the place. When the British patrols entered Rouy a storm of shell was directed upon the famished, starving people before they could be rescued and removed.

[*British official photograph.*

GENERAL VIEW OF BAPAUME AFTER ITS RECAPTURE.

Bapaume, an ancient, charming town, was deliberately wrecked by the Germans before they surrendered it. Every house was looted, soaked with paraffin, and fired. Yet, though but a smoking ruin, Bapaume remained a military position of great importance for the British operations eastward.

The British Army liberated nearly ten thousand of the French population, and the French Army set free more than thirty-five thousand of its compatriots. In all cases only the "useless mouths" in the evacuated territory were left behind by the retreating invaders. Any adult or young person whose slave labour was likely to pay the cost of inadequate feeding was carried off behind the Hindenburg line.

By the evening of March 18th the British armies had advanced on a front of forty-five miles to a depth of ten miles in some places. In addition to the four towns of Bapaume, Péronne, Nesle, and Chaulnes, some fifty-five villages were recovered from the enemy, and two hundred square miles of land. The French armies from Roye to Soissons swept over a still larger tract of country, recovering Roye, Lassigny, and Noyon, and reaching towards Ham and liberating nearly a hundred villages.

The scattered fighting between British reconnoitring-parties and German rearguards was continuous. The enemy employed Uhlans and mounted Jägers to cover his retirement, and against these enemy mounted forces British cavalry patrols worked forward in difficult circumstances. Machine-gun ambushes, with hidden barbed-wire defences and other devices, were naturally employed by the enemy. Rare were any of the old-fashioned straightforward charges of sabre against sabre. If a party of German cavalry was sighted and seen galloping away, it was rather unwise to pursue them at the charge. For near the tail of an apparent flight a hostile ambuscade was to be suspected.

At first the cavalryman seemed to have become only a reconnoitring infantryman who sometimes used a horse, though this state of things changed in splendid fashion A large part of the advanced-guard work, formerly carried out by cavalry, was performed by squadrons of aeroplanes. At the beginning of the great retreat a British airman reconnoitring over the Somme spied a hostile cavalry screen near the hamlet of Ennemain, and chased it with machine-gun fire, bringing down one man and stampeding all the others. In another action a British cavalry patrol was surprised by a party of German snipers concealed in a stranded omnibus. Just as the Germans opened fire a British pilot swooped upon them, falcon-like, and smote them with a drum of his Lewis gun.

Airmen, Regular cavalry, Yeomen, and picturesque turbanned Indian horsemen, cyclists and motor-cyclists, with horse-artillery behind them all, probed into the vague and yielding long German line. British and Australian infantry, with their light artillery, Stokes guns, and supply trains, worked close behind the forward reconnoitring-parties to afford rapid support.

The dangerous art of drawing the enemy's fire was pursued with zest by the advanced guards of the victorious armies. Only a remnant of the little original Expeditionary Force had any happy memories of chasing the beaten armies of the German Empire. To the new national forces, trench-trained for nine months in the science of slowly pushing back the stubborn enemy, the feel of sudden and complete weakness in the foe was a great exhilaration. Men wounded in the skirmishes came back congratulating themselves on having been in "a jolly little scrap."

The eagerness of the British cavalry again to get in contact with the long-ranged German snipers was amusing to the plodding infantry. Most gladly did they search for trouble, while skilfully trying to avoid all possible ambushes. In the end, however, the British infantrymen had an exceeding admiration for the lance as a storming weapon.

British cavalry capture Equancourt

At Equancourt, a little place on the Tortille River near the junction with the North Canal, the enemy was expected to make a very strong stand. The Germans held a wood in front of the village and also another hamlet, Sorel, on the right, commanding the field of fire before Equancourt. Both German forces were on high ground, and the only means of approaching them were two gullies, down which

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[Australian official photograph.

Australians crossing a sleeper-log road over a crater blown to delay their advance near Bapaume.

[Australian official photograph.

Mid-day dinner in a hospital established in the chapel at Millencourt, west of Albert.

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[British official photograph

Ruined but rescued: Havoc in the outskirts of Péronne, recovered from the enemy March 18th, 1917

[Australian official photograph

Vanguard of the liberators: Australians passing through the wrecked Rue de Péronne, Bapaume.

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[British official photograph.

First across the Somme near Péronne: Over the wooden bridges broken by the retreating foe.

[British official photograph.

British advance guard entering Péronne: Once a fair jewel of the country-side of Picardy.

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[British official photograph.

A violated sanctuary as left by the Huns in Bapaume.

[British official photograph.

Street in Bapaume burned by German incendiaries.

[British official photograph.

Main street in Bapaume immediately after the town had fallen.

[British official photograph.

In the heart of ancient Bapaume during the conflagration.

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their machine-guns played. Some British infantry came to the scene of action, six hours before they were due, in order to watch how the cavalry did it.

The cavalry commander divided his men into three parties. One was posted on rising ground on the left, to bring machine-gun fire to bear on the wood. Another small detachment dismounted on the right and engaged the garrison of Sorel with machine-gun fire. Then down the outer gully the attacking force of cavalry was launched at the pace of twenty-three miles an hour. The Germans opened with a few bursts of machine-gun fire, and then fled in a panic behind a railway embankment at the rear of the village, from which they scattered in wild flight. Owing to the speed of the charge only a few of the mounted men were hit.

The little action was a revelation of the insignificance of machine-gun fire against a cavalry target. By the time the gunners fired their first shots the horsemen swept on, and the defending teams then had the alternative of missing their mark or losing their nerve. Owing to the lightning pace with which the lances came to them, they usually lost their nerve. "Look at the beggars!" shouted one of the British infantrymen as the cavalry swept past. "That's the style to take a village. No blighted bombs for them, but hell-for-leather all the way!"

Equancourt fell on March 26th, and the same day the British cavalry also took the large village of Longavesnes, on the way to Epéhy. The country round about was wooded, which is what all cavalrymen like. Under cover of the trees several troops converged upon the village, and, charging through musketry and machine-gun fire, drove the enemy back towards the Hindenburg line.

Advancing from the new lines they had won, the cavalry forces on March 28th broke a series of German rearguards at Villers-Faucon and Saulcourt and other villages, five and a half miles from St. Quentin.

Sometimes they rode the enemy down at the point of the lance by a surprise charge on his flank, capturing his machine-guns and making prisoners. More often the Germans bolted like rabbits, leaving their guns, flinging away their arms, and speeding off on the cycles they kept by the nearest road in the rear.

For more than a week the weather was, on the whole, brilliant for both cavalry work and aerial scouting. There was a keen wind, tempered by sunshine, with an unusually clear air, giving unusual facilities for observation. There was less rain than sunshine, and most of the roads were in good order.

Superiority of British cavalry

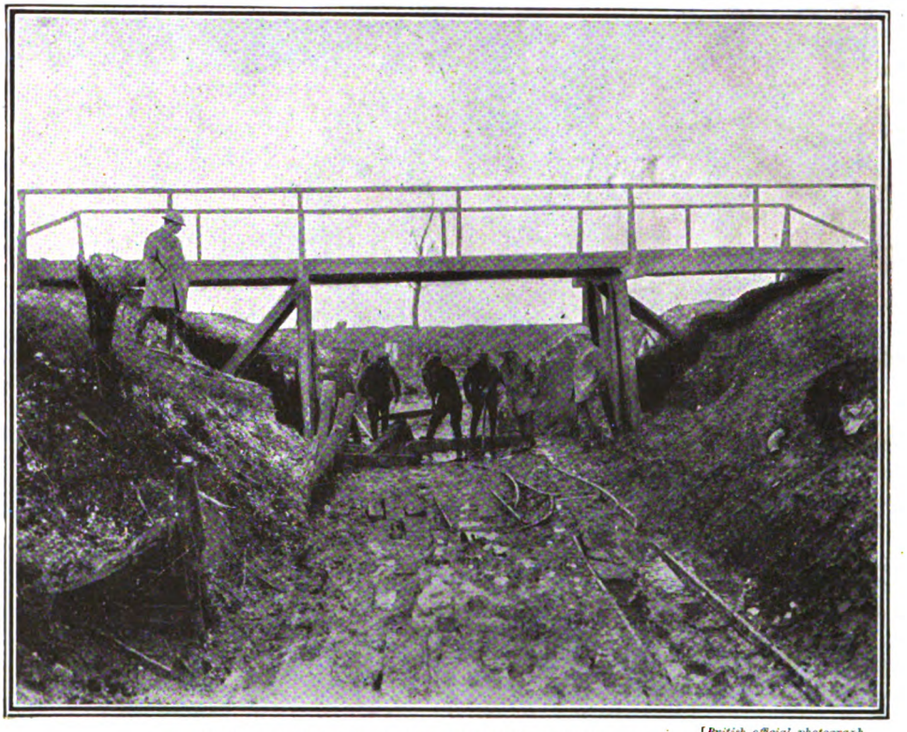
The German cavalry were found poor in quality. They avoided encounter, and appeared only on the sky-line, riding away at the first sight of British troops. Many of them seemed to have no confidence or skill in the use of the lance. They held it awkwardly, showing that they were not the same class of men that rode to the shock in the early actions between the Lys and the English Channel. It was on the pistol that they seemed to rely, and in the lightning clash of conflicting cavalry the British and Indian lances were much the surer weapons. After one skirmish twenty German lances were picked up by British troopers.

Night after night the British cavalry went out in patrols. The leader was ahead and alone; two men followed him, while behind a small body kept in touch. Silently they rode, like moving shadows, with no clatter of stirrup or clank of bit. Their task was to find gaps in the enemy's wire, creep close to his outposts, ride softly into the black ruins, and come back with news of the enemy's positions.

Villages captured at the gallop

They captured at least eight villages at the gallop, by sweeping round on both sides in wide order, with lowered lances. One daring cavalry patrol penetrated the Hindenburg line on March 26th. It stole into the Forest of Holnon, north of St. Quentin, picked up information by listening to the talk of the Germans, and stole out undiscovered. Holnon soon afterwards was captured, largely through this fine piece of scouting.

After a heavy snowstorm on March 22nd the German commander threw out stronger forces from the Siegfried line, and increased his resistance between Arras and St. Quentin. Ruined villages, which were thought to be occupied by British cavalry, were shelled, and the important railway junction of Roisel, seven miles beyond Péronne, was the scene of several fierce little actions. It changed hands three times in two days, but was finally abandoned by Uhlans and cycling riflemen without a shot.



[*British official photograph.*

NEATLY BRIDGING A DESTROYED LIGHT RAILWAY.

British working-party making good the ways behind the advance with the materials that the enemy had left behind. The men erected this neat and serviceable structure across a sunken road, the light-rail track along which had been destroyed by the rapidly retreating Germans.

These reactions by the enemy were principally due to a lack of courage by his Siegfried forces. They abandoned several important positions in which they had been ordered to make a desperate stand. The village of Beaumetz, standing on high ground between Cambrai and Bapaume, was a striking example of the fluctuating quality of the picked German storming troops. First, an Australian patrol drew heavy fire from Beaumetz and the neighbouring hamlet of Morchies. It drew back for reinforcements with field-artillery, and then skirmished forward. Morchies was occupied without a struggle, and Beaumetz

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[*British official photograph.*

HERO-WORSHIP WELL EARNED.

French villagers' interest in a machine-gun and gunner that had helped in their deliverance.

[*British official photographs*

LEARNING ALL THE GLAD TRUTH AT LAST.

Smiling hospitality was offered by the French people to their British rescuers. Not least of the pleasure these brought were the French newspapers, of which the people had been deprived throughout the German occupation. Above: Curiosity in a newly-recovered village over the arrival of a British motor-car.

was outflanked, bombarded, and occupied, the enemy bolting before he could be seriously engaged.

The German Staff, on hearing the news, required the village to be reconquered at any cost. The light surrender was a grave error, and interfered with Ludendorff's plan and endangered the Hindenburg line, which ran near by. After a lull of two days a special German force, with guns, made a surprise attack upon a small Victorian sniping-party holding, with one machine-gun, the day post in front of the village. The little band of Australians charged to the death, but though most of them fell, the survivors brought back their gun into safety.

At other points the Germans worked through the Australians' outpost line, but were broken in a wild street-fight and driven back down the Bapaume road. The next day the Germans attacked in stronger force. Their colonel had called for volunteers, and, when no man came forward, he ordered two infantry companies to go with a company of special storming troops.

Long struggle for Beaumetz

The attack was made from two sides. On one side the ordinary German infantry advanced in column of fours, only to be caught at close range by a machine-gun. Fifteen men dropped, and the rest of the gallant five hundred rushed back to any cover they could find and disappeared from the battle. The storming troops were of tougher fibre. Working forward silently on leather knee-pads and leather elbow-pads, armed with short rifles and little dagger-like bayonets, they made a rush attack upon the village, entered the main street, met the tree-lovers from Australia, and went down before them.

The remnant was driven back into two ruined houses at the end of Beaumetz. On one house a British field-gun was trained at a range of 500 yards, and under one shell the shelter of the storming troops collapsed. The other house was left until dusk, when a young Victorian officer, who had led the charge the previous day, stalked the building, shot one of the snipers, and, seizing the sniper's rifle, as his own was empty, killed another fleeing German. Upon the last German was found an interesting diary, one passage of which ran: "Attacked Beaumetz last night, but found the place too strongly held. Shall probably attack again to-night, *as the position was surrendered sooner than was intended.*"

On March 26th, while the struggle for Beaumetz was violently raging, the main Australian force attempted a diversion. Instead, however, of effecting a diversion, General Birdwood and his able lieutenants victoriously opened the great

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battle on the Hindenburg system. The point selected for attack was the village of Lagnicourt. It was a dominant position, close to the most critical position in the enemy's new defences. In the neighbouring village of Quéant the long Wotan switch-line running down from Drocourt made a junction with the outer Siegfried line. As British aerial observers had found, Lagnicourt village was the most delicate spot over the heart of the new front that Ludendorff had constructed. Fighting was going on at Croisilles northward, as well as at Beaumetz southward, when the Australian patrols, extending from Morchies, surprised the German garrison of Lagnicourt and captured the key-position with few casualties.

After a sharp fight in the streets and around the sawmill and windmill in the morning with a fresh German force in new uniforms, the Australians outflanked the enemy, under cover of Chaufour Wood, ate the breakfast of brown bread, brawn, and ale of the vanquished troops, and prepared for stormy weather. The following day the official enemy communiqué stated that the victors had purchased their success at the cost of a thousand men killed. The local German commander apparently reported that his Staff had counted this number of slain Australians, so that it might be estimated that, with the wounded, the total casualties on the British side exceeded four thousand. As a matter of fact, the Australians lost at the outside only fifty men killed in the advance from Morchies and the capture of Lagnicourt.

Capture of Lagnicourt

The ease and the speed with which the outer defence of the main junction of the great Hindenburg line had been stormed alarmed the German commander. He ceased the struggle to recover Beaumetz and massed at Quéant the best troops he had available for the recovery of Lagnicourt. He counter-attacked in strength from the direction of the Wotan line, employing selected troops from a Prussian Guard division. They were shot down. Again he launched the Guardsmen later in the day, but by this time British field-guns had been moved up to answer the artillery the enemy was using. As the Germans came out in the open, preparatory for a rush attack, they were swept by shell fire and dispersed.

It was reckoned that the enemy had some fifteen batteries of machine-guns grouped in one small depression between Lagnicourt and the neighbouring village. He raked the ridge with them, while his heavy guns, in permanent new emplacements behind the Hindenburg system, bombarded the lost ground in terrific fashion. Nevertheless, the Australians repulsed every counter-attack,

[British official photograph.

A REAL JOY-RIDE.

French children, mounted on British soldiers' bicycles, piloting their liberators to their billets.

[British official photographs

HARBINGERS OF HAPPINESS AFTER LONG DISTRESS.

British soldiers won the confidence of the French children at once, and many scenes of unintentional pathos were witnessed as the children gathered round the improvised stoves for the warmth and food and kindness to which they had been strangers so long. Above: A British general greeting a little French maiden.

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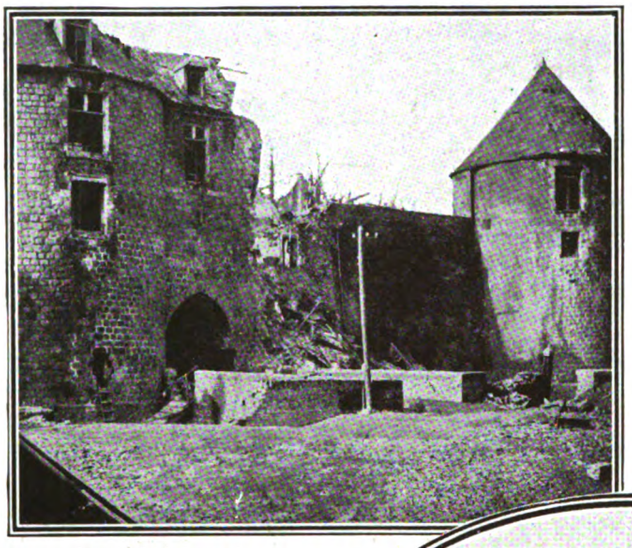

[*British official photograph.*
DAMAGED PERONNE FORT.
Before evacuating Péronne the Germans damaged much of the old town, including its quaint mediæval fort.

[*British official photograph.*
BRITISH WORKING-PARTY IN A GREAT MINE-CRATER.
Working-party who had "camped" with tent and dug-out in an extensive mine-crater, from which they could set out to carry on their important work of maintaining the lines of communication.

with very heavy losses to the Germans, and in the night began to advance along the road to Louverval and Doignies.

Then there followed a series of British thrusts all along the line between Arras and St. Quentin. On March 28th the enemy positions at Croisilles were tested, and found to be strongly held, yet ground was won against fierce resistance. The next day the south-western approaches to Cambrai were attacked, the village of Neuville-Bourjonval being stormed and held against a fierce counter-stroke. On March 30th Ruyaulcourt, a little farther north, was taken, opening the way to Havrincourt Wood, destined to become famous as one of the grand fortresses of the Hindenburg entrenched line. Immediately afterwards another line of convergence was cleared towards Cambrai, still in a south-westerly direction, by a succession of brilliant little British victories around the Péronne and Cambrai high-road at Fins, Sorel, and Heudicourt.

North-west of Cambrai, and above Bullecourt, there was a very weak point in the terrain that Ludendorff had carefully selected for a decisive battle. The little Cojeul stream, tributary to the Scarpe River, flowed from Hénin, over low ground. This tract of low ground was liable to be narrowed on either side and transformed into a death-trap salient. The British Commander-in-Chief arranged for General Gough and General Allenby and General Horne to co-operate in this scheme of action. Thus the Battle of Arras was prepared.

Preparing the Battle of Arras

As a preliminary measure some of the enemy's posts at Hénin were rushed at the end of March, while he was being severely pressed by British and French forces far southward at St. Quentin. Then, on April 2nd, when the St. Quentin Battle was growing more violent, General Gough's forces of Australian and British troops fought forward towards the Cambrai sector of the Hindenburg system and penetrated the outworks on a front of ten miles. Hénin was entirely taken, together with Croisilles, Ecoust-St. Mein, Noreuil, Longatte, Louverval, and Doignies.

It was the opening of the terrible and incessant pitched battle of 1917. Ludendorff's calculations of the time it would take the British Army commanders to bring their artillery across the deep zone of wasted and befouled country were wide of the mark. A few days before his outpost barrier line was broken by surprise assault he had gone out of his way openly to jeer at the apparent slowness with which the British forces were advancing, comparing it with the speed of the French movement, and drawing very foolish conclusions as to the lack of manœuvring power and skill of the trench-trained new British soldier.

The Teutonic dictator and his Staff and his dependent military publicists were duped in manifold ways by self-conceit and ignorance. In the first place, they seem seriously to have underestimated the decisive impetuosity of British cavalry and infantry attacks in open-field operations. They lost many important positions through under-garrisoning them. In the second place, they failed to foresee the speed with which the vast construction of new communications and new positions would be carried out by the sappers, road-makers, and railway-builders of the advancing British armies. In the third place, they would not, in their plans and forecasts, allow for the fact that the nation that took six months to construct the Hindenburg line was likely to be excelled in rapid and gigantic reorganisation by the British, in their aroused and incalculable mood of fiercely strenuous effort.

Ludendorff's army commanders, from the beginning of the sudden period of disillusion, wasted men in army corps in attempts to retrieve the original errors in the plans of their chief. On April 2nd large numbers of men, drawn from one division of the Prussian Guard and two divisions of ordinary infantry, were exhausted in repeated counter-attacks between Hénin and Doignies. The British first won the village by a trick. The troops streamed out at dawn, unheralded by the customary artillery barrages, and got in among the nests of snipers, machine-gunners, and bombers before the Germans could rally. Doignies was carried from Beaumetz in almost a minute, the garrison bolting to Demicourt and firing mines behind them as they fled.

Costly German counter-attacks

Almost as suddenly, Louverval, with its glorious château by the Cambrai road, was stormed; while Croisilles and the other northern villages were more gradually reduced by house-to-house fighting. Then it was that the German Staff reacted with wild violence. Their heavy howitzers, emplaced in the Hindenburg system, shattered the lost villages and entirely destroyed Louverval Château. Under the hurricane of big shell the counter-attacks went on in furious extravagance. Seven were broken in the course of the day at Doignies, while at Croisilles, which the enemy was grimly resolved to retake at any sacrifice, the struggle was continuous.

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British soldiers making friends in one of the French villages which they had forced the ruthless invader to evacuate. The children thus restored to France eagerly welcomed their deliverers, who found joy for themselves in giving joy to the youngsters. After the bullying Germans, the children found that the cheery and friendly new-comers imparted something of a holiday atmosphere to their shattered homes.

Welcoming the British troops into a French town which they had delivered from the tyranny of German occupation. By the spring of 1917 the British Army had liberated nearly ten thousand of the French population, and the French Army more than thirty-five thousand of its compatriots. The Germans only left the old people and young children, "useless mouths," in the territory from which they were forced.

IN THE HOUR OF DELIVERANCE FROM THE HORROR OF THE HUN.

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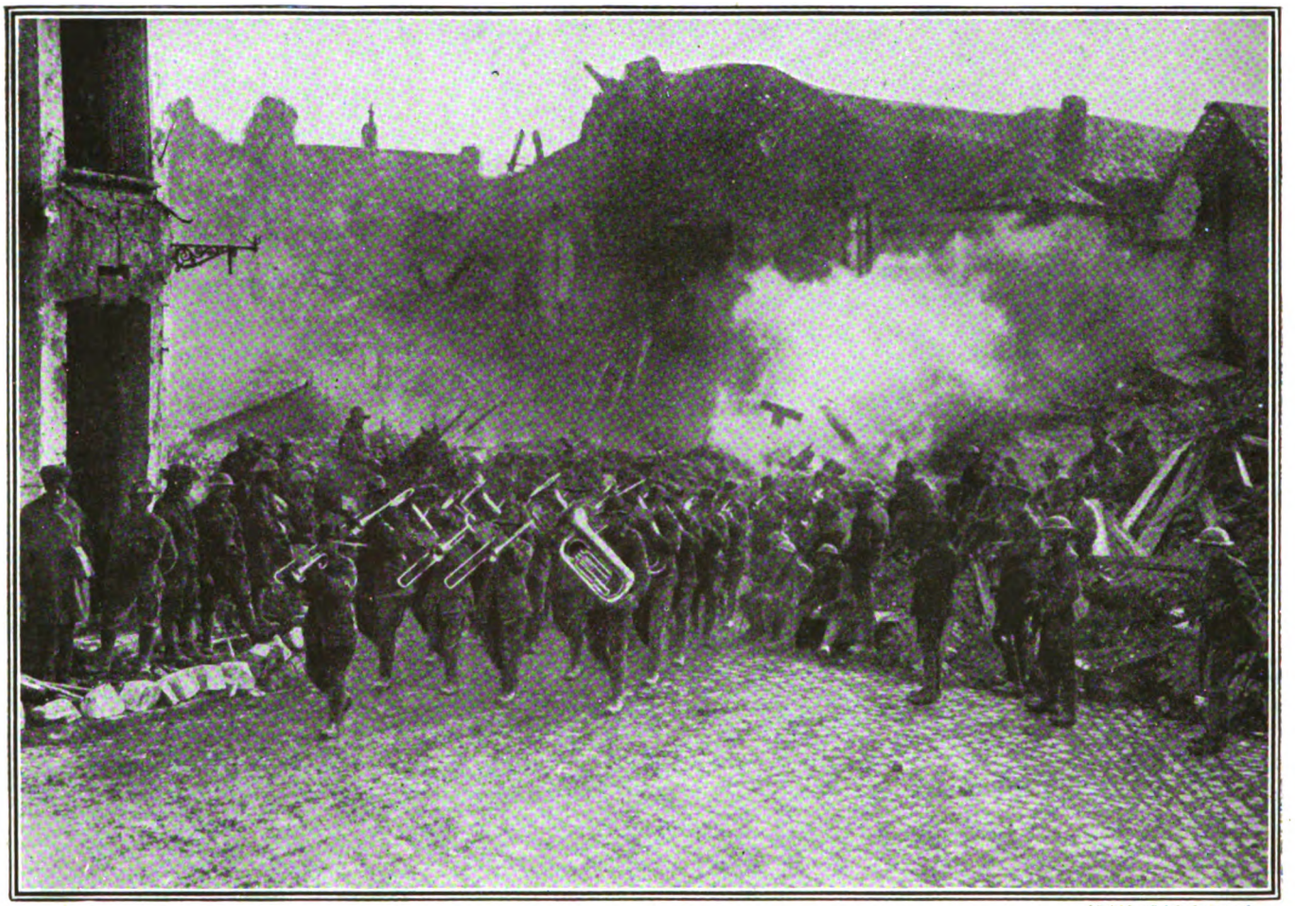

[British official photograph.

AUSTRALIAN BAND PLAYING THE OCCUPYING FORCES INTO BAPAUME.

Strong and fresh forces of the Prussian Guard were still fortifying Bapaume with a new system of defences when the final storm of shell broke upon them in the grey dawn of St. Patrick's Day. From west and south-west Australian and British patrols advanced and scattered the Prussian Guard, and then the Australians entered and took possession of the town, an important base for operations eastward.

Several times the grey hostile waves broke into the villages and ebbed into the ruined cottages. By means of bombs, bayonets, and rifle fire each remnant was destroyed or compelled to scatter back. At last only broken and dispirited bodies of German troops remained in the cover of neighbouring farmsteads and woods, and were withdrawn towards Fontaine.

On the same day the new German line was bent back badly round St. Quentin by the southernmost British army. Savy village and Savy Wood, west of the city, had already been carried by Midland troops' hard fighting. Developing this advantage, the British commander, on April 2nd, hunted the Germans round both sides of Holnon Wood, captured Bihécourt, and Villécholles, Francilly, Selency, and St. Quentin Wood, thus enveloping the town, west and north at a distance of two miles. Near Savy Wood a battery of six German field-guns was taken by the Midlanders, but could not be at once removed.

British advance on St. Quentin

The German commander, in the night of April 3rd, made a violent effort to recover his guns, the capture of which had been mentioned in Sir Douglas Haig's report. A strong force of storming troops worked forward for a rush in the darkness, but were completely broken in a hand-to-hand tussle. The guns were then brought into the British lines.

Meeting with more resistance, as Ludendorff threw in part of his enormous reserves, the southernmost British forces continued slowly and stubbornly to thrust farther into the St. Quentin sector of the Hindenburg system. Maissemy was taken, on the Omignon brook, and Pontru and Le Verguier were occupied, near the St. Quentin-Cambrai highway, by April 8th.

In the next enemy sector northward, in front of Le Catelet, there was a similar series of vehement British thrusts. After the cavalry rode down the Siegfried troops in Liéramont, Epéhy and Peizière were captured, though held by strong hostile detachments. On April 5th the British patrols, having surprised and scattered the Bavarians at St. Emilie and Templeux, stormed into Ronssoy.

Important victory at Ronssoy

At Ronssoy, the garrison had erected a mesh of heavy wire, and placed machine-guns in copses commanding the routes of advance on the village. An abrupt and utterly unexpected rush at dawn, however, undid all the preparations of the Germans. Their machine-gunners were dislodged before they could bring their batteries properly into action, and though their wire entanglements were rather troublesome, they did not delay the little but important victory. Quite the contrary. By an extraordinary reversal of positions the Germans were driven against their own wire, and there either killed or captured. Next day the neighbouring hamlet of Lempire was taken, bringing the attacking forces well within battle range of the main defences of the enemy.

To the north-west of Epéhy, another line of approach to the Hindenburg system was rapidly won by a driving sweep through Metz-en-Couture on April 3rd. Two days later the outskirts of Gouzeaucourt and the southern edge of Havrincourt were reached. As Havrincourt Wood was likewise occupied along its northern edge, it seemed likely at the time quickly to fall.

The great jutting wood was surrounded on three sides, and some British forces had entered it. Yet it did not fall. For months it remained a breakwater against all the British waves of attack that beat on its front and flanks. Like Greenland Hill, Riencourt Hill, and the suburbs of

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Lens, Havrincourt Wood was one of the grand bastions of the enemy's line.

Still, there is no doubt that the German High Command was seriously disconcerted by the speed with which British advance-guards, with mobile artillery, moved across the evacuated territory. At Emilie, Ronnsoy, Savy, and other barrier positions the Siegfried garrisons were dazed and staggered by the rapidity of the assault. Their machine-guns were taken by the hundred, and they themselves were buried by the thousand. One of their greatest common defects was their lack of alertness. This seems largely to have been due to the fact that their Army Staffs, influenced by the calculations of their General Staff, did not for the time expect any strong and sustained British movements against the Siegfried line.

General von Ludendorff manœuvred with pen as well as with spade and reserves. For some reason he continually set his publicity agents to boast about his coming achievements.

Ludendorff's various excuses

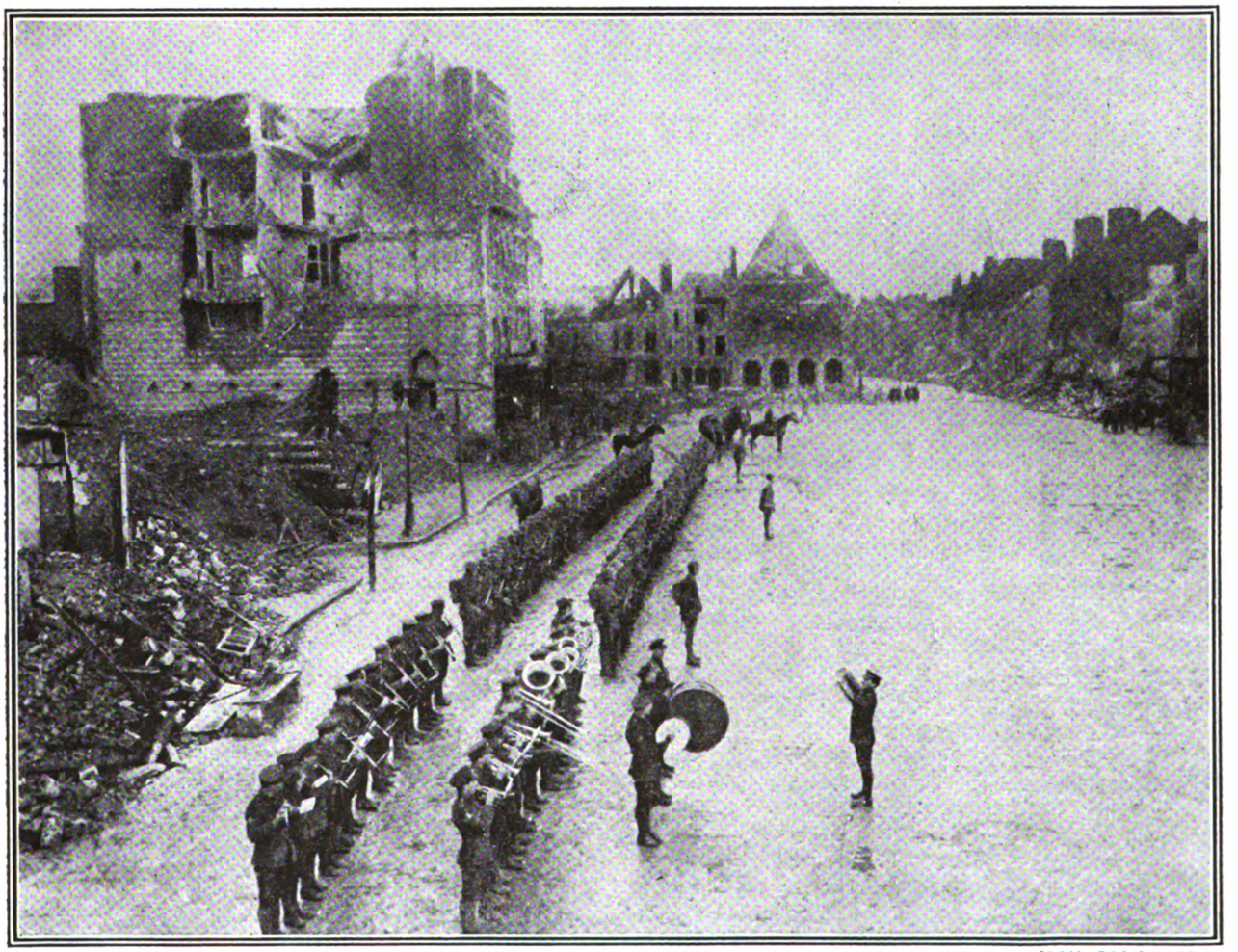
At first he was reported to be preparing to engage in terrific open-field warfare between the Cambrai-Laon line and the Arras-Soissons line. Next, in contradiction to this statement, the new commander was said by his henchmen to be conducting a subtle scheme for dodging out of range of the British war-machine on the Somme, and thereby winning ample time to employ his grand reserve in recovering a decisive striking power in a new direction. Lastly, it was admitted that Ludendorff hoped for no great triumph on the western front, and retired simply to escape heavy losses on land, while his submarines achieved a practical decision against the mercantile marine of the Allies.

The German people regarded the last statement as being nearest the truth. They knew what the stand on the Somme had cost, and applauded the plan for avoiding the terrible grip of the strengthened British armies, and for starving out the island population. There was undoubtedly some possibility, in April, 1917, of British shipping being disastrously crippled by the German submarine campaign. The menace at sea inspired Sir Douglas Haig and all his officers and men in their enormous effort to close with the enemy.

German hopes from the submarine

Fierce as was the leap they made from Bapaume and Chaulnes towards Cambrai and St. Quentin, this was not in itself a matter of the highest importance. The extraordinary rush against the lower Hindenburg system was at first a great feint. It was intended to surprise and alarm the enemy, and induce him to increase his forces in positions of comparative unimportance. The French Commander-in-Chief did not design to make St. Quentin the objective of another mighty Franco-British offensive. The old French battlefield by Rheims, where the principal Gallic war-machine had been long in position, and was being improved by General Pétain, was the scene of the French preparations, as German aerial observers knew.

These observers also knew that similar preparations for offensive movements on a large scale were proceeding



[*British official photograph.*

WELCOMING THE PRESIDENT OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC IN PÉRONNE.

Péronne was occupied by the British Army in the morning of March 18th, 1917. A cavalry patrol entered first, followed by Midland and London infantry. President Poincaré took the earliest possible opportunity to visit the recovered town—lovely no longer, but more glorious in history. He was received with full military honours in the main street of the town, where a band and Guard of Honour were stationed.

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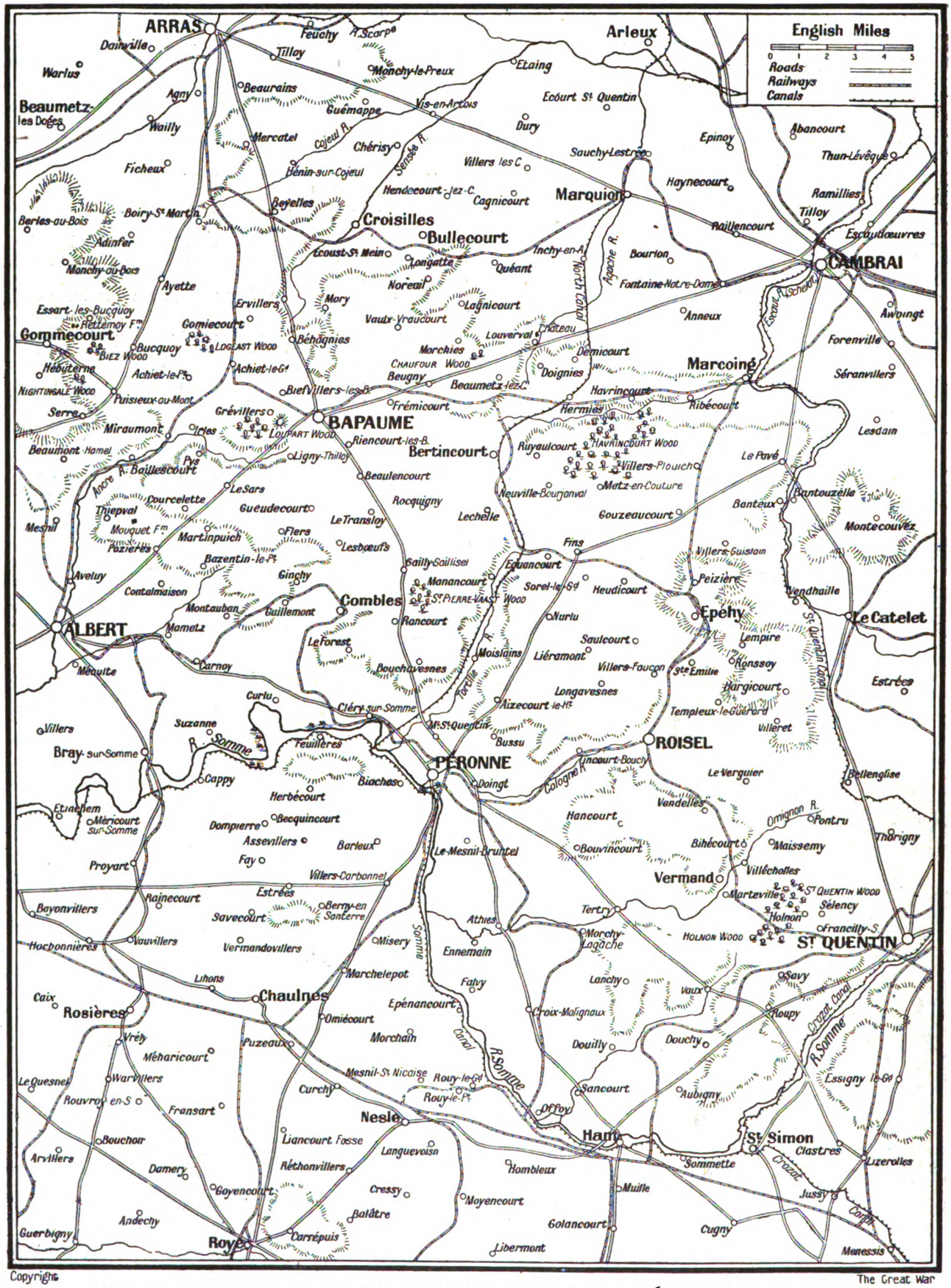

LINE OF THE GERMAN RETREAT FROM BAPAUME AND PÉRONNE TO CAMBRAI.

In this map are shown all the places involved in the fighting which followed the first menace to the German positions on the Bapaume Ridge caused by the British capture of the village of Irles, with the almost immediately consequent fall of Bapaume and Péronne and the premature German retreat to the Hindenburg positions in preparation on the Cambrai-St. Quentin line.

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round Ypres and Arras. For nearly eleven months the northern and central British armies had visibly been organising their striking power. It could be seen that very remarkable extensions of their railway systems were energetically carried out. Ludendorff, therefore, had good grounds for anticipating a gigantic renewal of attack on his old lines in the northern sectors. Yet in all probability he much underestimated the speed with which Sir Douglas Haig's engineers could answer the German withdrawal by a grand move at Arras or Ypres.

Accumulation of local surprises

It appears to have been one of the main purposes of Sir Hubert Gough and Sir Henry Rawlinson, in crashing quickly and violently into the Hindenburg system at Bullecourt, Havrincourt, and Savy, to mislead the German High Command in regard to the direction of the main British attack. Pace combined with strength was the essence of the great demonstrating advance, the details of which have just been related.

The accumulation of local surprises against the Siegfried troops and the storming troops weighed upon Ludendorff and his Staff. This was clearly evident in the series of gross, clumsy lies with which Ludendorff personally endeavoured, in his daily communiqués, to palliate his small but worrying defeats. With a view to eventually making good his perversion of facts, the German commander had to check all further progress of the British armies between St. Quentin and the Scarpe River. For example, having slain, by the pen, some thousand Australians, he had to prevent their very vigorous ghosts from storming through Bullecourt to the heart of the Hindenburg line at Riencourt. He had heavily engaged both his own and Hindenburg's credit by his forged drafts upon the remnant of credulity of the Teutonic populace. Military considerations, therefore, had to rank for the occasion subsidiary to considerations of a social-politic kind.

[*British official photograph.*

LEGACY OF "KULTUR."

The condition of Péronne as left by the Germans was heart-breaking—even worse than that of Louvain.

[*British official photograph.*

PÉRONNE RAILWAY STATION.

One of the few pieces of German destruction to be recognised as legitimate in war.

The immediate consequence was that an important part of the immense new German reserve had to be railed round from Alsace to the Cambrai-St. Quentin sectors of the Hindenburg line. In vain did Ludendorff repent of attaching to his new defensive works the name of the old Field-Marshal. Having rashly attached the legend of impregnability to lines which were inferior to those from which he had retired, he tried to undo the effects of his early Press campaign. The Central Empires and the world at large were informed that there was no Hindenburg line, but only two ordinary systems, named the Siegfried and Wotan trenches.

Retracting the Hindenburg myth

The retraction came too late. As well-trained and well-controlled moulders of general opinion, German journalists had decisively executed the original orders given to them by the Staff officers of the High Command. Popular faith in the Hindenburg line, in conjunction with universal belief in a victorious peace by U-boat piracy, was the chief remaining barrier against national demoralisation. Ludendorff had at all costs to hold the Hindenburg line, not only as a rampart against the British armies, but as a dam against the rising passions of the half-disillusioned German populace. There was a wind blowing from Russia—blowing strange thoughts into the minds of the German people.

[*British official photograph.*

SPOOR OF THE BAFFLED AND RETREATING HUN.

A main street in Péronne, where the Germans "combined the destructiveness of scientific barbarians with the filthiness of sewer rats." They employed high-explosives, solidified paraffin, and the contents of latrines to shatter fire, and sully the once lovely town, from sheer rage at being unable to hold what they had taken.

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In the camps where British prisoners were being slowly killed by methodical ill-treatment the ordinary German guards began to appear a little more humane. Their conversion was not due to official orders. Their Emperor was still preaching to the troops in a mood of extreme ferocity and inciting them to a war of extermination against the "odious Englishmen." Yet German privates guarding British prisoners began to explain to them that the war was a "capitalists' war," and that peace must be made so that the real wrongdoers could be punished.

The German people did not seem to be in a revolutionary frame of mind; but their nerves were raw from want of good food and their minds were troubled by the apprehension of possible defeat, followed by a world-wide boycott. A serious disaster on the Hindenburg line, at a time when the impressions and suggestions of the transformation of Russia were fresh and vivid, might have had a still more serious domestic repercussion.

Apprehension of possible defeat

Certainly the German Emperor thought so. So did Bethmann-Hollweg. Ludendorff inclined to the same view. It was barely a fortnight since the tale of events in Russia was fully known, and the influence upon German opinion of the sudden warlike action of the United States had likewise to be taken into account.

In these circumstances the enemy High Command played for safety. The result was one of the most brilliant, strategic, and easy victories won in the Great War. Largely by superb advance-guard actions, the Fourth and Fifth British Armies succeeded in compelling Ludendorff to misplace his reserves on the Cambrai-St. Quentin front, and expose his more critical position on the distant Vimy Ridge to extreme danger from the British First and Third Armies. Finding himself clean outplayed, the new dictator of the Teutons whimpered like a spoilt, peevish child. Piteously he complained to all the world that the British nation had brutally accumulated an overwhelming mass of war material instead of keeping to 3 in. field-guns and shrapnel shell and allowing the real lords of the earth a monopoly in monster guns and high-explosive projectiles. Apparently he regarded it as a crime against the superior German genius in organisation and technical science for the effete Briton to excel in the rapid production of military weapons.

Of course he was only trying to cover up his failure in strategy by making a frenzied appeal to his munition-makers to speed up their output. In the meantime, he began to waste his general reserve by using them as cannon-fodder to retrieve the errors he had made between Bapaume and Cambrai, Péronne and St. Quentin. He employed a large amount of naval material, especially guns running right up the scale of heavy calibres, to strengthen his artillery power. He postponed both the plan of a spring offensive against Russia and the scheme for a combined Austro-German attack on Italy. The great duel between the British Commonwealth and the German Empire was opening. The front from Lens to Arras was ablaze, and Sir Henry Horne and Sir Edmund Allenby, with the First and Third British Armies, were opening the campaign of Vimy Ridge and the Scarpe.

Ludendorff's strategic failure

[British official photograph.

CLEARING OBSTRUCTIONS TO THE BRITISH ADVANCE AT PÉRONNE.

Roadside trees felled at Péronne by the Germans to delay the advance of the British troops. So hastily had the enemy left the town that some of the trees were but partly cut through, while a hurriedly dropped axe was left beside one of them. When the first British troops entered Péronne, working parties were at once told off to remove the obstructions on the roads leading into the town caused by the felled timber.

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CANADIANS ADVANCING ON VIMY RIDGE.

CHAPTER CLXXXIII.

THE VICTORIES OF VIMY AND ARRAS, AND THE RUPTURE OF THE HINDENBURG LINE.

By Edward Wright.

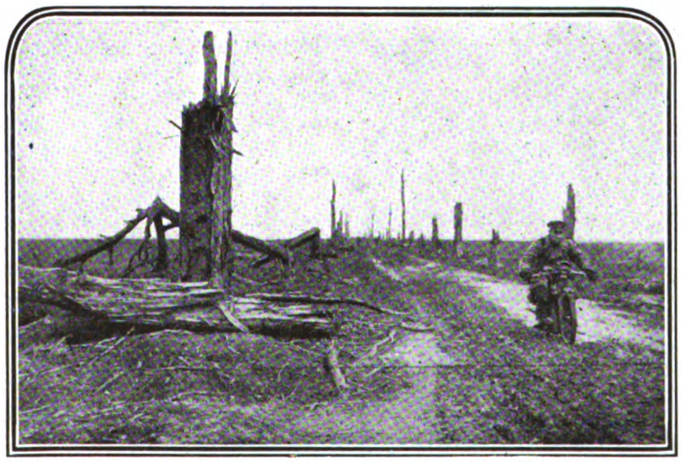
New Engines of War for the First and Third British Armies—Development of the Raid into the Rush—General Horne's Tremendous Barrage—How the Canadians Stormed Up the Vimy Ridge—Arnuld and Völker Tunnels and the German Stratagem that Failed—Capture of Hill 140 and Thelus—German Stand upon Crowning Hummock of Vimy Cliffs—Nocturnal Success of Red-Indian Methods of Warfare—Prussian Guards Gather for a Counter-Attack—Heroic Achievement of Irish, English, and Canadian Troops at Bois-en-Hache and The Pimple—Charging in a Snowstorm Through Waist-deep Mud—Terrific Bayonet Battle with the Prussian Guard—Ludendorff Staggered by Loss of Vimy Rampart—Scots and South Africans at Point du Jour and Hyderabad Position—German Guns Turned Upon German Fugitives—Difficulties of Attack by British Third Army—Hand-to-hand Underground Struggle at Blangy—Why the Barrage Missed the Railway Triangle—British Advance Checked—Battles of Feuchy and Advance on Monchy—Tale of the Tank and the Harp—Storming of Tilloy and the Capture of Church and Chapel Redoubts—Critical Success at Fampoux—Race for Monchy and Amazing Charge of British Cavalry—Wancourt and Heninel Tanks, their Great Adventures—Splendid Determination of English Divisions—Bavarians and Prussians Broken in Front of Monchy.

AS soon as the Germans retired from Bapaume, Péronne, and Chaulnes, the British High Command speeded up its preparations for an attack upon the more northerly and unyielding enemy front, from Vimy Ridge to the suburbs of Arras. The plan of the new offensive was elaborated in detail in February, 1917—a month before Ludendorff ordered his armies to withdraw from the Somme and Ancre sectors.

Large forces had been moved already from the Somme to the north, while General Rawlinson's old army was strengthened, so that it could extend southward towards the Avre River near Roye. The great Scots master-gunner, Sir Henry Sinclair Horne, who had assisted General Nivelle at Verdun, and developed his special invention of the new technique of the creeping barrage, was promoted to the command of the First Army in recognition of the great successes he had won in the Somme actions beginning at Fricourt. General Horne's army was deployed below Vimy cliffs, alongside the Third Army, which was commanded by Sir Edmund Allenby and arrayed about Arras.

It was these two powerful forces that prepared to engage the enemy along the old and tremendous fortressed front of some fourteen miles from the Souchez River to Cojeul River. New engines of war were placed at the service of General Allenby and General Horne. They were given an improved kind of caterpillar-wheeled mobile fortress, which was not only heavier and more strongly gunned than the original "tank," but considerably more numerous. The supply of Stokes guns was increased, as this powerful new invention in artillery had rapidly developed into a master weapon in the hands of attacking infantry.

The Stokes gun was employed to form blinding smoke-screens against hostile machine-gun lines, as well as to overwhelm machine-gun positions by an extraordinary, rapid fire of aerial torpedoes. The First and Third Armies were, moreover, at last provided with a complete answer to the horrible flame-projectors, which the enemy had used in various ways from the beginning of the war. Means were discovered by British inventors for firing large drums of flaming petrol over hostile positions and discharging bursts of molten metal upon the enemy. Methods of gas attack, originated by the Germans in contravention of their engagements at The Hague Conference, were likewise improved by British men of science. The Germans



[British official photograph.

ARTILLERY OFFICER'S LONELY QUEST.

British officer riding forward to find new positions for his guns. With shell-shattered tree stumps still marking the straightness of its course, this road remained in an unusually good condition for transport purposes.

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[*Canadian War Records.*

H.M. PIGEON POSTAL SERVICE.

Releasing a pigeon from the front trenches with a message to headquarters behind the line.

had begun with chlorine and ended with the terrible poison of phosgene gas.

Their phosgene gas had wrought considerable harm upon the British armies on the Somme, but full reprisals were exacted from the scientific barbarians by the new school of British chemical artillerists. The Germans had spent years in elaborating their methods of frightfulness, only to be excelled, on the infernal ground they had selected, by the brilliant and rapid inventiveness of their most hated opponents. There was good reason for the German Emperor's proclamation that he regarded the Britons as the "most odious" of his foes.

In the production of artillery and shell the new munition factories of Great Britain overwhelmed the enemy. The Germans possessed more coal-mines and larger iron-fields. Yet, as General von Ludendorff admitted at the time, they could not equal, on the critical fields of conflict, the British power of bombardment.

The guns between Lens and Arras opened fire at the beginning of April, 1917. At the same time the First and Third Armies made fierce raiding expeditions on a broad front, in order to discover the German positions and exercise themselves in the arrangements for the great attack. Since the winter of 1915 the raid had developed in an extraordinary way. Employed first to shake the nerve of the enemy and worry him, it had become the finishing instrument of infantry education in the grand offensive. Battalions went "over the top" in the order fixed for the battle, entered the terrain which was to be part of their objective, and came back with increased confidence and a valuable haul of prisoners. From the prisoners there could be discovered exactly the names of the German forces holding the positions, the generals in command, and the average quality of the troops.

Development of the raid

It was, however, the scheme of exercising the attacking forces directly on the ground that they were about to be set to conquer which was the most important characteristic of the new raiding method. Man becomes accustomed to anything. The Germans became accustomed to lulls in the British bombardment, followed by raids. When they were thus habituated to tip-and-run tactics on the part of the British and Canadian infantry, they were at last surprised by a gigantic raid, which transformed itself into one of the most powerful offensive movements in the history of war.

Battle of Arras opens

On April 9th, 1917, after an intense artillery duel, the Battle of Arras opened. It had been heralded by a great aerial struggle, in which British pilots, supplied at length with a large number of machines of first-rate quality, began to recover the practical mastery of the air. According to General Smuts, who watched the battle, the enemy's lines were dominated for a depth of nearly twenty miles by the Royal Flying Corps, assisted by the Royal Naval Air Wing.

When the vast battle opened, in the dim dawn at half-past five in the morning, the weather, as usual, changed for the worse. The wind shifted into the west, bringing a curtaining drizzle of rain with it. It did not, however, hinder the enormous action of parks of British artillery, which were firing some five million shells well on to their targets.

Two previous days of fine Easter weather made the artillerymen almost independent of chance conditions of visibility. Everything in the German lines had been photographed from the air, marked for the precise range, and registered by a gun or so from each battery. Models of the enemy front, to the depth fixed for the offensive, were prepared from the aerial photographs and closely studied by all arms. All the preliminary bombardments were carried out with but a small part of the immense artillery concentration. Not until the dawn of Easter Monday, April 9th, did the entire masses of guns reveal their full strength by the roar and flame of an attack of surprising magnitude.

All along the circuit of the horizon rockets rose from the stricken German trenches, calling for help by means of red, white, green, and golden fountains of fire. Then, brighter than all the firework display of the doomed German troops, shone the awful cascades of liquid metal and bursting drums of petrol launched by the new British engines of war. Amid this new and ghastly picturesque splendour played the flame-shot volcanic bursts of high-explosive shell and aerial torpedoes. The scene was soon veiled in places by the smoke-screens created by the Stokes gun in preparation for some difficult infantry advances.

In retrospect it seems utterly amazing that General von Ludendorff should have spent so much time in loudly

[*Canadian War Records.*

ATTACHING THE MESSAGE TO THE BIRD.

The use of pigeons to carry despatches from points whence other means of communication were not available or were especially dangerous was a device adopted quite early in the prolonged trench warfare.

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boasting that, by his flight from the Somme and Ancre, he had delayed the British offensive movement for several months. He had definitely retired his troops in the night of March 16th, and at dawn on April 9th his principal armies on his most important sectors were gripped and shattered. In spite of the labour of arranging the concentration of British guns and British infantry, with the gigantic supplies and great communications needed for two powerful armies, less than four weeks elapsed between the enemy's movement of evasion and the terrific answer to it.

It must also be remembered that the heavy engineering labour of pursuing two of the retreating German armies was also being speedily carried out by Sir Hubert Gough and Sir Henry Rawlinson. So successful were their efforts that preparations for another great British offensive were completed a few days after the opening of the Battle of Arras and Vimy.

Marvels of British engineering

At the same time the Second British Army, operating around Ypres under Sir Herbert Plumer, was also completing a marvellous amount of preparations for another offensive on the grand scale. The engineering power and transport organisation behind Sir Douglas Haig's armies were of a quality and scope that the German Secret Service could not fully have measured. Otherwise, Ludendorff would have been less inclined to boasting before the event.

Canadians attack Vimy Ridge

On the north of the great line of attack the Canadian divisions, under Sir Julian Byng, achieved the greatest success in western trench warfare since the recapture of Douaumont and Louvemont. They equalled the best achievement of their French comrades, and maybe, in some respects, almost surpassed it. They were set the task of storming up and over the famous Vimy Ridge, which covered the top of the Hindenburg line—those great coal-fields so valuable to France. In May and September, 1915, a magnificent French army, controlled by General Foch and commanded by General d'Urbal, had been twice checked by the Gibraltar-like defences of the Vimy Ridge. General Pétain, who then commanded only a small force, had skilfully fought over the advanced hill positions and, by an effort that made him famous, came close to a decisive victory.

Yet the great main plateau remained unconquered when the British Army extended southward past it. A British assault had been broken in the summer of 1916, and the ridge still loomed above the Canadian divisions, as the German Gibraltar of the western front, in the grey, rainy Easter dawn of battle on April 9th.

Flurries of snow came with the rain as the Canadians left their assembling trenches. The dawn-light remained sufficient for the manœuvring of the forces of attack, yet obscured the vision of the defending machine-gunners

[*British official photograph.*

WAR'S LITTLE IRONIES: A BRITISH SENTRY-BOX FASHIONED FROM GERMAN AMMUNITION CARRIERS AT FEUCHY.

Feuchy, a little to the east of Arras, was one of a group of fortified villages which, with other powerful trench systems, composed the enemy's rearward defences on the Arras front, extending about twelve miles from Hénin-sur-Cojeul to the southern outskirts of Givenchy-en-Gohelle. These were all captured by the British troops on April 9th, 1917, the enemy garrison being practically wiped out.

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and riflemen. In three waves of assault the victors of Courcelette set out to add to the tale of victories they had won since they saved the situation in the Second Battle of Ypres. At first the Canadians advanced without serious opposition on their centre and their right. Preceded by a great stamping barrage of shell fire, they passed the great tunnels in the enemy's line and, under bursts of German shrapnel and close-range machine-gun fire, climbed half-way up the ridge.

The left wing of the Canadians was, however, checked around the low northern height known as the "Pimple."

Check on the "Pimple"

The attacking troops in this sector had a most arduous struggle lasting from 5.30 a.m. to 10 p.m. By downright valour and skill in manœuvre they gradually captured a considerable part of the hostile trenches; but when another heavy snowstorm intervened at night their commander wisely arranged first to repulse the inevitable German counter-attack, and postponed operations against Pimple Hill.

In the meantime the main Canadian forces conducted a terrific battle between the first and second German lines. In their rear a considerable force of Germans emerged from the tunnels, and, reoccupying their old front with unusual determination, opened fire upon the backs of the advanced Canadians. For a time the situation somewhat resembled that obtaining on Thiepval Down on July 1st, 1916. The underground force of enemies, supplied with a large number of machine-guns, emerged between the first waves of Canadians and their reserves.

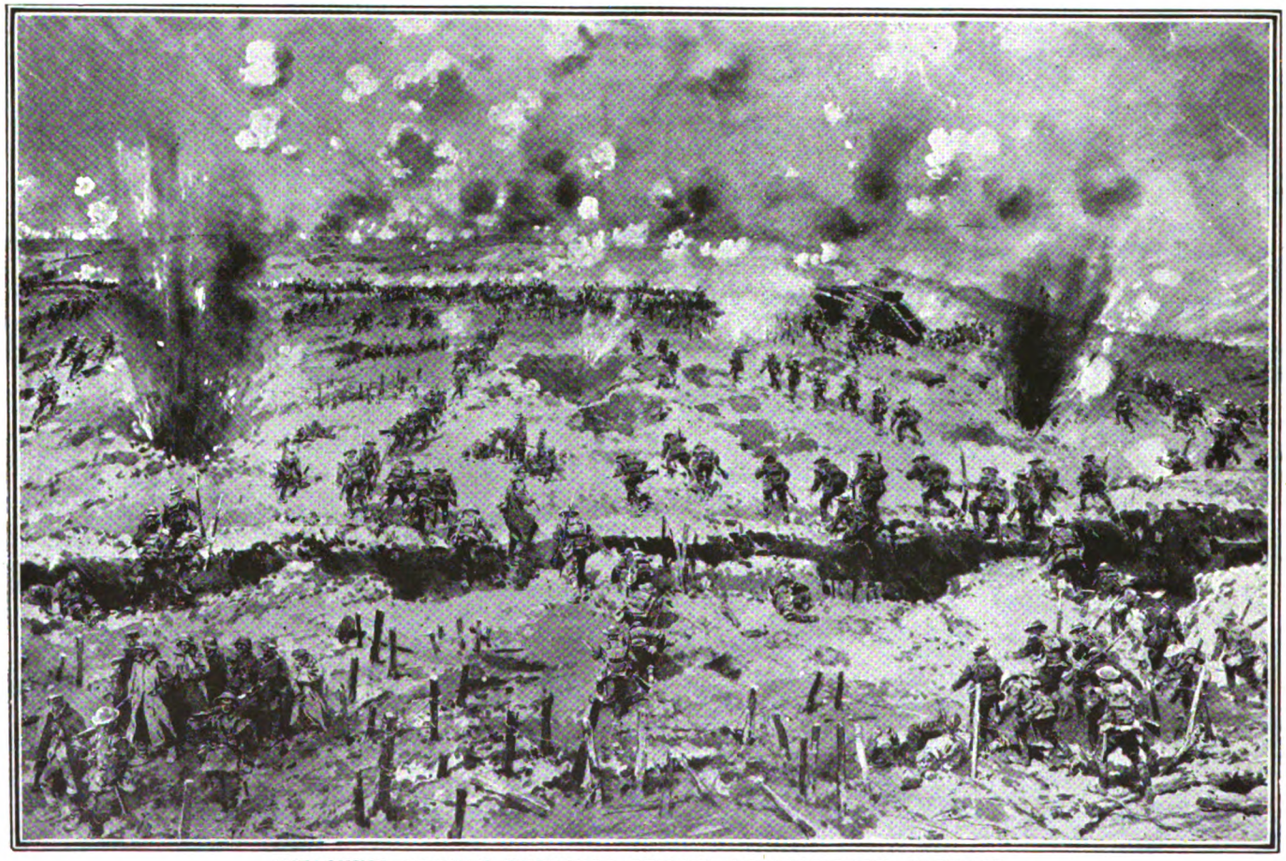
Fortunately, both the British and the overseas British armies had learnt a great deal since the opening of the Somme offensive. In a series of fierce advances, the foremost Dominion troops bombed the enemy out of his second line on the great ridge. Then, instead of making a wild sweep over the crest, they strengthened their newly-won positions on the second line, and turned back and dealt with the subterranean force that was shooting them in the back.

There were two immense galleries running through the ridge, known as the Prinz Arnuld and Völker tunnels. In spite of the extraordinary destructive power of the British artillery, both of these series of corridored caverns remained intact at the moment when the Canadians went over their parapets and began to climb the cliffs. Filled with confidence at the slight harm done to them by the millions of shells pitched upon the slopes, the emerging Germans at first showed quite a remarkable quality of dauntlessness.

When, however, they were attacked from behind by the Canadian regiments that had first passed over them, and also assailed in front from the lower slope by Sir Julian Byng's supporting troops, and likewise surrounded on both flanks, the courage of the Teutons evaporated. They surrendered in hundreds, and at last in thousands. The prisoners from the Völker tunnel left the place mined and ready to be blown up. Happily, the victors detected the trap and, cutting the leads, saved themselves from destruction, and secured an enormous shelter and place of concentration for further operations.

Volker tunnel trap detected

During a pause on the conquered German second line fresh Canadian troops came up and deployed into position, while a tremendous British curtain of shell held the enemy off and hammered him into a condition of despair. Then, two divisions strong, the Canadians climbed up the slippery hillside and captured the German third line, pausing once more for a final drive through the enemy's centre. Again they advanced in a magnificent sweep of two-thirds of a mile.



ATTACKING GERMAN TRENCHES BEHIND AN ARTILLERY BARRAGE.

British infantry with a "tank" going forward during the Battle of Arras. The first line of enemy trenches had been taken already, and some of the men and the "tank" had reached the second line, beyond which was the "barrage" smashing any attempt at sending up German reinforcements. In the left foreground is a group of German prisoners, of whom 18,000 were captured during the first eighteen days of the battle.

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"TANKS" IN ACTION AT THE CAPTURE OF VIMY RIDGE.

At one point on Vimy Ridge the British infantry attack was held up by wire that had escaped destruction, and the machine-guns it protected. "Two 'tanks' came to the rescue, and did most daring things." One of them is seen crushing in the machine-gun position on the German crews, while its companion (seen in the distance to the right) was smashing down wire obstructions and clearing a way for the infantry.

Before them went the rampart of smoke and fire of their barrage, and as it stamped the Germans into their dug-outs the Canadian infantry dashed forward, capturing Hill 140 and a variety of fortified woods and several villages. At each stage of progress of the two divisions the enemy's resistance grew feebler. Hundreds of pairs of hands were lifted beyond the belts of wire before signs of surrender were expected.

At ten o'clock in the morning, as the Canadians climbed to the top of the hill rampart and commanded a view of the enemy line eastward, a heavy snowstorm again blotted out the landscape. Once more the Canadians turned to the work of consolidation and, converting to their own advantage the covering curtain of snow, worked along the third line, which they had penetrated, and gradually cleared it. At half-past ten o'clock the snowfall ceased, the great black clouds silvered and thinned away, and a fitful sun brightened the blasted and thundering ridge of battle. The Canadian centre became more active, and in another two and a half hours of magnificent fighting cleared every part of the enemy's third line, secured all their objectives, captured three German commandants, and more than two thousand rank and file.

Enemy's third line cleared

The British divisions on the right of the Canadians fought forward with equal success. They topped the southern slopes of the Vimy system by twelve o'clock, and their leading battalion met and broke three strong counter-attacks. Soon afterwards the troops overlooking the enemy's low positions eastward reported that a great mass of Germans was concentrating, near Vimy village, for a grand attempt to recover the ridge. Forward observing-officers measured the distance, and directed a preliminary shell or two on the road by which the enemy was advancing. Quickly the exact range was discovered, and the heavy British howitzers fired over the ridge with such effect that the counter-attacking force was smashed and dispersed.

The right wing of Canadian and British troops then pressed home their swinging advance. Passing through the wide gaps, torn by their heavy artillery at fixed intervals in the last wire entanglements fringing the tableland, they went down the eastern slopes of Vimy Ridge. Below them were the villages of Farbus, Vimy, and Little Vimy, all shattered by the fire of the British railway guns. Beyond, on the level plain of Douai, were the hamlets of Arleux, Willerval, Bailleux, with Fresnoy, Oppy, and Gavrelle, which were soon the scene of another great battle. Just a couple of miles beyond was the once unimportant village of Drocourt, which had become doubly famous as the northern base of the Wotan, or switch-line, in the Ludendorff-Hindenburg system of defence.

The conquerors of the historic line of heights descended into Farbus Wood and Goulot Wood, taking on their way batteries of German guns and large dumps of German ammunition. In the early part of the afternoon of Easter Monday the front of the victorious thrust reached the limits of advance covered by its own heavy guns. When night fell the Germans held only a few trenches on Hill 145. All the rest of the great ridge was not only conquered, but refortified eastward, by the Canadian divisions and the Scottish division operating on their right.

Round Hill 145, north-west of La Folie Wood, a small detachment of Germans on the crowning hummock of the ridge maintained a most gallant resistance all through Easter Monday. With their massed machine-guns they shattered every daylight attempt to rush or encircle them. No doubt the nature of the ground favoured them, as they had a long, clear field of fire. Nevertheless, their tenacity of resistance at a time when other Germans were surrendering in thousands was rather striking.

German resistance on Hill 145

They were left alone on Easter Monday afternoon, because it was seen that they were not worth the cost in life they would exact. During the night a Canadian patrol reverted to that Red Indian form of warfare from which their countrymen had originated the famous trench-raiding system. In the windy darkness the patrol got into the dominating machine-gun fortress, and, as soon as day broke and gave them clear vision, they rapidly cleared it, and completed, at little sacrifice of life, the

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[Canadian War Records.

Laying a road over No Man's Land to the British front line troops at Vimy Ridge. Unprecedented demands were made upon the engineers in coping with the question of transport in the battle area, and their rapid solution of these problems largely contributed to the success of the operations.

[Canadian War Records.

"In spite of the enormous difficulties which the condition of the ground and the ingenuity of the enemy had placed in the way, the work of repairing and constructing bridges, roads, and railways was carried forward with most commendable rapidity." (Sir Douglas Haig's despatch, May, 1917.)

[Canadian War Records.

Pushing a railway through captured territory on Vimy Ridge. The problem of railway transport could not have been solved without the patriotic co-operation of the railway companies, who readily tore up tracks in order to provide the Army with the necessary rails.

DRIVING NEW ROADS AND RAILWAYS THROUGH TERRITORY RECOVERED FROM THE ENEMY

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entire conquest of the most important natural rampart in the western German line.

The village of Thelus, which had been the base from which the enemy held up the French offensive by weeks of resistance in the historic Labyrinth, was completely shattered beforehand by the new railway guns of the British armies. In the obliterated ruins, through which ran the German's second-line system, some enemy bombers and machine-gunners bravely

[*Canadian War Records.*

OPENING THE NEW VIMY RIDGE LINE.

The first train over the new railroad on Vimy Ridge. Material, rails, and rolling stock followed the advancing troops, who spun new lines behind them as a spider spins its web.

[*Canadian War Records.*

TENTACLES OF VICTORY.

Canadians laying a light railway close on the heels of their victorious comrades who had captured the ground. The engineering power and transport organisation of the British Army were astounding.

endeavoured for a time to stem the advance. The works on either side of them were rapidly broken under the thrust of the Canadian battalions, and the forlorn hope of Thelus was caught on both flanks and killed or captured, the stand made being too long to allow many of the fugitives to escape.

Squalls of snow veiled all the Douai Plain in the morning of Tuesday, April 10th, when the Canadian divisions worked, with patrols, towards the railway line running from Lens towards the eastern suburbs of Arras. Their advanced guards met with little opposition from the fragments of German forces, and fought through the hamlet of Little Vimy and Ville Wood towards the village of Vimy on the foot-hills, almost directly south of Lens.

Fight for Vimy foot-hills

By the morning of Thursday, April 12th, the new British line ran from a point just below Givenchy-en-Gohelle to the south of Vimy village and the south of Bailleul.

At its widest the depth of the Canadian advance was about five thousand yards, covering hundreds of miles of trenches, protected by barbed-wire and machine-guns, with numerous redoubts, fortressed woods, and fortified swells of ground.

In a frantic endeavour to hold on to the extreme northern spur of the Vimy Ridge the German commander sent out a regiment of the Prussian Grenadier Guards to strengthen the battered Bavarian troops massed in and about the ruined woodland of Bois-de-Hirondelle. Near this wood was a rise of ground commanding the little valley of Souchez River. This ground was known as Bois-en-Hache, and it was connected with the foot-hill of the Vimy Ridge, scornfully known as the "Pimple." The "Pimple" and Bois-en-Hache were of much higher military importance than their small altitude suggested. They were the only enemy positions that gave observation over part of the lost ridge. This was why the enemy had poured out troops from the Lens area on Easter Monday to retain the lower heights north of the lost rampart.

It was the intention of the German commander to make a heavy counter-attack by way of Bois-en-Hache and Pimple Hill against the northern edge of the Vimy Ridge. But on April 12th, as his forces massed in a snow blizzard, his operation was anticipated by a sudden movement by General Horne's forces.

The snow veiled the waves of Canadian, Irish, and English infantry, yet it did not protect the enemy. Through the snowstorm a squadron of British pilots swooped low down above the wood, where the Prussian Guard had concentrated, and discharged upon them bombs of a new kind that wrought terrible havoc. Never before had this aerial manœuvre against infantry been employed with such deadly success.

Airmen bomb the Prussian Guard

As the British hawks rose above the smoking wood a whirlwind of shell smote the wooded rise and Pimple Hill. Neither the gunners nor their observation-officers could see the targets, by reason of the thickly-falling snow. But the ranges had been finely measured in intervals of clear air on previous days. General Horne's barrage went forward with time-tabled exactitude, and close behind it came the charging Canadian, Irish, and English troops, happy in the fact that the snow was blowing on their backs and driving into the faces of their enemies.

The ground was a bog of shell-craters and mud, making the attacking movement slow and difficult. German machine-gunners on the knoll and the wooded hump maintained a barrage of machine-gun fire against the men who were slipping and stumbling forward, falling into shell-holes and trying to keep their bombs and rifles dry.

The Prussian Guardsmen fought with heroic determination. Far from giving any ground under either the aerial attack or the whirlwind bombardment, they waited for a personal trial of strength, and, after sweeping the attackers with the machine-gun fire, came out of their trenches and opened a terrific hand-to-hand combat with bomb and bayonet.

The only result of their desperate stand was to increase their losses. For neither the Northern nor Southern

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German of the best class was a match for the Canadian, Gael, or Briton. Furious was the charge of the Irishmen on the Prussian Guard in Bois-en-Hache. Thigh-deep in mud at times, the assailants gripped their enemies and fought to the death. The conquerors made but a hundred prisoners. Thousands of dead and wounded foes marked their trail of victory over Pimple Hill and Bois-en-Hache and along the Souchez stream. The Irish and English troops extended their line towards the village of Givenchy-en-Gohelle, while the Canadians also advanced towards the village on its southerly side.

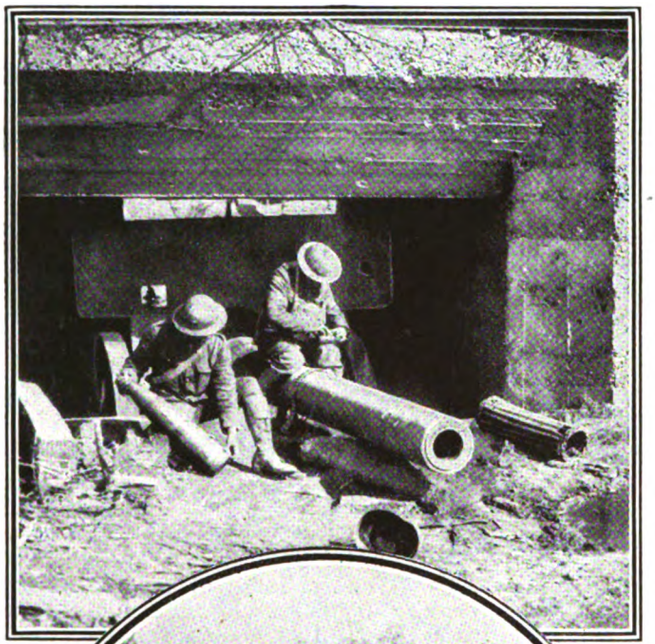
During the struggle in the snowstorm the main mass of General Horne's artillery held the enemy down in Vimy village and the country beyond with such intensity of fire that no German gunner cared to leave the shelter of his dug-out. Captured German guns were employed with their own ammunition against their former owners. By the village of Bailleul were a number of German batteries abandoned between the contending armies and desperately eyed by the beaten foe. Again and again he tried to recover the guns and haul them away. But from the ridge the batteries were so continually smothered by British shrapnel fire that the Germans lost men and horses until they were tired of the vain sacrifice.

Enemy batteries lost at Bailleul

With the successes at Pimple Hill and Bois-en-Hache the commander of the First British Army obtained full and absolute observation over the Vimy Ridge. Only the continual snowstorms that veiled the enemy's movements in the Douai Plain prevented Sir Henry Horne from overwhelming the shattered German forces before they could be pieced together again and strongly reinforced from the grand reserve.

Though the enemy clung to Vimy village, on the other side of the slopes, and to the railway on the farther side of Farbus, he merely increased his losses. The positions, to which he held with blind courage, were ranged and registered by the heavy British artillery, as well as by the field-guns and howitzers that had, somehow, climbed the smashed and pulpy ridge.

Life was made hideous for all German soldiers holding on to the nearest villages on the plain for a distance of four miles from the light British howitzers. The local German commander would have done better had he used the extraordinary April snowstorms as cover for a withdrawal from the Vimy village line.



[*Canadian War Records.*

Some of the German trench mortars captured by the Canadians, and (right) a direct hit scored by them on a German gun emplacement on Vimy Ridge. Above (in centre) some of the machine-guns and other booty taken by the Canadians at Vimy Ridge, with French village children playing alongside them; and (top) examining a German naval 8 in. gun which the Canadians secured on the railway at Farbus.

GUNS AND TRENCH ARTILLERY TROPHIES CAPTURED BY THE CANADIANS.

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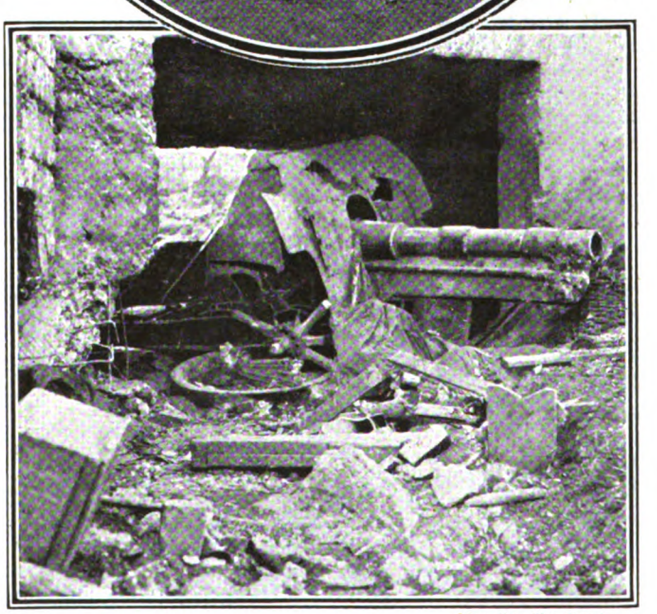
The German High Command, however, seemed ready to spend another hundred thousand men in the defence of a mile or two of low-lying country eastward of the Vimy heights. The reason was that the coal-fields of Lens would have been quickly wrested from the invader if he had acted solely from a military point of view, and withdrawn to save further and much larger wastage of men and material.

Lens itself was an enormous fortress of an intricately laborious kind. When the ridge was lost, and the main Hindenburg front turned in the north and pierced in other places, the enemy was left only with the smaller and weaker second Hindenburg system running from Drocourt to Quéant, on which he could make a stand with his reserves. Lens and its easterly mining suburbs covered Drocourt. Had Lens been allowed to fall, the capture of the entire Drocourt line would quickly have followed.

Ludendorff had not completed the construction of the Drocourt line. He had spent six months on it, and yet had to sacrifice men by the hundred thousand in order to win time for making big-gun emplacements and other heavy works. Thus, had he been rapidly pushed back from the Lens area, and violently struck in an unprepared state at Drocourt, he would have been unable to resite his heavier ordnance. Everything that impeded the advance of the British armies would have more seriously retarded the definite German retirement. The snow, mud, and rain would have exhausted the energy of the German gunners, compelled the German infantry to enormous sacrifices to save the guns, and yet allowed the mounted British forces and light British infantry forces to achieve the great decision, after the period of admirable training in their first successful advances against the first Hindenburg line.

Ludendorff has to change his plans

Ludendorff had, therefore, to cling in sheer desperation, and at any cost to the strength of his nation, to the ground between the Vimy Ridge and Lens. It was soon known to the British High Command that the German dictator was staggered and dumbfounded over the sudden loss of the high Vimy positions. He had to change all his plans, and devote to a purely defensive scheme not only his available portion of the grand reserve, but many men and guns liberated on the Russian front by the armistice established by Germanic agents in the Russian Revolutionary parties.



(*Canadian War Records.*

Canadians firing upon the enemy one of their own guns, a 4·2 in. howitzer that had been taken at Vimy Ridge, and (right) a German 5·9 in. gun which had been effectually put out of action by a direct hit from the Canadian artillery. In circle : Some varied types (observe the miniature one on the left) of the German trench mortars that were taken in the fighting near Arras, and (top) taking back to the base a captured German gun.

FURTHER GERMAN GUNS AND MORTARS TAKEN BY THE VICTORS OF VIMY.

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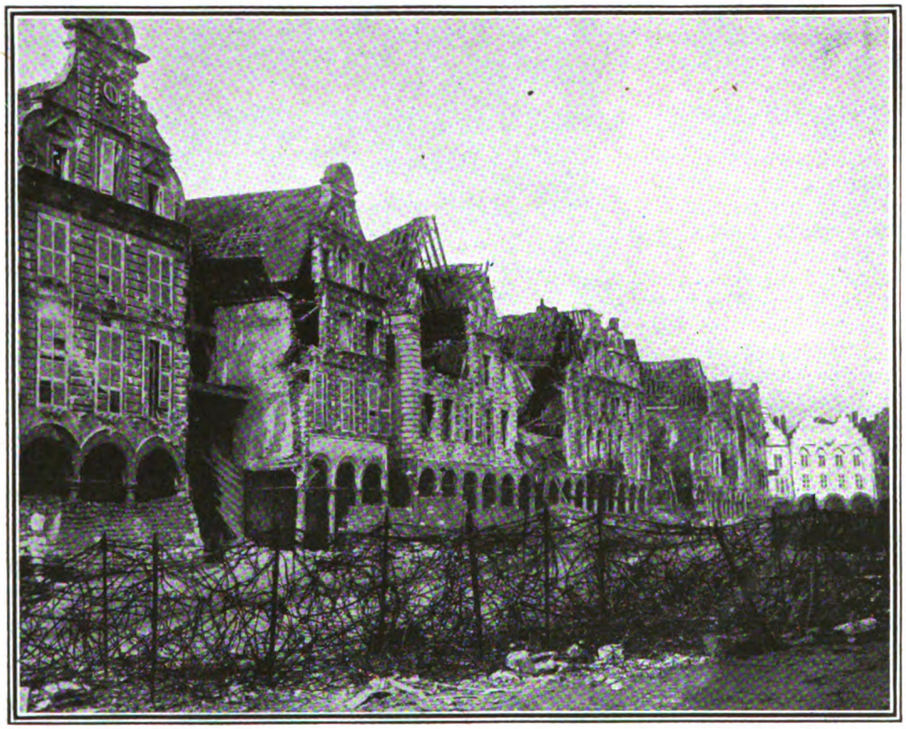
A considerable part of the German reserves of one million men, together with part of the men and material withdrawn from Russia, were deployed against the French armies on the Aisne and on the Champagne line. The rest were moved as rapidly as possible against the British armies, in the design to balance at a tremendous cost in German life the magnificent victory won at Vimy by the Canadian and Scottish divisions.

The Scotsmen, who advanced on the right of the Canadian divisions at dawn on April 9th, were as successful as their comrades of the Dominion. Their line stretched from the southern edge of the ridge towards the suburbs of Arras. The German forces opposed to them were based upon a series of fortified lines and labyrinthine underground fortresses. The works at Le Point du Jour were among the principal enemy systems assailed by the Scottish regiments. But even stronger than Le Point du Jour was another network of positions known as the Hyderabad Redoubt.

The guns of Great Britain were as mighty in destructive power on this sector of the front as they were on the Vimy cliffs. Tons of high explosive, used in both mines and in shell fire, destroyed most of the enemy's works of warlike industry between Thelus and Arras. Then the new British engines of war launched upon the hungry and thirsty Germans missiles more terrifying than the spouts of burning petrol on the use of which Ludendorff was relying to a considerable extent.



[*Canadian War Records.*

TANGLED WILDERNESS OF WIRE IN WAR-SCARRED ARRAS.

For three months after the Germans were driven from the positions in Arras to which they had clung since 1914, they continued to bombard the old-time city, playing havoc with the picturesque residences in front of which the tangled wire of German and British positions still remained.

German flame-projectors outdone

In the Battles of the Somme the German corps commander, General von Armin, had especially recommended to the consideration of his new High Command the extended use of flame-projectors. Though Armin lost the battles in which he was engaged, the criticisms he made upon the deficiencies in German material and German personnel enabled him to win the confidence of Ludendorff. During the rearrangement of forces Armin was given the important army command in the Messines sector at Ypres.

His suggestions for a larger use of modern Greek fire in trench warfare seems to have been adopted by his new Commander-in-Chief. Unfortunately, however, from the Teutonic point of view, the British Command was also alert to the great tactical value of the horrifying weapon of dropping fire.

Pursuing a policy of more vigorous invention than the plodding and routine Prussians could adopt, the Britons elaborated methods of launching the most panic-creating forms of fire at entrenched hostile troops.

New British engines of war

Over distances which no improved flame-projector could carry, cascades of fiery liquid metal and geysers of flaming oil hurtled and rained upon Bavarians, Prussians, Saxons, and Würtembergers.

It was a form of reprisals such as the Hun could appreciate. For years he had gloried in his own infernal weapon, and regarded it as triumphant evidence of his superior talent in science. He would not have been alarmed if his flame-projector had been copied by Britons and employed against him. While fleeing from the flame he would have, at least, been able to assert that the diabolical instrument was invented by his own race and employed in hundreds of little successes before it was imitated by the foe.

When, however, Sir Henry Horne and Sir Edmund Allenby brought into action new engines of utter terror, that reduced the flame-projector to insignificance, the German was demoralised. His pride of intellect was seared within his frightened body. He was outmatched in big guns, in trench-mortars, in methods of gas attack, and in machine-gun fire. His hand-bombs were scarcely as variably useful as the British grenade.

His flame-projector, which he had first used in August, 1914, in burning down Belgian and French villages, appeared to him to be the only superior instrument he retained. While he was in this frame of mind, and rocking under a whirlwind storm of shell, what first seemed like a strange and gigantic display of fireworks played above his trenches. The wet ground then steamed about him, and in splashes and torrents the lava and oil hissed and burnt, surprised and terrified.

There was hardly any resistance in the first German system when the Scotsmen went over the ground. Afterwards, the enemy machine-gunners brought a severe fire to bear upon the attacking forces. Nevertheless, the Highlanders and Lowlanders steadily and skilfully worked forward. They fought their way over Point du Jour, and in the stronger system of Hyderabad Work their closing success was so rapid that a German general of brigade and his Staff were captured. The German commander, it was reported, wept at the way in which thousands of his unwounded men surrendered. Besides taking more than 3,600 prisoners, the Scotsmen seized a considerable number of enemy guns, including some very useful 5·9 in. howitzers. A great amount of German ammunition lay in dumps in the conquered ground, and the victors turned the pieces about and shelled the broken foe.

The South Africans combined with some of the Scottish battalions in the historic battle. They were said to have

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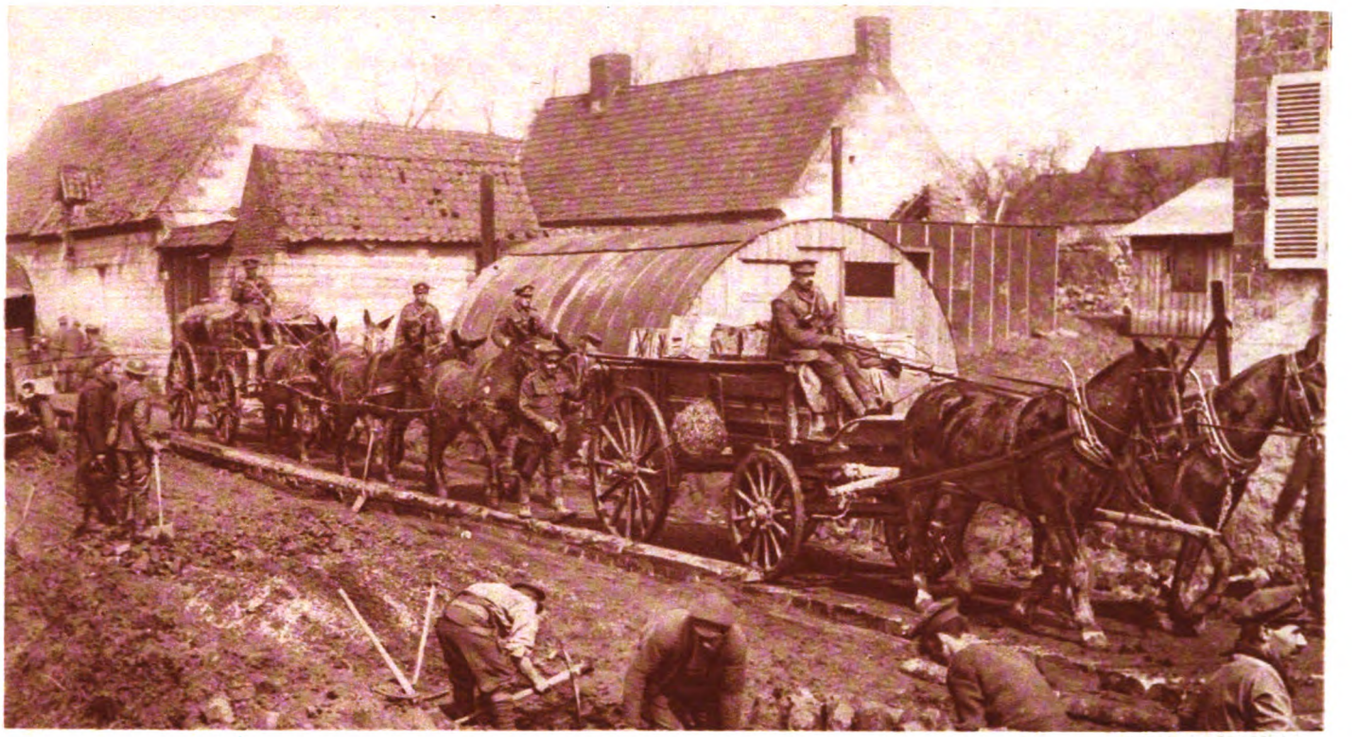

[Canadian War Records.

Canadian road-makers at work on a cordwood track for supply traffic, on the Western front.

[British official photograph.

British cavalry scouts on the move over newly-won ground in France.

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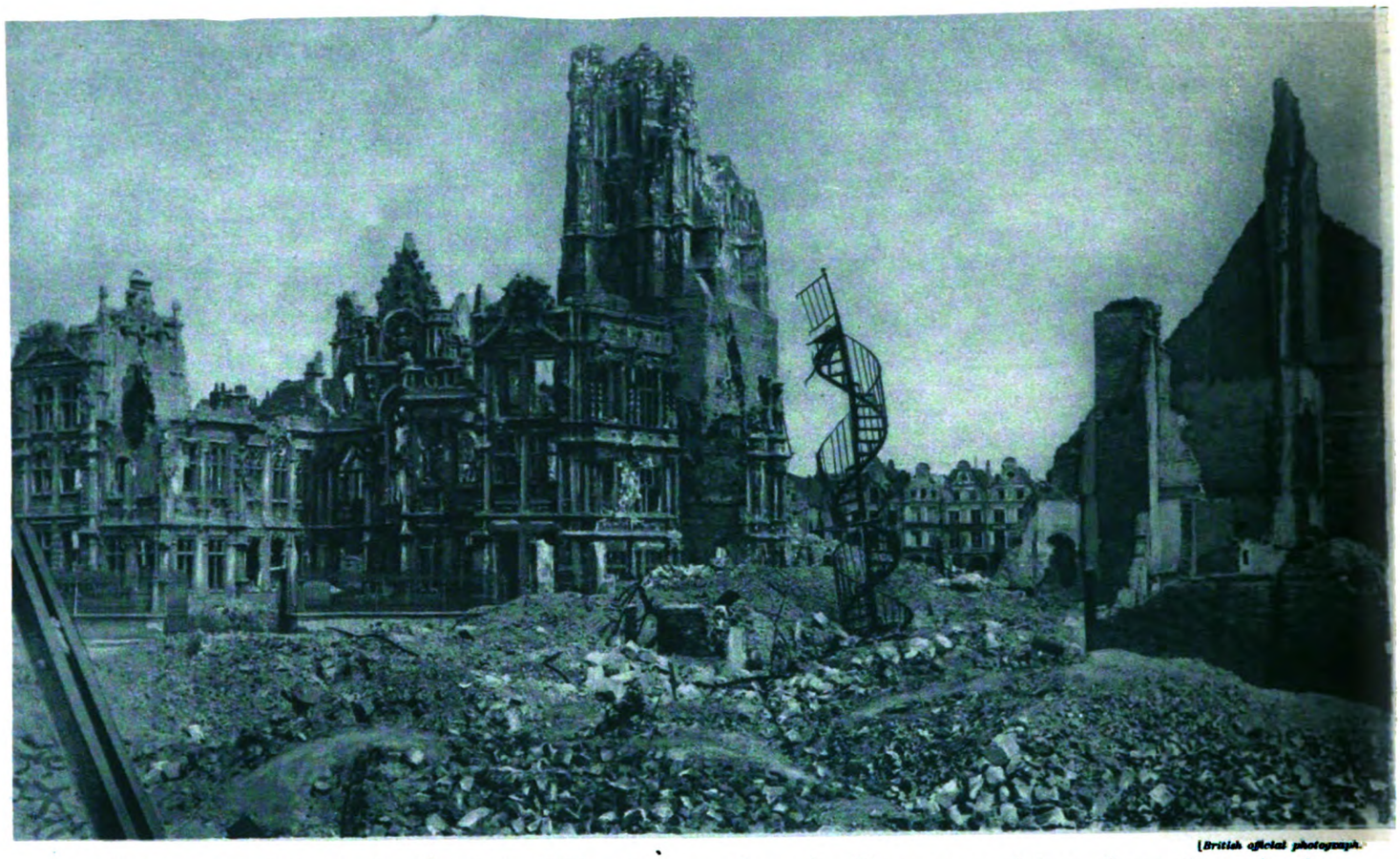

[British official photograph.

All that was left of the Hotel de Ville, Arras, when the Huns were driven from the suburbs.

[British official photograph.

Winter of discontent for man and beast: Mules quartered in a shattered French village.

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[British official photograph.

General view of Feuchy, east of Arras, as it was when retaken by the British, April 9th, 1917.

[British official photograph.

German shell bursting in a wire-tangled street in Arras during the great April battle.

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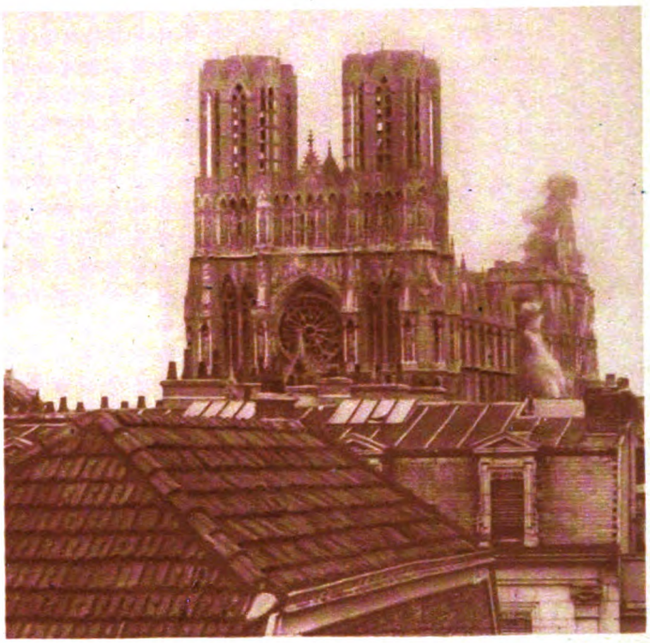
Shell bursting on south tower of the Cathedral.



Simultaneous shells on south transept and apse.

The systematic bombardment of Rheims Cathedral: A heavy shell bursting on the transepts.

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taken the first hostile line without a single casualty. Then, going onward against a violent fire, they swept all before them, gathering hundreds of prisoners, and contributing largely to the bag of guns made by the united division. Altogether, the division captured 2,200 Germans, with 52 officers, including the Hyderabad brigadier and his Staff, 37 machine-guns, 17 5·9 in. guns, and two 8 in. howitzers.

South Africans at Arras

The South Africans had bitter memories of German gun fire in Delville, where they made a despairing yet effective stand alongside their old comrades the Scots. In the great Arras victory they were among those who smote the enemy at last with his own weapons, and thus triumphantly paid off some of the " Devil's Wood " score.

From Vimy Ridge to Point du Jour and the fields north of Arras the artillery of Sir Henry Horne dominated the zone of battle from dawn to nightfall on Easter Monday. In the Arras sector, where Sir Edmund Allenby commanded, it was in places impossible, however, for the gunners behind the attacking English and Scottish troops to lay flat all the enemy's front line. There was no front line.

Britons and Teutons were, for example, less than five yards from each other in Blangy suburb. Only the foundation walls of one ruined house after another separated them. Mining from cellar to cellar had for years been the sole way of progress attempted by the opposing forces. Overground rushes were dangerous. For if a fragment of the burrows were occupied in this fashion, the apparent loser was likely to retaliate by firing a hidden mine under the apparent conquerors, and thereby suddenly reversing the positions.

The French forces under General Pétain had wrestled underground with the Germans in the eastern suburbs of Arras. When British troops took over the Arras sector, they could, for more than a year, do little more than continue the methods of their allies. It remained unsafe to show oneself above ground in daylight on the northern, eastern, and southern outskirts of the battered old city. Enemy machine-gunners and snipers commanded St. Sauveur, Baudmont, Ronville, and other thresholds of Arras.

The glorious edifices of the old-time city of Spanish Flanders were vanishing like the monuments of priceless beauty in Ypres. The Gothic buildings in the Grande Place and the belfried Town Hall, showing the final manner of the architecture of the master weavers of old Europe, were in the same state as Rheims Cathedral. Only by happy chance was Arras saved from complete destruction with the remnant of her civil population.

Ludendorff seems to have decided, towards the end of March, 1917, to wheel away from the Arras suburbs. His object was to repeat the manœuvre of the Somme withdrawal, and evade for a while the great British offensive, preparations for which had been reported by his aerial scouts. It was said by German prisoners that the Arras retreat was originally fixed for the first week in April. However this may be, it was finally arranged for April 15th.

In the meantime, instead of decreasing the forces in and around the suburbs of Blangy and St. Laurent, the German commander strengthened them. He intended to deliver a devilish stroke against the shattered city before he withdrew, and to continue his policy of appalling the French mind by the total destruction of all territory from which he was compelled to retreat. He reckoned this was the way to bring about negotiations for peace.

Dumps of huge shells, filled with prussic acid and other poison gases, were formed near Fampoux village, in advance of the Drocourt line. By the dumps ordinary heavy artillery was sited, and two 16·8 in. Krupp howitzers were specially ordered forward to Fampoux, for the diabolical work of flooding with poison gas the cellars of the ruined city, in which the townspeople were sheltering.

Happily, Sir Douglas Haig struck before Ludendorff. In the grand heralding bombardment, long-range British guns, mounted on railway carriages and designed to wreck the enemy's rearward depôts and communications, assailed Fampoux and other neighbouring villages. The German gunners were overborne and generally confined to their caverned refuges. The monster Krupp guns were not risked, so that when Fampoux was captured only some of the unused 16·8 in. gas shells, left behind in the hurry of flight, told the tale of Ludendorff's baffled devilry.

[*British official photograph.*

FORMIDABLE BARRICADE FORMED BY THE RETREATING GERMANS.

Clearing away the débris of a church which the Germans had blown up across a road to hinder the British advance. How considerable were some of the tasks in opening up the way for that advance is well shown in this mighty mass of bricks and masonry.

As already remarked, both the long, preparatory British gun fire and the moving line of bursting shells at dawn on Easter Monday had little effect upon the hostile underground line in Blangy. English and Scottish infantrymen at this tangled point had to attack a practically unbroken front of subterranean forts. Most gallantly did the bombing-parties advance and try to find a way through the dreadful machine-gun fire barrages. A complete and sustained machine-gun barrage was the latest and absolutely the most deadly of wholesale forms of slaughter. A shell barrage was a mechanical and purblind thing, arranged in advance by gunners four miles and more away. The machine-gun barrage had eyes and brains immediately behind it—skilled shooters, studying every detail

Desperate fighting at Blangy

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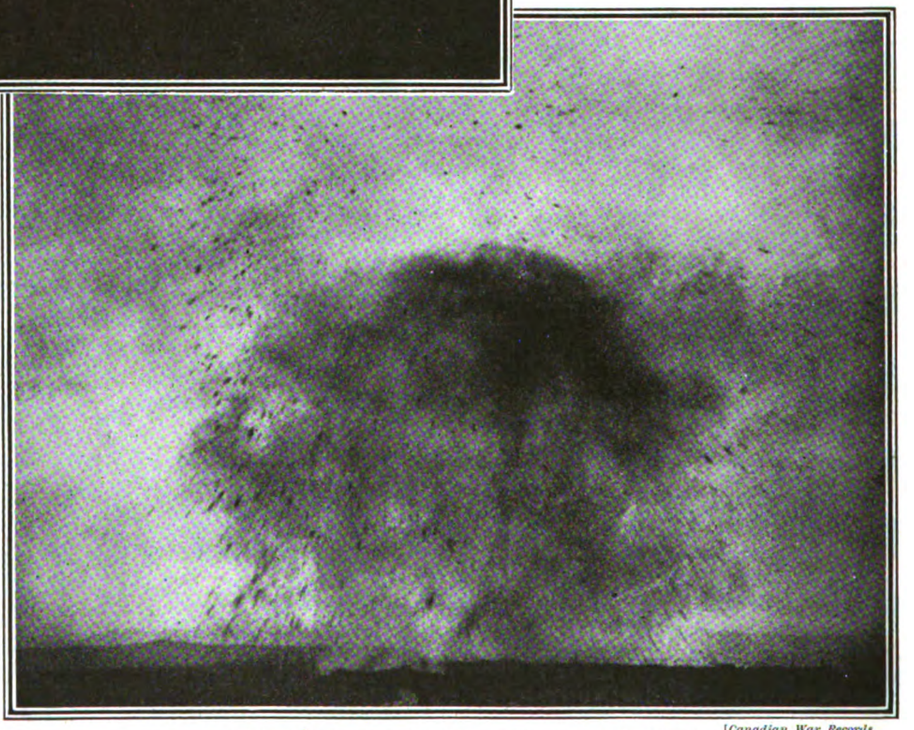

[*Canadian War Records.*

THUNDER AND FLAME AND FLYING DEATH.

Two exceptionally fine photographs of a big German shell bursting on Vimy Ridge, at the northern end of which the enemy had retained a footing at the close of the first day's fighting. He was ejected during the night, and his fierce counter-attacks failed to materialise.

of the situation. When the guns were close enough together, and fed with unending ammunition just as fast as they could use it, the sleet of lead was of dreadful efficacy.

Fortunately there was space between the British and German lines above and below Blangy, enabling the attacking artillery to pour hurricanes of shell upon the opposing defences. A Hamburg division withdrew from its ruined first system, leaving a small rearguard which surrendered rather than fight. Wedges were driven around Blangy Park, and at last, after heavy sacrifice, a famous British battalion, in an hour of deft bombing rushes amid the Blangy posts, carried the suburb.

Another memorable scene of conflict was the triangle of railway lines east of Blangy. All the German works on three sides of Arras were of immeasurable strength. The British Staff could not find room in its largest map of this enemy sector to mark all the enemy positions. There were some four square miles of forts of all patterns and sizes—forts sunk in craters, with only a foot or so of loopholed machine-gun emplacement visible at close range; forts rising daringly above belts of wire, as though challenging observation; forts stuck in marshes; forts hidden in the pious façades of church and chapel. It was a large city of forts, indicative of enormous and uninventive labour.

Check at the Railway Triangle

The Prussian, and to a less extent, all Northern Germans, are the natural hodmen of Europe. Rare among them is the faculty of invention; they try to supply by patience their want of originating power. If they can steal or honestly acquire a useful original design, they will patiently and contentedly carry bricks all their life for the erection of copies. Taking up some foreign idea of proved fertility, the German man of science will joyfully devote his existence to applying it in every way he can discern.

In the case under consideration the Teuton's unwearied power in repetition work was annulled by the Briton's faculty for inventing new means to an end. The city of forts was first badly shattered by a long, fierce bombardment, pierced by an heroic hand-to-hand bomb fight, and then overwhelmed by smashing barrages of exact howitzer fire. The Scottish and English bombing-parties were so close behind the shell that many of the hostile garrisons of the forts were unable to make a strong stand.

In the Railway Triangle, however, a German force threatened to disarrange the plans of the advance. The Triangle was formed by the junction of the lines from Lens and Douai, and a branch track connecting the two lines before they merged. On the farther railway embankment, some thirty to forty feet high, the enemy had constructed a deep trench and lined it with dug-outs and machine-guns. The guns were placed in redoubts, consisting of two feet of armoured concrete and additional steel girders, all banked with earth within a foot of the domed top. They formed targets only a square yard in size, and by their narrowness escaped the bombardment and barrage. The blind barrage went onward according to time-table, leaving the English and Scottish infantry, coming through Blangy Park, faced with an impossible

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task. For three hours the attackers were checked, and all their fine, forlorn attempts to get within bomb-casting distance of the extraordinary rampart failed.

In the campaigns of 1914, 1915, and part of 1916, the check at the Triangle would probably have developed into a local defensive victory for the enemy. But Sir Henry Horne had won the command of the First British Army by, among other great achievements, the invention of a device for plucking victory out of a defeat of this kind. He had become the master-gunner of Sir Douglas Haig, and Sir Edmund Allenby's artillerists around Arras had constantly practised the various uses of Horne's creeping barrage.

After crawling too far in front of the helpless infantry the line of roaring fire and pillared smoke halted for a moment, and came threshing back like an infernal flail. Again it halted. Then it stamped about and upon the high, fort-lined embankment, and the waiting Scots and Englishmen were occasionally splashed with bits of concrete as they watched gun-mountings and girders spin through the air. "Our barrage," said an admiring spectator, "just sat upon the forts, and all the works disappeared. It was as if it had been pulled back by a leash."

Triumph of the creeping barrage

A cleaning-up party of infantry entered the wreck of the best designed of German forts, while the Scots and Englishmen followed their barrage, on a rearranged time-table, towards the second Hindenburg line. Meanwhile, a series of similar fortifications, such as Haugest Work and Holte Work, Horn and Hamel Works, were exploded into the tragic rubble of the battlefield of Arras, after checking other English regiments.

Enemy obliterated at Feuchy

The victors of Blangy fought onward to the Feuchy Redoubt. Here their dreadful creeping barrage more than compensated for its preliminary failure at the Triangle. The entire enemy garrison at Feuchy Work had been so buried by the moving tempest of British shell that none escaped alive. At Feuchy Weir some prisoners were taken—an unarmed party of electrical engineers, under a captain.

Passing through Feuchy village, some time before the German gunners began to shell it, the men from the Triangle dug themselves in for the night close by a deep pit, where four 8 in. howitzers had been captured by a fine brigade of British cavalry. Being within striking distance of the important hostile hill position at Monchy, and at very short range from the heavy ordnance defending the Drocourt line, the conquering Britons were subjected

[*Canadian War Records.*

GERMAN PRISONERS RUNNING THE GAUNTLET OF THEIR OWN BARRAGE INTO CAPTIVITY.

Vimy Ridge was carried by Canadians troops early in the morning of April 9th, 1917, and in the course ot that one day more than nine thousand of the enemy were taken prisoners. The King telegraphed the Empire's congratulations to all who took part in the day's successful operations and in the splendid achievement of taking that "coveted" Ridge which had so long dominated the Allies' line north of Arras.

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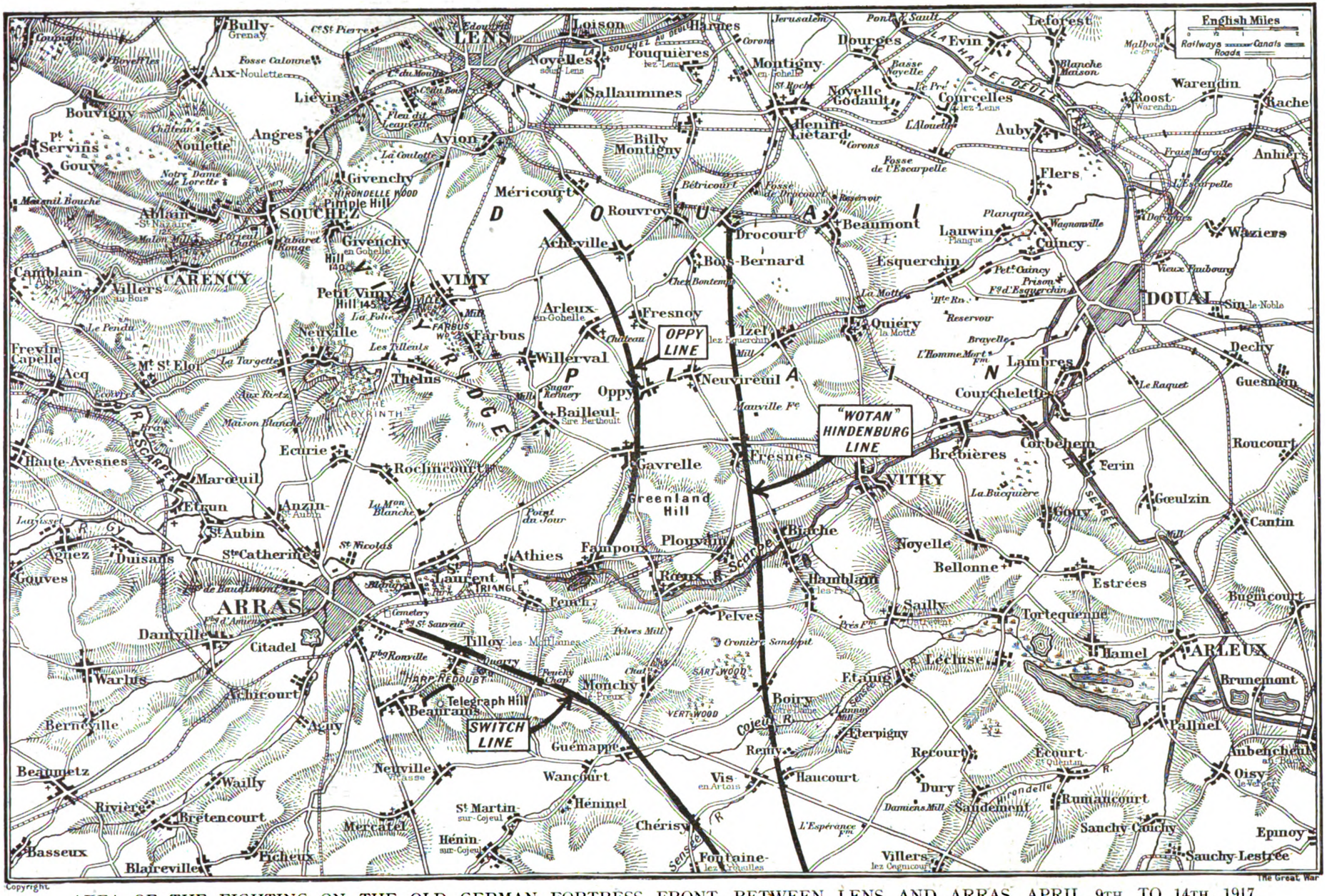

AREA OF THE FIGHTING ON THE OLD GERMAN FORTRESS FRONT, BETWEEN LENS AND ARRAS, APRIL 9TH TO 14TH, 1917.

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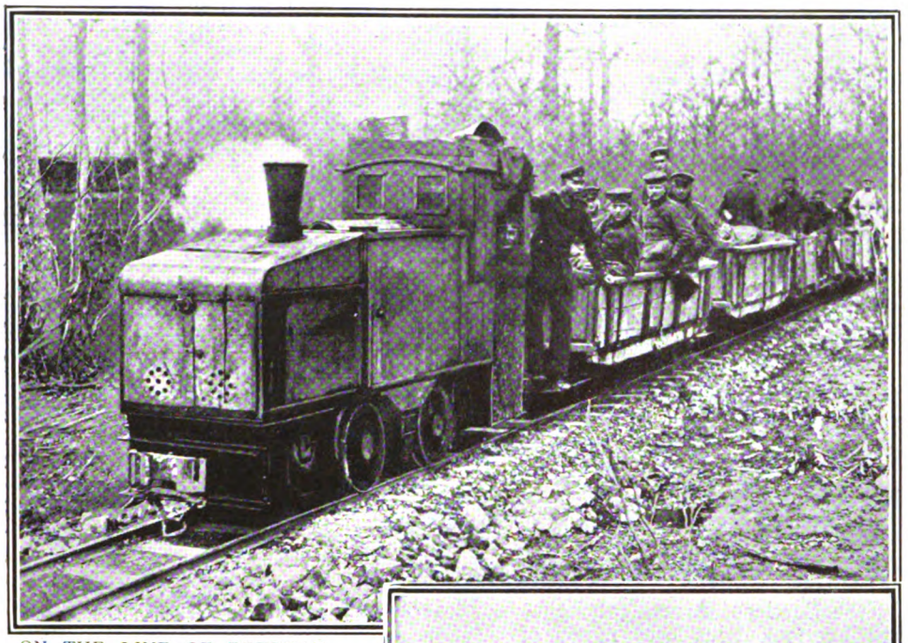

ON THE LINE OF RETREAT.
Teuton soldiers on a light railway behind the boasted Hindenburg line. (From a German photograph.)

to terrific shell fire. They clung to their line all Easter Tuesday, while more English troops lined up with the Scots on the right and the cavalry assembled on their left, for a combined surprise stroke that was to shake Ludendorff almost as much as did the loss of the Vimy cliffs.

In the meantime another mass of British troops worked towards the Monchy line from a series of positions south of Blangy and the Douai railway. Near Beaurains, south-east of Arras, was a great German system known as the Harp. It was built on a hill, in a large irregular oval of earth-works and armoured forts, commanding a hollow over which the British troops had to advance. Telegraph Hill, a higher height, was close by.

Neither bombardment nor barrage seriously injured the strength of the Harp. When the attacking lines of troops reached the hollow, a murderous fire from the fortified rise stopped all progress. Attempts were made to get machine-guns to sweep the enemy trenches, and so keep down the Germans while bombing-parties worked forward. The plan, however, did not work quickly enough. The strong place was so intricately designed, with tier after tier of plunging fire positions, that the assault was held up by seven o'clock on Easter Monday.

Then from their lair behind a screen of trees some "tanks" slithered to the holed and muddy top of Telegraph Hill. Squatting in this dominating position, above the Harp, they exercised a very perturbing influence upon the German force. The Harp was bombarded until it gave forth the music of a British victory, with a "Kamerad" chorus provided by a thousand prisoners.

In the neighbouring village of Tilloy, on the highway to Cambrai, with the Harp south-west and Feuchy north-east of it, a "tank" again broke into a fortified swell of ground and enabled the infantry to enter the village. There the German works had been terribly wrecked by the distant British guns. The land was smashed into shell-holes, the fields of barbed wire were torn into scattered strands, and the trenches turned into shapeless ditches. Devil's Wood, Tilloy Quarry, and other strong points around the Cambrai road were all occupied by eight o'clock in the morning. The survivors of the garrison surrendered quickly, and the British troops continued their progress along the highway to the Hindenburg switch-line. They were impeded, however, by some works erected at Feuchy chapel, on commanding ground at the junction of the lane from Feuchy village and the Cambrai high-road. The enemy had constructed two strong positions, known as Church Redoubt and Chapel Redoubt, and though the

[*British and Canadian official photographs.*

ON A RIVER OF MANY BATTLE MEMORIES.
British soldiers crossing the Scarpe by means of a light, partially destroyed footbridge and a pontoon. At the villages—Athies, Feuchy, Fampoux, Rœux—along this small river much severe fighting took place in the Arras battle. Above: British car passing over the old German front line on Vimy Ridge.

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garrisons were weakened by the British gun fire, they survived in sufficient strength to make a brave and most desperate stand.

The Church Work was gradually reduced by bombing operations on April 9th, but at the Chapel, which was anything but a chapel of ease, according to an officer who led one of the assaults, a handful of gallant enemies held out until the following morning. Once more the ubiquitous "tank" lumbered up and settled the affair at the Chapel of Feuchy, thus clearing the last obstacle to the movement against Monchy plateau.

All the succession of victories around Arras by the Third Army, under Sir Edmund Allenby, opened a wide line of attack upon Monchy. The hill at Monchy was the last patch of high ground, held by the enemy for a breadth of thirty miles, between Orange Hill, conquered by the British, and the city of Valenciennes. The little plateau of Monchy, on the edge of which the village rose, was only about ninety feet above the great plain of French Flanders.

Importance of Monchy plateau

Yet it was twenty-five higher than Orange Hill, intervening westward between it and Arras city; while eastward, looking over the territory held by the enemy, it gave as spacious and deadly a field of artillery observation as did the higher Vimy Ridge.

It was the grand prize of war in the Battle of Arras. So long as Ludendorff held it he still overlooked his lost line and safeguarded his new Drocourt front. In the ordinary way the German commander would have launched fierce, heavy, and persistent counter-attacks from Monchy during the decisive time when the Third British Army was organising the ground it had won and bringing up its guns.

It had been Ludendorff's braggart design to employ his Drocourt line, with a mass of heavy artillery placed behind it, for the purpose of making irresistible Parthian-like rushes backward in great force against the tired advancing British troops, who possessed for immediate action only some field-guns.

Village of Fampoux stormed

At Monchy, however, the shattered Germans were too hard put to it to maintain a good rearguard defence. Even with reinforcements they could not counter-attack rapidly in strength. Ludendorff found his line extended almost to breaking point.

His principal available reserves had to be sent towards the Lens sector, and other reserves had to be railed towards the Quéant region; for Sir Douglas Haig was stretching his original twelve-mile front of advance on either side of Arras to a fifty-mile battle-line, running from Loos to St. Quentin.

On the morning of Tuesday, April 10th, the British troops working between Vimy Ridge and the northern Scarpe River, made a magnificent bound forward and stormed into the village of Fampoux. Fampoux was about two miles beyond Monchy plateau, lying in the marsh of the Scarpe Valley, between the river and the enemy's railway communications with Douai. The conquerors of Fampoux achieved one of the pivoting successes of the campaign. They made a large dent, more

[*Canadian War Records.*

LOOKING DOWN ON THE VALLEY FROM VIMY'S CONQUERED RIDGE.

No ground on the western front had been more fiercely fought for than Vimy Ridge, and its capture on April 9th, 1917, was a great triumph for the Canadian and other British troops engaged. The Germans, who had regarded it as impregnable, yielded most of the ridge on the first day of the battle. Rising gradually on the western side, Vimy Ridge is more abrupt where it overlooks the coalfield plain on the east.

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than five thousand yards deep, into the German line. They outflanked the hill fortress of Monchy in the south, and they also outflanked in the north the enemy positions at Bailleul and other places below the end of the Vimy Ridge.

The attack on Fampoux was made in worse conditions than the advance on Easter Monday. The snow fell more thickly, the soaked, broken ground was a deeper sea of mud, and the gale blew furiously. Maybe this bitter winter storm told on the weary, defeated Germans, and led them to think that the pursuing force would be as exhausted as they were. Victory, however, is a wonderful tonic. To the attacking Scotsmen the blinding snow seemed providential. It was better than any smoke-screen, being a natural battle blanket that did not herald any operation. The Germans were surprised and shattered; their artillery was blinded and Fampoux secured.

This was the reason why the Scotsmen, Midlanders, and other Englishmen who had won towards Monchy Hill in the first day of battle were allowed to rest on Tuesday. Alongside them was the marvellous cavalry brigade, that had also won up the Scarpe valley, taking big guns on the way, and adventuring well beyond the foremost infantry. The victory at Fampoux eased the situation of the Third Army in a remarkable way, and gave Sir Edmund Allenby the opportunity for one of the most brilliant encircling manœuvres in modern trench warfare.

Allenby's brilliant encircling manœuvre

Elbow-room had been won between the first and second Hindenburg systems for something like open-field action. Vexed and dulled by the great snowstorm, the German Staff officers at Monchy completely lost their grip of the situation. Either their means of communication were disorganised, or they did not understand what the news from Fampoux meant to them. They went to sleep in Monchy manor-house and in the village houses which had hastily been prepared for a state of siege.

[*British official photographs.*

British cavalry advancing through newly-captured territory, and, above, an impression of the broken ground over which they had to operate.

[*Canadian War Records.*

Canadian Light Horse going into action on Vimy Ridge. British cavalry got their chance in the Battle of Arras, and used it to the full, particularly at Monchy, south-east of Arras, where a clever encircling movement ended in a triumphant charge.

BRITISH CAVALRY IN THE BATTLE OF ARRAS.

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The general of a defeated Prussian division, which had been pursued by British cavalry into the fringe of open country, retired from his old headquarters at Monchy Château. He left only a brigadier, with one battered brigade, to hold the all-important height. The worn and reduced force of Prussians was, of course, ordered to maintain the ground at any sacrifice. Fresh regiments, they were informed, were hurrying to their aid from rest billets in Douai and Cambrai. It was merely a matter of hours when they would be relieved.

This was so. Monchy had become the prize in a race against time by the opposing armies. The Britons won the race, because they did not wait for reinforcements, but struck with all their remaining strength. Sorely had they been tried by three nights and days of terrific fighting, marching in snow, rain and tempest, with little food and less sleep, harassed continually by hidden, hostile machine-guns and shelled by undiscoverable batteries.

Yet when the Prussian divisions, which had broken, had to be taken out of the battle, the British troops merely got their second wind, and went forward for another intense and prolonged effort. That is the reason why they won the critical race for time, and altered, greatly for the better, the conditions under which Ludendorff's grand reserve was ground to death between the Hindenburg lines.

[Canadian War Records.

WHERE A GREAT HIGHWAY CROSSED VIMY RIDGE.

Ruined roadway, from Arras to Lens and Lille, where it crossed Vimy Ridge. The way in which the ground had been torn up by the shattering bombardment that preceded the successful attack on the ridge is well shown by the state of the surface on which the British soldiers were standing. Near the centre of the photograph is a destroyed German machine-gun emplacement.

In the lulls between the obscuring snow-squalls the German machine-gunners were able to observe every movement of their opponents in the little hollows beneath the dominating height. The stoic Britons calmly dug themselves in, in the finest tradition of the first Ypres battle. Their losses were considerable, but they stuck close to the hill, instead of withdrawing to a safer, less exposed holding position. The cavalry worked forward on both sides of the Cambrai road, beyond the famous Feuchy Chapel Work.

Cavalry on the Cambrai road

Then early in the morning of Wednesday April 11th, the long-enduring Scots, English, and mounted troops claimed their reward. Assisted by a gallant "tank," and yet counter-attacked by swooping German aeroplanes, the cavalry and infantry encircled Monchy in a series of lightning manœuvres. The movements at times did not seem rapid. The infantry stumbled up snow slopes, slipping under the double blast of a gale and a rain of bullets. Heads down, they went upward, many falling, yet always with others to take their place.

The Prussians fired from the whitened roofs of the village, and poured machine-gun showers from windows and ditches. Their airmen also used machine-gun fire. "It was a rain of bullets," said a Londoner, who survived. "They couldn't miss us, but they couldn't stop us." Before the snipers could get off the gabled roofs of the cottages the attacking force reached the southern part of the village, and began to chase the fugitives up the narrow streets and across the square. Thereupon, as a long, bitter house-to-house conflict seemed to open, and give the enemy time to fight till reinforcements arrived, the combined British movements locked together.

Monchy height captured

The cavalry had formed up in a slight hollow north of the village, under a severe fire. The horses wheeled into position, and with amazing suddenness the wild, mud-plastered, unrecognisable figures of Dragoons, Lancers, and Hussars, their faces lost in metal bonnets and three days' growth of hair and grime, emerged on the plateau. They were greeted with cheers by thousands of other British troops scattered about the country-side.

They had slept for nights in shell holes, in a bath of rain, snow, and mud, with soaking greatcoats around them, chilled to the marrow, hungry and utterly worn out. Yet they charged with superb and victorious fury and perfect, deadly skill. When at last they halted, at the end of a good half mile, not a single Prussian was in view. Machine-guns, that had vainly been used against the too rapid target, were abandoned to them. They linked up with their infantry, who began to search the village, manor-house, and park for concealed prisoners, guns, ammunition, and food. The cavalry brought up their Hotchkiss and Lewis guns, and turned to ride down the fugitives in the trenches east of the village.

Between Monchy and Sart Wood they found, in a hollow, a badly-sited entrenched line of German machine-guns. Dismounting, they brought the old Hotchkiss and the new Lewis guns into position above the German line, and, overcoming the enemy, threw him into Sart Wood. British horse-artillery, bumping and lurching, came over holes and dikes and through mud and snow slush, as a preliminary measure for transforming the little Monchy height into the master artillery position against the Drocourt line. It was still a race for time.

The German guns beyond Sart Wood began to shell the lost plateau about two hours after the British forces completely occupied it. When night fell, the village and château were smashed into the usual heap of ruins. Long before this the Prussians re-formed and strengthened under cover of Sart Wood, and came out in storming parties to recover the great key-position. Less than a hundred yards from the wood the counter-attack was so

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[Canadian War Records.

German shells bursting behind the dug-in Canadian troops on Vimy Ridge, which "loomed above the Canadian divisions as a German Gibraltar on the western front in the grey, rainy dawn of battle" on April 9th, 1917, but before the close of that day had, all but a small northern portion, been captured by the assaulting troops. Thousands of the enemy were taken prisoner and many guns captured on the Ridge.

[Canadian War Records.

Collecting the wounded on the battlefield of Vimy Ridge, for conveyance by light railway to the base. The railway was rapidly laid behind the advancing troops, fresh sections of rails being taken up on the open trucks which returned with the wounded. Three German prisoners were assisting their captors in placing a stretcher case on the second truck. Ahead men were carrying the railway line further forward.

ON THE BATTLEFIELD OF VIMY RIDGE, WHERE THE CANADIANS WON UNFADING LAURELS.

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smitten by the plunging fire from the hill that it faded into nothingness.

The British front was driven forward half a mile east of Monchy during the enemy's evidence of weakness. This won more flexibility for the British defence when the alarmed German High Command drew on its grand reserve for a pitched battle on a great scale for the only hill of supreme importance for thirty miles. Soon German howitzers began to increase the weight of their bombardment, and towards the evening another series of assaulting waves issued from Sart Wood.

When the height of Monchy was securely conquered, and posts thrown out into La Bergère and the country near Guémappe, another important operation was directed by Sir Edmund Allenby against the Hindenburg line at the point where it had been broken and turned by the thrust from the south-east of Arras. In the offensive of Easter Monday the hostile line had been assailed as far south as the Cojeul stream, near Henin-sur-Cojeul, while the armies of Sir Hubert Gough and Sir Henry Rawlinson violently held and occupied the enemy by thrusting actions around Quéant and St. Quentin.

Along the main line of battle, south of Telegraph Hill, near Arras, the village of Neuville Vitasse was carried through a network of trenches on April 9th. The enemy's defences on the western bank of the Cojeul stream were also broken. This advance, in combination with the later conquest of Fampoux and Monchy, left the village of Wancourt jutting, like a German bridge-head, into the field of victories of the Third Army.

Wancourt and its neighbouring cluster of cottages and farms, Heninel, across the Cojeul River, formed positions of difficulty to attack. They were on the slope of the river valley, and the approaches to them were fiercely swept by fire from other German works, especially at Guémappe northward and Cherisy south-eastward. Great zones of uncut wire entanglements stretched between the villages and the waiting London and English county men, lying out in deep snow and icy gales, with shrapnel and high-explosive shell bursting above them.

On Thursday, April 12th, as the struggle around Monchy slackened for a very brief period, Sir Edmund Allenby widened his great Arras salient of new ground by striking southward at Wancourt and Heninel. At first some things did not go very well. The English troops were checked by the thickets of uncut wire and by various strong places, from which enemy gunners poured out enfilading streams of bullets. One heroic division helped the force on its left by attacking without artillery support, before the arranged hour, penetrating the uncut wire and raiding a trench. When the time for the battle came they withdrew from the demonstrating and distracting affair, and opened their part of the general team-work, in which they again bore themselves with gallant distinction.

Wancourt and Heninel

At the two villages the infantry were checked by machine-gun fire and unbroken wire. Happily, two "tanks" came forward in their laborious gait and, guided by young officers and crews of a daring spirit and fine skill, drove at the hedges of wire. Shooting from machine-guns at the Germans entrenched behind the entanglement, one "tank" flattened out two belts of entanglements, thus opening the gate for the infantry. Then it climbed the northern slope and fought down the German gunners there, and advanced, dauntless and terrifying, into Wancourt village.

It crawled in and out of Wancourt, panic-striking the garrison as well as shooting them. The cheering English infantry followed it into the village. This incident was merely the beginning of a record voyage by H.M. Landship. For two days and a night—some forty hours in all—the "tank" continued to cruise about the country, nosing out machine-gun posts and squirting death into enemy hiding-places. Bumped and battered, and as worn as shipwrecked sailors, with almost all ammunition spent, the officer and crew turned the snout of their slithering vessel homeward.

In Heninel the second "tank" zigzagged amid the buildings and swept down the German troops so ferociously that they fled from the thing in terror, like the panic in the Somme action that marked the first appearance of the new machine of war. Then, with its sister of Wancourt, the Heninel "tank" fiercely explored the land about the Cojeul River, clearing the way for the splendid infantry.

In spite of the decisive help given by the "tanks," the attacking Englishmen had no easy triumph. In places the Germans continued stubbornly to hold to their pits and trenches, and the fire from the high, raking positions north and south continued to be severe. At length, on Friday, April 13th, as one bombing force worked down the trenches towards Wancourt, another strong force worked upward from the south, and met each other behind the Hindenburg line and cheered their common victory.

On a front of seven miles the new Siegfried system of the Hindenburg line was definitely pierced, turned, and occupied. The Wotan switch system was partially penetrated and generally menaced. The old German fortress front between Lens and Arras was completely shattered, and the gigantic pivot city of forts around Blangy, designed as the hinge of Ludendorff's plan for fighting withdrawal battles, was entirely destroyed. Some twelve Teutonic divisions, with Silesian and Alsatian elements, had held the main systems or come out in support. They lost, by April 14th, 14,000 men as prisoners, with one hundred and ninety-four guns, that were soon increased to the number of two hundred and twenty-eight. A remarkable feature of the German losses was the proportion of Bavarians taken, killed, and wounded. The population of Bavaria was seven millions, the population of Prussia twenty millions, and the entire population of Germany was nearly seventy millions. In the most violent battles, if all Teuton tribes had been represented in proportion, the losses of the Bavarians should have been one-tenth of the whole. They were, however, more than one-third. Bavaria, the only possible rival to Prussia, was treated like a nation of Uriahs by the Prussian High Command.

German Lens-Arras front shattered

Little Bavaria was set against the stronger British forces, so that she should be drained of strength and placed at the mercy of cunning Prussia. Some Bavarian writers had recommended that the Wittelbach dynasty should replace the Hohenzollern line as German Emperors, in order to restore the confidence of Europe in the future good intentions of the Teutonic race. The tremendous losses of the Bavarian troops in the Battles of Vimy Ridge and Arras formed the subtle Prussian reply to this suggestion.

On Friday, April 13th, when the Wancourt-Heninel action was proceeding, the 3rd Bavarian Division, which had fought bravely at Loos and on the Somme ridge, was railed to Douai, and made the spear-head force of a counter-attack on Monchy Hill, with the defeated and re-formed Prussian division in support. Under cover of as sustained and intense a bombardment as the German commander could organise, the attempt to recover the dominating height was developed with crippling losses.

Some of the advanced posts of defence were taken by the enemy by sheer weight and pressure of numbers, recovered by the British forces, taken again by the enemy, and once more regained. The Bavarians were at last cut to pieces and the Prussians so weakened they could not carry out the design of a final successful rush, enabling them to claim they had accomplished that which their screen of Bavarians had failed to achieve. The British positions, at the close of the struggle, were firmly held, and, with this victorious defence of the Monchy key-position, the Battle of Arras ended and the new Battle of the Scarpe began, while Lens rocked and flamed northward and Bullecourt in the south became a tangle of slaughter.

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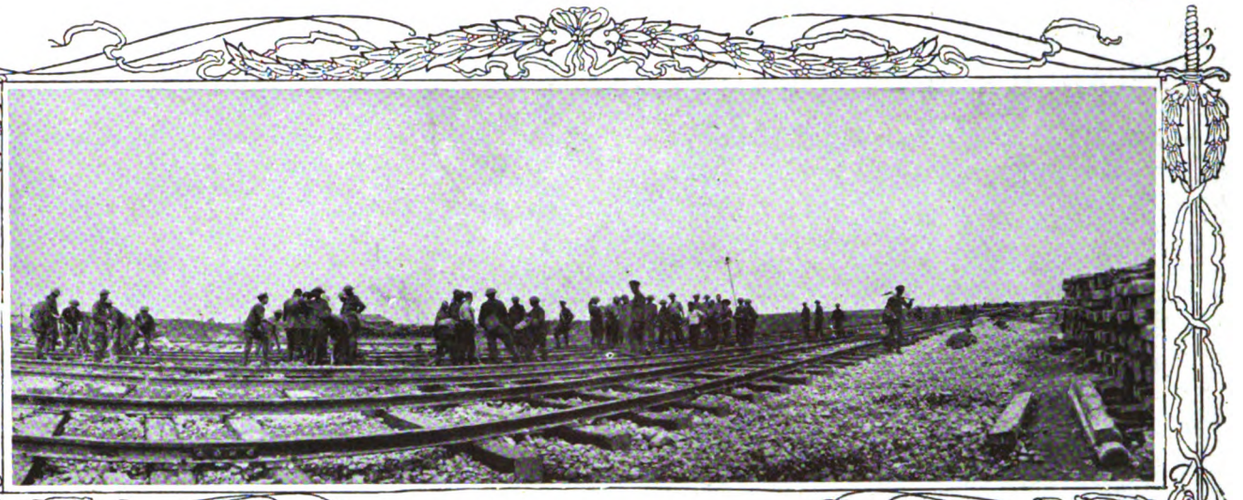


LAYING NEW RAILWAYS

CHAPTER CLXXXIV.

OVER CAPTURED GROUND.

THE FIRST GREAT SOLDIERS' BATTLES ALONG THE ARTOIS RIVERS.

By Edward Wright.

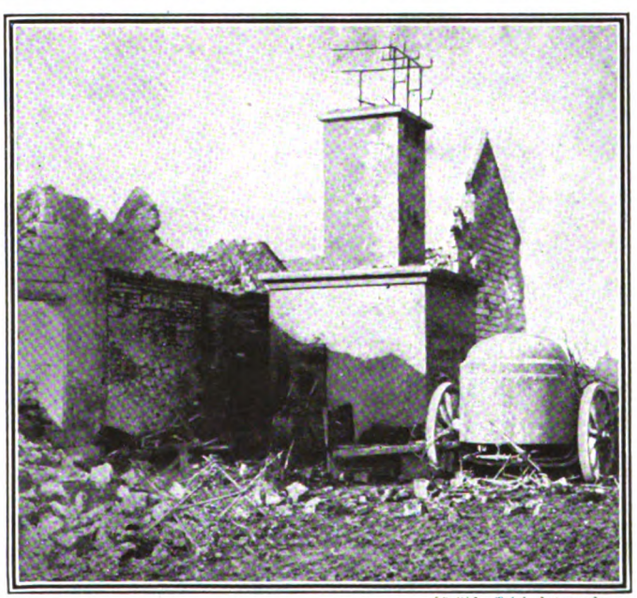
General Haig in the Position of General Grant—Germany Fighting With Only One Arm—British Conscripted Population only Three-Fourths of German Population—British Commonwealth's Superiority in Man-Power Still Badly Undeveloped—Haig Skilfully Works German Reserves Round to His Wings, and Strikes from His Centre—Great Wing Attack on Lens—Storming of Angres and Liévin—Desperate Fighting in the Cités of Lens—Midlanders in the Crook and Crazy Line—Germans Prepare to Retire from Lens, but Return in Greater Force—Ludendorff Lacks Infantry to Counter-Attack—Opening of Terrific Battle of St. George's Day—The M.E.B.U.'s and the Part They Played in the Great German Manœuvre—Striking Preliminary British Successes All Along the Line—Enemy's Main Forces Overthrow the British Advance Guards—Victorious Heroism of Newfoundland Men—Magnificent Stand Made by the Middlesex and Argyll and Sutherlands—Victory of Worcester Battalion When Encircled for Nine Days—British Main Masses Attack German Main Masses—Unparalleled Scene of Open-Field Warfare—Horne Recovers Gavrelle—Allenby Regains Guémappe—Great Swaying Battles of Fontaine and Chérisy—German Armies Become too Exhausted to Continue Their Massed Counter-Attacks—Import of the British Victory.

THE situation on the western British front in the middle of April, 1917, was of complex interest. The Fifth British Army, under Sir Hubert Gough, and the Fourth Army, under Sir Henry Rawlinson, had overtaken the defenders of the Hindenburg line and driven wedges into the enemy's new system. The Third British Army, under Sir Edmund Allenby, had broken and turned the top of the main Hindenburg system and advanced along the Scarpe River, threatening the secondary and half-constructed Hindenburg system. The First British Army, under Sir Henry Horne, had stormed the hill rampart near the top of the enemy's Drocourt or Wotan line, and prolonged the attack directly against Lens and its coal-fields and Drocourt and its unfinished fortifications.

There was no complexity in the view of Sir Douglas Haig and his able Army Commanders. Their task was direct and grandly simple. All they had to do was to continue battering against the enemy and incessantly weakening him, to the best of their ability, until he broke, retreated, or sued for peace. They needed more railways, more heavy artillery and larger reserves, with more aeroplanes, and more shells of large calibre.

General strength, as overwhelming as the resources of the British Commonwealth would allow, was their plain and only need. Their essential policy was the same as that of General Grant in the mighty intestinal struggle with General Lee. They intended to wear the enemy down until he was utterly enfeebled. They had won a series of very advantageous positions, and from these positions they had only to continue to attack, in order to bring to battle a larger part of the reserves which the enemy possessed.

It was open to Sir Douglas Haig to intensify the process of attrition, by bringing into action his Second Army, under Sir Herbert Plumer, in the Ypres section. He decided, however, to keep this army in reserve, as it had been arranged with the French Commander-in-Chief that the main French Army should first increase the



[British official photographs.

AMONG THE RUINS OF TILLOY.

Interesting legacy from the enemy evicted from Tilloy—a German machine-gun emplacement on wheels. Tilloy was captured in the first attack on April 9th, 1917, but was practically demolished by shell fire.

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[British official photograph.

WHERE MERCY BRAVED THE FLYING MENACE OF THE GUNS.

Heavy shell bursting almost upon an advanced dressing-station on the western front. The Red Cross flag was flown over all medical stations, from regimental aid-posts back to base hospitals; but many of these unavoidably came into the line of shell fire, and when bombardment was heavy the wounded were carried to underground cellars or dug-outs till the bombardment ceased and they could be moved farther back.

terrific pressure upon the forces and resources of Germany by a general offensive, opening on April 16th, 1917, along the Aisne and the hills of Champagne.

Ludendorff was troubled and perplexed in his view of the situation by the complexity of the problem he had to face. He seems to have been unable to fight without a flow of braggart loquacity. He was a buck nigger with a white skin. He jeered and sneered at his opponent while delivering his strokes. Partly he thought that a stream of abuse was of fighting value, in that it was calculated to distract his foe and make him blindly angry. Mainly, it was merely the expression of the nature of the man. It was his own way of keeping up his own courage. When Jack Johnson, the negro prize-fighter, felt the superior power of Willard, the white champion, he became quiet and touched with commonsense and common decency. When Ludendorff, however, felt the full weight of the power wielded by Sir Douglas Haig, he merely became wilder and more extravagant in his language. For he was trying to keep up the courage of his people, in addition to making a noise to stir up his own energies.

Ludendorff loquacious in perplexity

The greater his perplexity became, the louder and wilder became his speech. All his personal ambitions were suddenly defeated in the Battles of Vimy Ridge and Arras. He could not initiate any new operation of importance during the spring of 1917. The most he could do was to stand on the defensive, and struggle to save his guns and his fortified lines, by means of an enormous sacrifice of human material.

By reason of his grand reserve of a million men, he retained a considerable measure of tactical control. He had merely to counter-attack in heavy and persistent force, against some points seized by the armies of Sir Douglas Haig, in order to provoke a great battle in the place he selected. Naturally, the British commander could not allow his opponent to win back any height or other position of military importance or political prestige. Therefore, masses of British troops had to be concentrated behind every sector of the Hindenburg line from which the enemy strongly and persistently counter-attacked.

With this exception, Sir Douglas Haig imposed upon General von Ludendorff the time and direction of the stupendous conflict of the armies of the two nations. Ludendorff had to provide against the coming French offensive, and, for a week or two, he had also to consider seriously the possibility of a movement on the Russian front by General Brussiloff. He could not immediately withdraw a large proportion of German troops and German guns from the eastern theatre of war without running a gambling risk.

Germany menaced on two fronts

He was not by nature a gambler, but rather a backer of what seemed to be military certainties. He usually introduced elements of surprise in an obvious situation by organising a greater and more rapid striking power than his opponent expected to meet. Between Lens and St. Quentin he had been mastered by his own method. Four British armies had been driven at him on an expected course, but with unexpected speed and power. By sheer drive and pressure, Sir Douglas Haig practically compelled him to submit to a downright naked trial of strength.

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It must be remembered that the German Empire was fighting against the British Empire with only one arm, while the British Empire was fighting against the German Empire with two arms, and indeed two feet. The British Commonwealth was somewhat distracted by operations against the Turks in Mesopotamia and Palestine, and against the Bulgars and Turks in Macedonia. By way of balance, however, Germany had to provide Austria-Hungary with both commanding officers and troops, and a considerable number of her best class of professional officers were engaged in Turkey and Bulgaria.

France still attracted a huge force of the enemy troops, guns, munitions, and general war material. To a much less extent Russia, even in a pacific mood, succeeded in retaining against her passive battle-line about half a million German sentinel troops of second-rate quality, together with a considerable amount of artillery.

Handicap on German Empire

Thus, it can scarcely be said that Germany had her right hand entirely free during the conflict with two-handed Britain. In the matter of population, the white races of the British Empire were not much inferior in strength to the people of the German Empire. Had the system of universal service obtained in Ireland and the overseas British Dominions, the actual British forces in the field would have outnumbered the forces available in Germany after thirty-four months of most costly warfare. Also, if the leading statesmen of the Union of South Africa had not been averse to the enlistment of warlike Bantu tribesmen, the British commander would have had, in British black Africa, an enormous field of enlistment for infantry of good quality in bayonet attacks. The military castes and races of India were largely absorbed in the Mesopotamian campaign, though they gave some fine cavalry to the French front.

Enormous ultimate British resources

In summer campaigning in France, the warlike section of the great Indian population might profitably have been employed, if circumstances had permitted, withdrawing from the winter campaigning when weather conditions favoured only men hardened to the climate of the temperate zone.

Had the Bantus been employed, they would have done best, in the European theatre of war, when employed in the French fashion of storming attacks, covered by a bombardment that temporally overwhelmed the foes and enabled white support troops to hold the ground won by the black troops.

Thus the ultimate resources of the British Commonwealth

[*Canadian War Records.*

SYMBOLS OF THE PASSING OF GERMANY'S MILITARY SUPREMACY.

British soldiers outside a former German headquarters in one of the re-captured towns. The French tricolour replaced the German flag over the doorway immediately after the re-occupation, but the liberators had not troubled to paint out the black, white, and red stripes upon the sentry-box, the national colours of the hated invader. It was enough that the late occupant had been evicted and that a British sentry occupied it.

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were enormous. Nevertheless, mere population did not count in this case, as the adult males among the seventy millions of Germans were of higher personal fighting strength than many of the non-military nations of all classes in large parts of British territory. The intricate and terrifying machinery of modern warfare tended to give the men of European stock, who manufactured it, a certain superiority in temperament and intelligence over less experienced, more emotional, and uneducated warriors of semi-tropical origin.

As things stood at the time, England, Scotland, and Wales, with some help from northern and southern Ireland, and generous voluntary aid from Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, maintained the largest burden in the struggle against the Germans. In the area to which conscription had been applied, the total population was only about four-sevenths of the German population. Germany also started with a larger absolute proportion of males, which originally served greatly to increase her military strength. Her acknowledged heavy losses did but give her a surplus female population similar to that of her principal foe.

The general result was that the British Commonwealth, in the third year of war, still had only the potentiality of a marked superiority in man-power over the German Empire. Actually, in the spring of 1917, Sir Douglas Haig could not safely proceed to obtain a decision by a sustained gigantic thrusting movement, requiring entire armies to be propelled forward until the strength of Germany was worn out. He had still to nibble, in the manner of Marshal Joffre. Yet his nibbles became large bites, and he greatly accelerated the process of reducing Germany to the condition in which the Confederate States of America were left after four years of grinding warfare.

It will be remembered that in the Somme Battle, a fortnight elapsed between the first successes of General Horne and General Congreve and the resumption of their advance in full force. A similar period of preparation occurred on the Hindenburg line of battle. After his victories of April 9th, 1917, Sir Edmund Allenby required a fortnight in order to bring forward his guns, railways, and roads for a terrific battle against the enemy's Drocourt front. Even then the Third Army was not completely ready, as the great extent of conquered ground needed months to organise fully.

Sir Douglas Haig's design

In the meantime, Sir Henry Horne, with his brilliant lieutenants, including the Canadian Corps Commander, Sir Julian Byng, occupied the enemy in a fierce struggle around Lens, while Sir Hubert Gough assailed the southern end of the Drocourt line near Quéant, and Sir Henry Rawlinson went on with his series of actions north of St. Quentin.

Sir Douglas Haig's design was to attract Ludendorff's reserves of men and guns towards the wings of the half-broken Hindenburg line, during the period in which he was assisting Sir Edmund Allenby in preparations for another fierce and sustained stroke against the centre of the Hindenburg system. The Canadian victory on the Vimy Ridge had opened a promising line of approach against the southern outskirts of the mining city of Lens.

Sir Henry Horne silently and rapidly organised an attack, employing the English, Irish, and Canadian troops who had fought up and over Bois-en-Hache and Pimple Hill on April 12th. Fresh British troops were brought into action against the northern and western sides of the Lens salient, and the operation immediately began on Friday, April 13th.

General Horne began by throwing his main forces of Canadians and Scotsmen down the eastern slopes of the Vimy heights. Employing captured German guns and thousands of rounds of German shells, the attacking forces bombarded the Douai plains, and in a series of brilliant actions seized the villages of Vimy, Petit Vimy, Willerval, and Bailleul, taking more guns and ammunition and more prisoners.

At the same time, the battle for Lens opened. The troops who conquered Vimy village were able to outflank all the important German positions westward of Lens. The village of Angres and the town of Liévin, with many of the pit-head hamlets of the

[British official photographs.

RESTFUL MOMENTS IN THE FORWARD FIGHTING.

Crossing a flooded road near Tincourt, about five miles east of Péronne; in the distance a number of British cavalry horses brought down for watering. In circle: A group of British soldiers resting in the corner of a battered building after a period of strenuous fighting.

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great French coal-field district, were then well behind the Canadian front. Also, the village of Givenchy-en-Gohelle and Riaumont Wood, with a considerable stretch of Souchez River, were subjected to terrific flanking fire from the Vimy positions and the old Loos positions on the northern side.

The British army around Loos, on the other side of the river, was almost directly in line with the Canadian forces at Vimy. The Germans in Angres, Liévin, Givenchy, and the various groups of miners' cottages round about, were caught in the artillery pincers of the Loos and Vimy armies. Time was not allowed the enemy to retire without a struggle. He had been utterly surprised by the loss of the Vimy positions, and possessed an abundance of war material in the Lens salient, for which he was ready to sacrifice his infantry. Instead of withdrawing guns and men, he lost time in sending the Prussian Guard forward to Bois-en-Hache in a vain attempt to recover the lost heights. By the time the Prussian Guard was broken there was no opportunity left for a pacific retirement. The English and Irish conquerors of Bois-en-Hache at once drove into the town of Liévin, on April 13th, on the heels of the retreating enemy.

Again the Anglo-Celts had in some places to fight forward up to their waists in mud. Before them was the large fortified line of Riaumont Wood, dotted with machine-gun forts, and another couple of elaborate redoubts, known as Crook and Crazy Redoubts, with a series of strong positions extending a thousand yards east of Liévin.

From Bois-en-Hache the clay-caked waders worked forward to the outskirts of Lens, swept by machine-gun fire from the sunken redoubts and fortified cottages. In a grim spirit, their bombers rushed many of the armoured concrete forts, and came to a smooth rise and the wire entanglements of Riaumont Wood. The position was practically impregnable, so the German garrison waited for the easy work of repelling an impossible advance. They waited in vain.

Capture of Riaumont Wood

All day and all night enormous explosions rose in flame and smoke and thunder from Lens and Liévin. The enemy was blowing up mine-shafts, flooding mines, and destroying all buildings of either military or civilian service. Meanwhile, his westernmost rearguards in the village of Angres were overcome by a fierce hand-to-hand combat in which there were some touches of humour. One Irishman, for example, came upon a German at the entrance to a dug-out, fought him down, and then agreed to accept breakfast before taking his prisoner. He took a good share of German sausage, cheese, black bread, and wine, and came back arm-in-arm with his prisoner. Eating German breakfasts was the great game in Angres, as the enemy troops there were uncommonly well supplied with food.

[*British official photograph.*

AT A MINED CROSS ROAD. Boiry-Becquerelle, south-east of Arras, showing the German guide-marks (left to Mercatel and right to Henin) and the mine they exploded on being forced to retire.

[*British official photograph.*

OUTSIDE AN ADVANCED DRESSING-STATION. Cases waiting for attention at an advanced dressing-station, with German prisoners assisting in carrying stretchers. Casualties whose condition permitted their removal were carried hence by motor-ambulance farther down the line.

Since the Battle of Loos their position had been the most dangerous on either the western or the eastern front. It was overlapped on each side by the allied positions at Loos and Souchez, yet had to be held at heavy cost to the enemy, being a valuable advanced position along the British rear. Since the winter of 1914 it had been repeatedly attacked by French and British forces, yet had never been seriously endangered. Communicating with it ran a large series of miners' cottages, usually arranged each in a quadrangle and known as Cités. There was nothing of a city appearance about Cité St. Pierre, Cité Jeanne d'Arc, Cité St. Theodore, west and north-westward; Cité St. Dourard, Cité St. Laurent, Cité Ste. Auguste, Cité St. Edouard, and Cité Ste. Elizabeth, northward; with Cité de Riaumont, Cité du Moulin and Cité du Bois de Liévin southward. They were nearly all square blocks of French colliers' cottages, formerly housing a population of twelve thousand people in addition to the twenty-eight thousand inhabitants of Lens.

The squares made admirable machine-gun positions. Each had its sand-bag barricades, its distinct systems of wire entanglements, and its nests of machine-guns. Rear-guard forces were set to serve the guns, and ordered to save the retreating army by holding out to the last desperate moment. Therefore, on all sides, the British advanced

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troops were at first checked by a scything fire of bullets from the Cités. Any attempt to storm forward in force would have entailed great losses. So the British infantry took cover in the nearest shell-holes, while their artillery added to the smoking ruin of the mining centre by a prolonged and devastating bombardment.

Then, in the sunlit morning of April 14th, the fortressed hillside of Riaumont Wood was captured in brilliant fashion. Small parties of English troops came out in two thin waves, and, after taking cover and concentrating under an embankment, went at the double towards the bare, sudden slope of the wooded rise where the German gunners were still waiting for them. Instead, however, of pressing up to the crest in a frontal attack, they swerved and disappeared down a tree-fringed street.

As soon as they vanished the enemy flung out a barrage that caught the embankment where the English troops had assembled. Tragic would have been the fate of the attacking force had they waited a little longer. The Englishmen, however, worked around the left of the wooded hill and emerged, amid a tangle of protecting cottages, on high ground on the north-western side. Thence, with their own machine-guns, they barraged the flank of the enemy's position, and, taking him unawares, fought through the undefended side of Riaumont Wood and captured it, together with a mining village in the rear. All the wood was won by noon. An hour afterwards the Crook Redoubt was entirely taken and Crazy Redoubt was entered and rapidly cleared.

The top of the Crook and Crazy line was driven in by an officer of a Midland battalion with half a dozen of his men. He worked along the attics of a row of houses, and found a window from which he could snipe the gunners in the topmost machine-gun post. By good shooting, at the range of four hundred yards, the seven Midlanders sniped all the German gunners and made a breach in the Crook and Crazy line through which the entire position could be turned. By the time the German garrisons grasped the situation, an English machine-gun was already trained on their rear, and as they bolted across the open they were unexpectedly swept by a deadly fire.

Crook and Crazy line breached

The action raged northwards as well as westward and southward. The British forces in Loos fought onward to their old line, coming again in view of the fortified mound of Hill 70 which had been temporarily occupied by Scottish Territorials and Guards in the battle of 1915. The historic embankment of coal-mine refuse, known as the Double Crassier, which had been stormed by British Territorials in the earlier struggle and lost by the French, was again occupied. The town of Liévin was taken, with a great store of trucks, artillery dumps, engineering tools, and undamaged railway lines. The Germans were compelled to retire in such a hurry that they could not fire their stores or remove their guns.

At first it seemed as though Lens was also about to fall. Night and day, in sunshine, and mist, and drizzling darkness, it was enveloped in whirlpools of smoke. The enemy sappers were using up thousands of tons of high-explosives, partly to prevent the material from falling into British hands and partly to prevent the mines being useful to the French people in the coming winter. The resistance of the rearguards suddenly grew weaker all along the line, indicating that they intended soon to retire.

Weakening German resistance at Lens

Then, in the afternoon of Sunday, April 15th, the entire situation changed. It seemed as if the local army commander had first decided to retire from the half-encircled mining city and base his defence upon Hill 70 and Cité Ste. Auguste and the eastern colliers' blocks and rises of ground running southward to Méricourt. He was outflanked in the south, near the village of Avion, by the artillery of the Canadian corps advancing down from the ridge. The course he was taking seemed to be wise, as his position was becoming a very expensive one, being under close and direct observation from the ridge and the other lost heights near Souchez River. The wide panorama of battle could be studied in detail in clear weather from the commanding positions conquered by Sir Henry Horne's forces.

In the sunshine of Saturday British observers looked down into the streets of Lens, and if a single German came out of one of the red houses his movements were followed. The slag hills stood out in clear outline upon the plain near the tall chimneys of the power-stations and the gantries of the pit-heads. Close at hand were the electric works, soon to become memorable, and the dome of the great waterworks, with Lens Church in the distance, rising behind the hill across a stretch of red streets. The red dust of the cottages coloured the volcanic

[*Canadian War Records.*

TAKING COVER FROM A HIGH-EXPLOSIVE SHELL BURSTING ON A BARREN PLATEAU.

In the absence of an immediately adjacent shell-hole, the only course for men not actually in a trench to pursue was to drop flat to the ground, and hope that the shell splinters flung upwards by the explosion would be thrown sufficiently far to fall clear of them. The men learned to judge approximately where a high-explosive shell, which could be seen, as well as heard, approaching, was likely to burst.

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[*Canadian War Records.*

AN OBSTACLE THAT FAILED TO BAR THE WAY.

British soldiers examining a German machine-gun emplacement at Thelus, near the famous Labyrinth, destroyed by the terrific bombardment that preceded the recapture of the village on the glorious Ninth of April.

[*British official photograph.*

COUNTING THE BAG AFTER A GOOD DAY.

British conquerors of Tilloy looking at their trophies. In the first five days of the Arras Battle one hundred and sixty-three machine-guns were captured, and more than a hundred guns, many of them of large calibre.

smoke of the enemy's devastating explosions, while the fume of fires drifted in grey clouds over the mine-fields. Prisoners stated that hundreds of thousands of hand-grenades were being used in the destruction of the town because there was no time to carry them away.

Everything pointed to an evacuation similar to that of Bapaume and Péronne. But Ludendorff either intervened or changed his mind. Fresh German troops were poured into the smouldering ruins, and the withdrawing German guns were turned about and worked at express speed; 8-inch howitzers, in large numbers, curtained all the British line of approach, and late on Sunday night the first counter-attack came. New German batteries were brought up and massed around Loos and Lens, to deluge with heavy projectiles the wreckage of Angres, Liévin, Riaumont, and the lost suburbs of Lens.

A change in the weather made the shooting on both sides somewhat feeble in effect, in spite of its strength. The rain curtained the grim theatre of war, black clouds scudded across the sky in a fierce gale, most of the observation-balloons had to be hauled down, and the long-ranged guns were trained in haphazard fashion by the map.

The storm scarcely interfered with the British operations. The infantry had pressed forward with little artillery support, and had carried out a good deal of their work on the northern and western outskirts of the town by means of patrols. It was nearly a six-mile tramp, on the larger part of the original British front, to the new line running through the Lens suburbs. The heavy British artillery had been left too far behind, and could not give sufficient support to the infantry as an attacking force.

Germans reinforced in Lens

Guns, with shells weighing more than half a ton, could not gallop after an enemy along a damaged highway. They could not even crawl over a shell-ploughed field, streaming with melted snow and falling rain. Gunners and drivers worked in super-human fashion, and, in spite of everything, brought their pieces and limbers forward in a manner very remarkable in the circumstances. But, in addition to guns and shells, pits, emplacements, bomb-proof shelters, firm roads, light railways, and munition depots, food stores and water were required.

A considerable period of organisation had to elapse between the first rapid advance and the second attack. It would have been bad generalship to allow the infantry to press into Lens when Ludendorff had brought up hundreds more guns of long range. He had been able to increase the range of his field artillery by means

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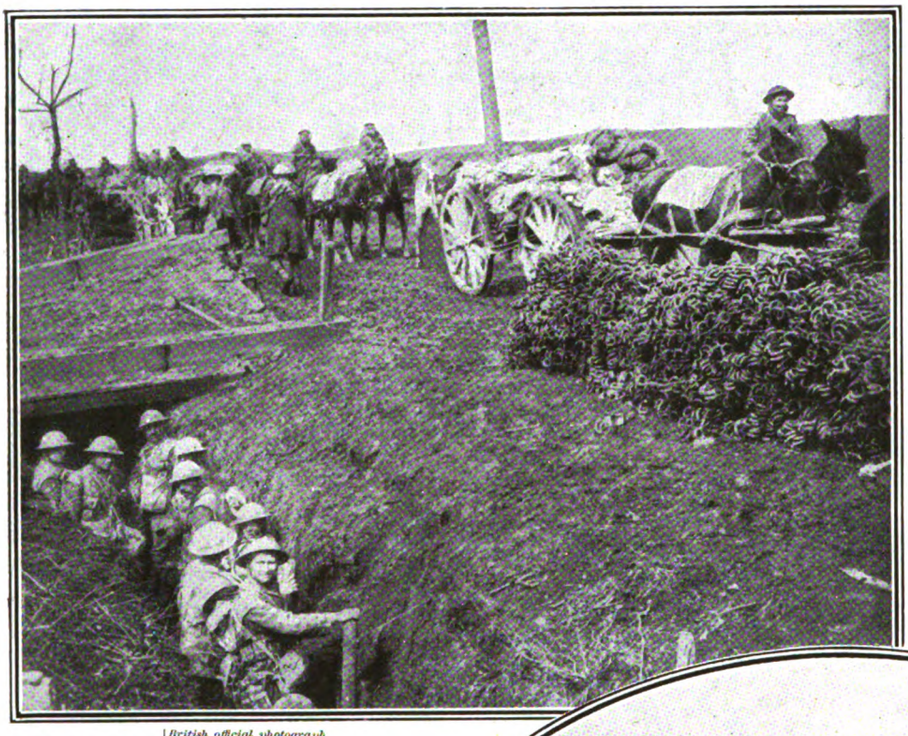

[British official photograph

WHEN THE ADVANCE BEGAN.

On Easter Sunday, 1917, the entire British Army quickened into activity. Soon baggage trains were passing infantry still in trenches, and the ground was heaped with material for wiring positions to be won farther forward.

of a new device that increased the velocity of the shell. It was reported that his field pieces could cover the remarkable distance of nine thousand yards. This was an increase of two thousand yards beyond the previous range of German field artillery.

The German 9·6 in. gun had a range of twenty-eight thousand yards, and, being employed in larger number than the British 9·4 in. gun, it was able to do a disturbing amount of damage to British communications. Especially was this the case when the heavy British artillery was something like ten miles away from the new line won from the enemy.

German engineers built a dam across the Souchez River and the Lens Canal, with which the stream merged, and caused the flood of melting snow and rain to inundate parts of the town and some of its suburbs as well as to make the mines unworkable. The enemy was apprehensive of British attacks being delivered through the mine galleries, from the pit-heads won around Liévin. At least, he pretended to be apprehensive in the matter, and his fear served as an excuse for his usual plan of destroying everything of possible use to the civil population of France.

Skirmishing in the suburbs

In spite of floods, German reinforcements, and increased power in the German artillery, British patrols worked within four hundred yards of the streets leading to the centre of the town. At the beginning of the third week in April lively skirmishing went on in the western suburbs of Lens, and the British cordon, forming nearly a semi-circle around the town, was drawn still tighter by fierce little bursts of outpost fighting among the coal dumps, slag heaps, and battered cottages.

The lull that followed on Ludendorff's decision to make a stand around Lens merely covered an immense amount of frenzied preparation on both sides. The German worked day and night to strengthen his Wotan line, running from the south-east of Lens to Drocourt, and his Alberich line, extending to Laon. These elements of the Hindenburg system, though strong in parts, were often patchy and weak, consisting of shallow, unfinished trenches, without dug-outs or gun emplacements. The time-table of Ludendorff and his Staff had completely failed to adjust itself to the speed and reach of the British advance. On the other hand, the successful British forces found it very difficult to build forward at the pace with which they fought. Having left their own heavy guns far behind, and approached closer to the enemy's large pieces, the infantry had themselves greatly to endure, and they had to throw much of the burden of victory upon the heroic Pioneers, who slaved in the open, under violent shell fire, while making roads and emplacements for the advance of the British guns.

[British official photograph.

ONLY WAITING THE WORD.

British cavalrymen resting in a shell hole awaiting the order to advance. Although nothing like a general cavalry operation took place in the Battle of Arras, some corps cavalry did notably useful work.

In the Somme Battles the big guns did not need to move for some weeks. The depth of ground gained was so much smaller that the heavy artillery had been able to cover the successive stages of attack from their old sites. In the Arras, Vimy, and Lens actions a great breadth of country was abruptly wrested from the enemy. But for his strength in heavy ordnance his front would have been pierced. As it was, he was not only enabled to reorganise,

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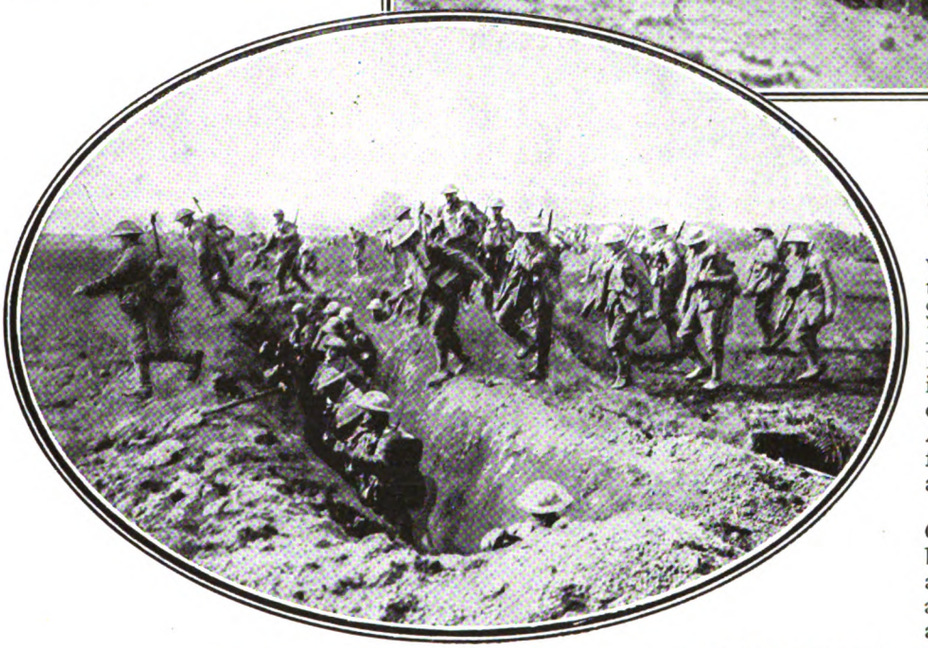
under shelter of his siege guns, but to win by means of them a temporary tactical advantage.

Between April 15th and April 23rd it was open to Ludendorff to make tremendous counter-attacks with a considerable superiority in heavy gun power. He did not do so, simply because he could not. In the first place, the new French offensive occupied him and attracted his free reserves. In the second place, he had massed too many of his former reserves around Quéant and St. Quentin, where they were fully occupied by the strong demonstrating forces of Sir Hubert Gough and Sir Henry Rawlinson. Not having anticipated the loss of the Vimy Ridge and Liévin, the German commander had no large, fresh forces ready in this section to make a grand attempt to recover the

[*British official photograph.*

BRITISH CAVALRY ON THE MOVE. The cavalry seized their longed-for chance at Arras. One body captured a pair of heavy howitzers mounted on the bank of the Scarpe, charging and cutting down the gunners in the fine old style.



[*British official photograph.*

BRITISH INFANTRY ADVANCING TO ATTACK. The wonderful scenes on the Somme in July, 1916, were eclipsed by the amazing activity developed on the Scarpe in April, 1917. Troops of all arms combined in one simultaneous, irresistible offensive.

heights. Moreover, in the terrific artillery duels, with which the Battle of Arras opened, Ludendorff's lieutenants had lost more than one thousand two hundred guns through direct hits from the magnificent British gunners. At least two hundred important German ammunition dumps had also been destroyed in the artillery duel and others were captured, together with more than two hundred guns. It was, therefore, as much as Ludendorff could do, by working all his men and means of communication to the uttermost, to replace his losses in war machinery.

He retained the advantage of some heavy guns placed near the new battlefields, and the superiority of having practically unbroken communications behind him. His front, however, was so much bent back at the top of the Siegfried line, and near the top of the Wotan line, that he had to prepare against new violent thrusts from two directions.

He did not know in advance whether the heaviest weight of attack would be behind the Third British Army along the Scarpe River, or behind the First British Army along the Souchez River. He had also to take into reckoning the possibility of a fierce assault by the Australian and other spear-head forces of Sir Hubert Gough's army.

In these circumstances the German dictator appears to have brought forward his grand reserve, and echelonned it behind Lens and above the Scarpe, Sensée, and Scheldt Rivers to balance all possible British attacks. At the same time, he placed great reserve forces close to the Aisne and Champagne front, where a great French enveloping movement was opening.

Although the lull on the British front lasted a full week the Germans enjoyed no rest. Immediately the advance on Lens came to a standstill the armies of France opened a grand offensive on a wide front from Soissons to Auberive. The Franco-British commands were employing their old method of alternate heavy shocks against the enemy's wings, according to the first plan originated by Marshal Joffre. The second plan, worked out by Marshal Joffre, General Foch, and Sir Douglas Haig, could not be followed. It consisted in massing the main British and French armies side by side, as in the Somme operations, and thus getting the utmost concentration of effort. This second and better plan, however, had been invalidated by the enemy's retreat from the Somme. Yet the return to the first plan was not without compensation. The weight of the British and French strokes had enormously

French grand offensive opens

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[*British official photograph.*

HAIG'S MEN IN POSSESSION OF A BASTION OF HINDENBURG'S LINE.

On April 10th, 1917, Hindenburg declared that the western front was so strong that it could withstand every attack. That very same day the British troops in effect really broke through the extreme end of the famous Hindenburg line, just to the south-east of Arras.

increased since 1915, partly owing to the great increase in munition production, and partly owing to the still more remarkable increase in numbers and technical skill of the British forces.

France no longer had to send two or three of her best armies north-westward to bring the British striking power to the level of the need of the strategic situation. The armies of the British Commonwealth had grown so amazingly large and strong that all the main forces of the French Republic could be concentrated against the right wing of the enemy's principal positions.

On St. George's Day, April 23rd, as soon as the powerful French stroke had drawn off part of the reserves Ludendorff was pouring into France, the British Commander-in-Chief made another attack in force. Sir Douglas Haig's immediate aim was to bring relief to the French armies, who had met with more resistance than General Nivelle had anticipated. The British forces had to strike again before they were ready, for the loyal purpose of enabling the French High Command to resume its effort in better circumstances. On the other hand, Sir Douglas Haig's larger design was to continue to grind down the strength of the enemy at the moment when General Pétain was holding down vast German forces.

Battle of St. George's Day

The scene of the new battle was a continuation of the terrain of the struggle around Arras. Sir Edmund Allenby's Third Army swung out against Roeux and Pelves, Sart Wood, and Vert Wood, Guémappe, Chérisy, and Fontaine, and the country north of Croisilles, and Sir Henry Horne sent one of his corps against Gavrelle.

The front of attack was about twelve miles. As there was no continuous and definite system of fortification facing the British troops, the operation was a kind of open-field warfare interrupted by scattered redoubts. On the slopes about the Scarpe River, and the little swells of ground between the Cojeul and Sensée streams, the German engineers had constructed a multitude of remarkable detached forts.

These forts often consisted of three separate armoured concrete cellars, in each of which was a machine-gun, covered by a dome about the size of a coal-cellar plate. The top was only an inch or two above ground, with a sideway slit in it, through which the machine-gun played. Farther underground was a connecting gallery, by which the gun teams could communicate with each other. Trenches were scattered among the forts, in important tactical positions. There was not, however, any general system of communication trenches, as the enemy had not had time to dig them. Scattered garrisons usually had to wait until the cover of night for supplies or reliefs to reach them across the open rolling country. The entire arrangement of forts, pieces of trench, and local stretches of wire entanglement fulfilled the purpose of barbed wire. It was an obstacle to the British attacking forces, intended to delay and confuse and weaken it before the main battle was joined.

Ludendorff certainly displayed high ability in the mechanics of war when he devised this system of interrupting obstacles. He placed only an advance guard in the immediate battle-line, and kept back his large striking forces for a countering blow. His tactics were in turn answered by Sir Edmund Allenby. The British general seems at first to have sent forward patrols against the scattered forts and entrenched positions, and kept a large reserve in hand for the terrific conflict of mass against mass.

The general result was one of the most sanguinary and close-fought battles in history. Three days of fine weather preceded the action, and enabled the Royal Flying Corps and the Royal Naval Air Wing to show what they could do when they had a good number of machines equal in quality to the best German machines. Seldom did any enemy aerial observers cross the British lines. On Sunday, April 22nd, twenty-one German machines and seven German kite balloons were destroyed. On the Monday, thirty-nine German machines were crashed, leaving the enemy's territory open to a larger number of bombing raids on railways, dumps, and aerodromes than had occurred in any previous action.

British dominion of the air

For a brief but critical period the British fighting pilots recovered the mastery of the air. As the weather was remarkably clear, the dominion of the sky was an advantage of high importance. By a violent bombardment, continued throughout Sunday night, the British artillery challenged the German gunners, and inflicted considerable preliminary losses upon his infantry. The weight of British pieces, hastily brought up over bad roads and long distances, was indeed very remarkable. It was one of the finest triumphs of British organisation.

The nearest villages to the German lines were wiped out, and the nearest trenches with their garrisons were battered out of existence or reduced to ruins. Only a few men were left with any fight in them. The German artillery, however, escaped the crippling damage inflicted upon it in the Vimy and Arras battles. Many German gunners held their fire during the British bombardment, so as to escape counter-battery attack. Ludendorff's aim was

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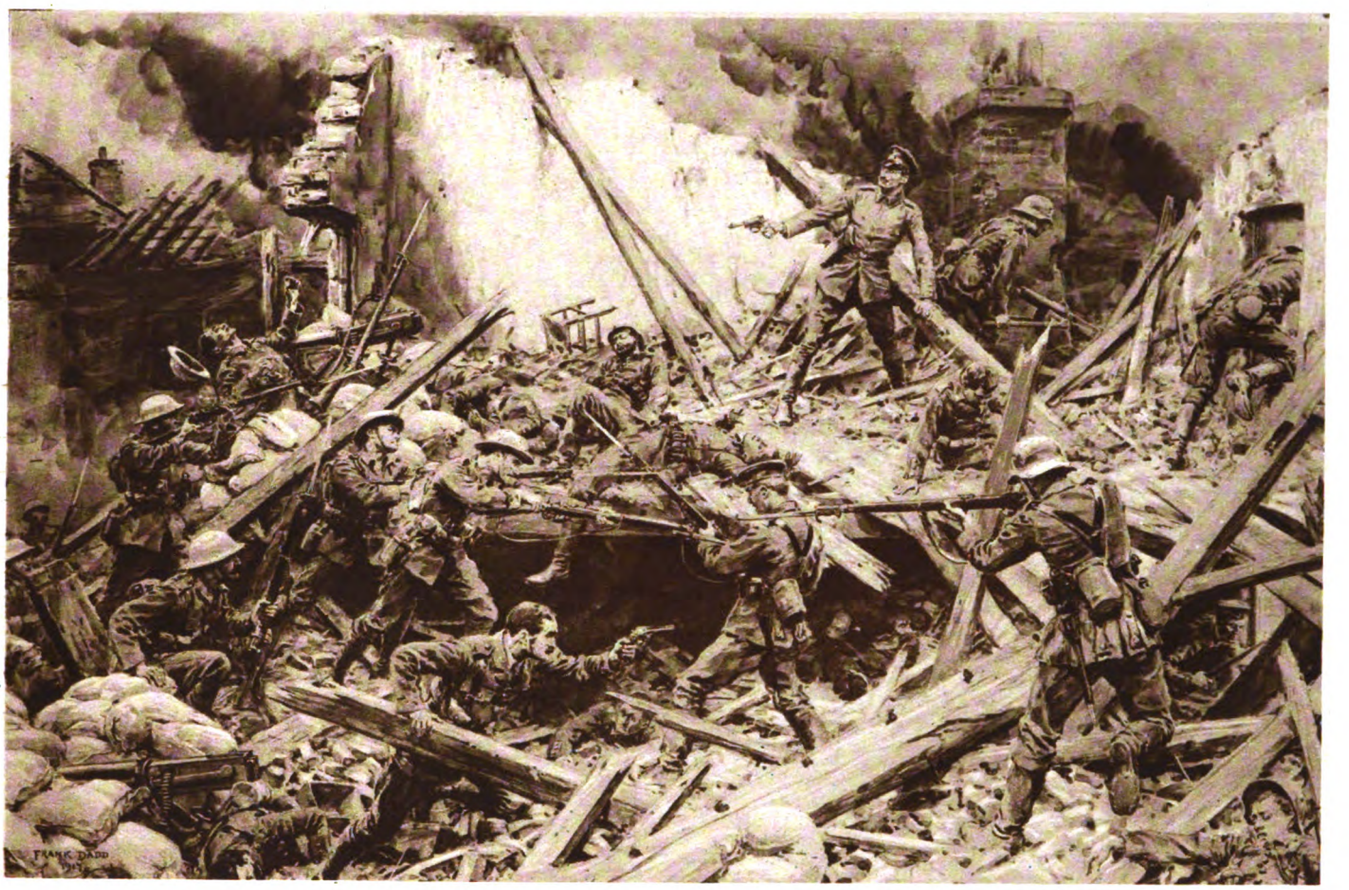

Every building bristled with machine-guns. Final mêlée at Monchy, captured April 11th, 1917.

Rushing the last barricade of the retreating German rearguard at Heudicourt, March 31st, 1917

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Mowing-time at Tilloy: Concentrated machine-guns cut the massed Germans down in swathes

Evening on the Somme: British patrol stalking a German machine-gun post outside a village

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Wild fight for guns near St. Quentin: Repulse of the last German attempt to save a battery.

Lair of the "Potsdam giants": Thrusting the Prussian Guard out of Bullecourt, May, 1917.

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Pressing the German retreat: British cavalry patrol dispersing rearguard detachment of Uhlans.

The dreadful hollows that led to Oppy Wood: British bombers working along the German trenches.

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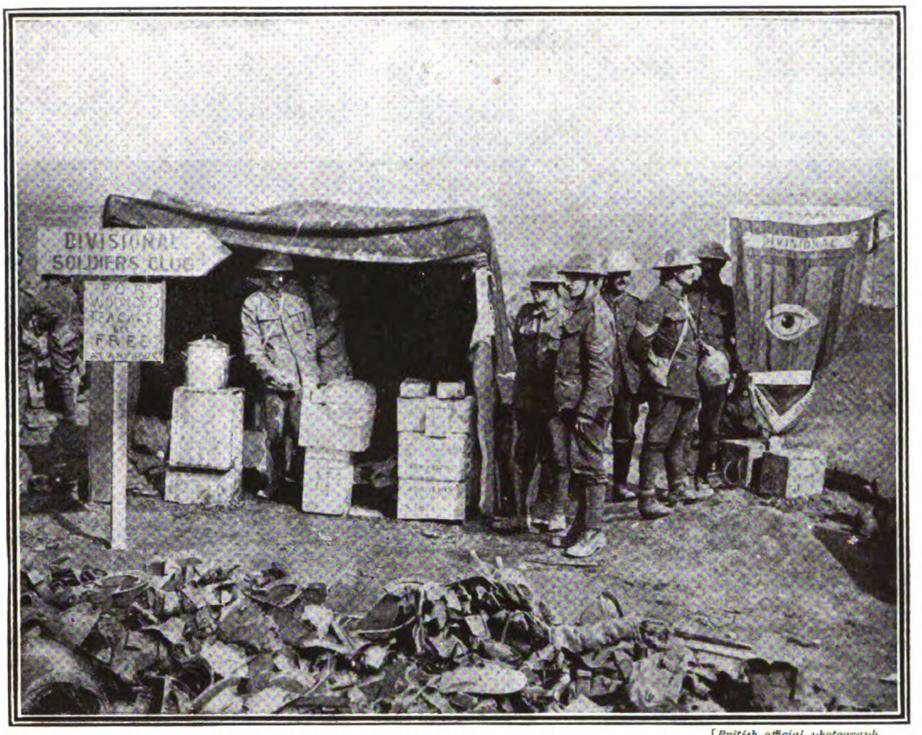

[*British official photograph.*

THE GUARDS' CLUB—NOT IN PALL MALL.

Canteens where wounded soldiers could obtain tea, coffee, and other light refreshments without payment, and where other soldiers could get them at purely nominal charges, studded the western front. This one was run by the Guards Division in the field in connection with a Divisonal Club.

to sacrifice his advanced infantry forces, in order to save his guns for the main battle.

When, therefore, the British patrols advanced, they were swept by a barrage of unusual intensity, resembling that of the early Gommecourt and Ancre valley actions. Nevertheless, they won through the great shell curtain, and began to penetrate the enemy's line. In the first phase of the action, a series of magnificent British successes was won, although many of the men were drawn from Sir Douglas Haig's new reserves, and were receiving their baptism of fire.

Fontaine, Guémappe, and Chérisy

Southward, progress was made, by furious fighting, to the outskirts of Fontaine. Here there was an extremely strong series of positions at the point where the Hindenburg line crossed the Sensée River.

Many German machine-gunners were specially ordered to adopt the tactics of the Gommecourt battle. They allowed the British troops to advance and pass their hidden forts, and then suddenly fired on their backs from a rear loop-hole. Bayonet and bullet were seldom of much use in attacking the forts; light hand-bombs could not break through the dome. Only a Stokes' gun crew, or the cannon carried by the new and larger tanks could easily master the garrison of a sunken fort that had escaped the British barrage and allowed the first lines of infantry to pass.

In spite of the enemy's machinery of resistance Fontaine was almost conquered in the first gallant attack in the morning. Between Fontaine and Guémappe, in open undulating country, was a commanding height crowned by an old tower which had served as a valuable observation post for the enemy. Nearly all the ground was carried against the German 35th Reserve Divison, which had jeered at the men of the 18th Division, who had been broken previously. Under British gun-fire and bayonet and bomb attacks, the Pomeranians of the new Division surrendered in masses, in the early morning, even more readily than the men they had scoffed at. So severely did they suffer under the British bombardment, that they retired to their dug-outs in the support line, and when their empty fire trench was taken by the attacking troops and a tank appeared on the Hindenburg line on their left, they surrendered in a block of five hundred without attempting to fight.

The neighbouring village of Guémappe, on the low ground of the Cojeul River, was another storm centre. It was taken in the morning by Scottish troops, after a hard fight that broke the enemy. The Germans evacuated the ruins, leaving not a single corpse or a wounded man. They held on, however, to the machine-gun forts in the neighbourhood, and did not retire until they were hammered out.

Between Guémappe and Fontaine, other British forces advanced southward towards the cross-ways hamlet of Chérisy, which formed an important German knot of highway communications. Over the rolling fields, rising to two hundred and eighty feet above sea level, the attacking troops fought onward with extraordinary fury. For the enemy was employing the dirtiest of tricks. In places near his concealed machine-gun forts, men often came forward with uplifted hands and cries of "Kamerad!" in order to lure the English and Scottish troops into the field of fire of the hidden machine-guns.

Such a Berserker mood invaded many of the new British battalions that, in the battle of the rivers, they thrust onward like madmen. The Arras and Vimy actions had been generals' battles. They had been planned on large plaster models and executed with clock-work precision. The Scarpe, Cojeul, and Sensée actions were soldiers' battles.

In the open field warfare, in undulating new country, dotted with masked underground forts, that no aerial photographer could discover beforehand and no barrage could destroy, the attacking battalions had to work forward largely by the chances of fighting. Sometimes a brigade would divide in separate courses, one part being checked by slopes commanded by hostile guns, while another part found an opening and furiously developed their lucky advantage.

The enemy's heavy curtain fire impeded, at times, both brigade and divisional communication. Even battalions often lost touch with some of their companies. In the forefront of the khaki waves of attack, subalterns, sergeants, and even privates had to conduct the advance. It was on the high average of personal initiative and force of character of ordinary men from England, Scotland, Wales, and Newfoundland that the issue of the wild struggle largely depended.

British initiative v. German drill

It was the day of the ordinary soldier. In many cases, utterly inexperienced men belonging to the fresh forces poured up to strengthen Sir Edmund Allenby's army, were set to out-manœuvre and out-fight the best veteran divisions of the German Empire. What they were set to do they did.

Above Guémappe, in the morning of St. George's Day, there was a more definite field of conflict than that which obtained southward along the Sensée River. Ludendorff had been much concerned about the loss of Monchy,

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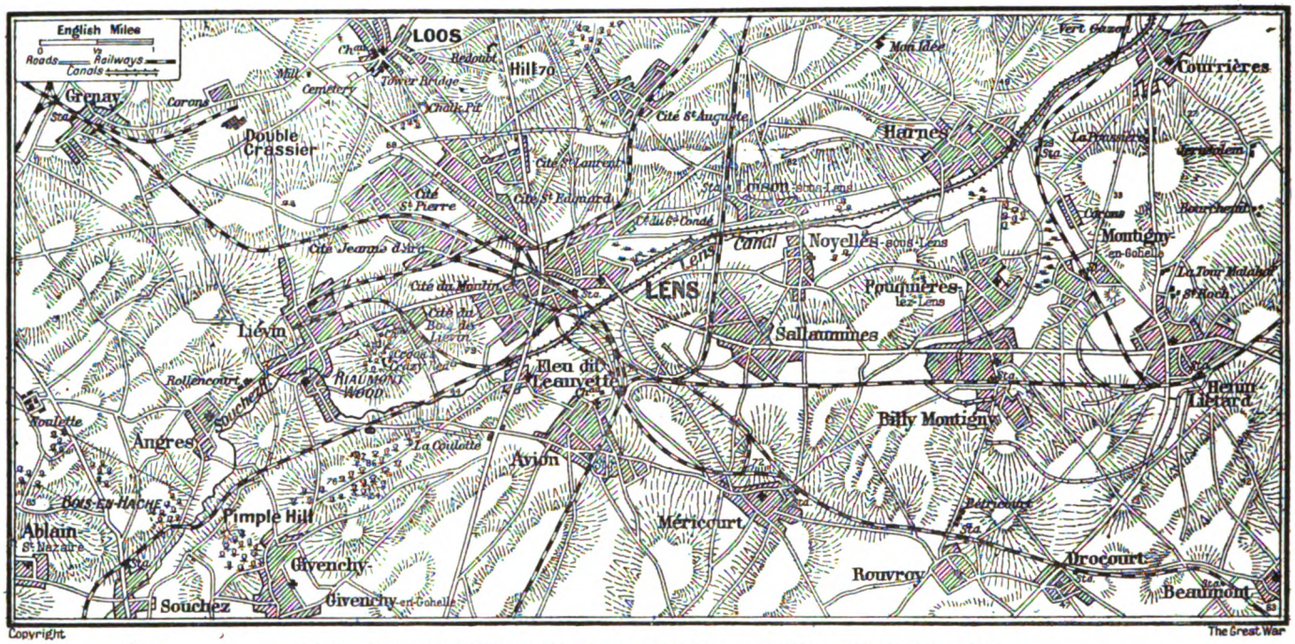

LENS AND ITS ENVIRONS TO DROCOURT ON THE "WOTAN" LINE.

Haig's renewed attack on Lens began April 13th, 1917. The cités, quadrangles of miners' cottages, were strong machine-gun positions, and the fighting there was severe. Savage encounters also took place at Riaumont Wood, the Crook and Crazy Redoubts, and La Coulotte.

as the plateau dominated all his line. Between April 10th and April 23rd he massed a very large number of heavy guns in Sart Wood, Vert Wood, and the country around Pelves and Boiry villages.

In the first British advance at dawn, the small German force facing Monchy fled or surrendered as the forward wave of advance reached them. Most of the garrison ran up their own slope to the cover of Sart Wood. This early flight, however, may have been cleverly based upon tactical considerations. Between Guémappe and Monchy, along the road running to Cambrai, the Germans had built a series of redoubts, from which they could bring enfilading fire upon the slopes between Monchy and the opposing woods.

Roeux and Gavrelle stormed

Northward around Roeux and Pelves were other systems of hostile positions from which the British attacking forces could be swept. Therefore, the Englishmen coming down the Monchy Hill were smitten in the face and on both sides, when they endeavoured to storm in and through Sart and Vert Woods, and advance on their left towards Pelves.

Not until Guémappe was consolidated for a further advance along the Cambrai road, and not until Roeux was entirely won and held along the Scarpe, could a rapid British movement be developed from the Monchy plateau in the centre of the battle line. A superb force of Scottish battalions made a gallant attack upon Roeux village, by way of Gavrelle Road, towards a fortified farm and fortressed chemical works. They were swept by a furnace blast of machine-guns and trench mortar fire, from the ruins about Roeux and from redoubts on the slopes of the famous Greenland Hill.

Yet by noon the farm redoubt and the chemical works on the Gavrelle road, north of Roeux village, were captured, and the Scotsmen were progressing eastward against desperate resistance.

Southward across the River Scarpe an English assailing force was held up by intense gun-fire, and had to wait for the help of a tank, which crawled up through a long copse. Then a position known as Shrapnel and Bayonet Trench was carried, and the troops slowly pressed forward, under a heavy curtain of shell and a rain of bullets. Their advance along the south bank of the Scarpe was extremely difficult. They were faced by a crescent of fortified slopes, running from Roeux and Greenland Hill to Plouvain.

The English action in this centre remained, therefore, somewhat in the nature of a demonstration along the Scarpe lowland, being designed to assist the more important thrusts against the northern heights.

Above Roeux and somewhat flanking it was the village of Gavrelle, forming a main point in the second improvised Hindenburg system, known as the Drocourt line. The enemy had two main roads running south of Gavrelle towards Roeux, with another main road running south-east to Plouvain. Gavrelle was also connected, by a fine French national road, with Douai, and by a northward branch road with Oppy. It was thus a most important knot of communications, and as it was a hundred and sixty feet high, it formed the enemy's chief observation-point in the battleground below the southernmost slopes of the Vimy Ridge.

On the other hand, it had the disadvantage of being overlooked by the Vimy foothills, and was dominated by the artillery of the great master gunner, Sir Henry Horne. The Scottish troops who stormed into Gavrelle, under cover of a magnificent barrage, were opposed by Hamburgers and Rhinelanders. With comparative ease they captured many of these sturdy Germans in their dug-outs, and began to turn the conquered line about, so as to resist the coming counter-attack.

Then, all along the twelve miles of broken enemy positions, the German commander launched his main forces. The weight and persistence of this German counter movement were tremendous. Ludendorff had often used the method of mass attack on the Russian front, and backed his infantry with a gigantic accumulation of artillery; but never before had he been master of such multitudes of men and such parks of heavy ordnance as he employed on the Drocourt line.

Tremendous German counter-movement

He had held silent a large number of his biggest guns during the first British advance, so as to prevent them being injured by counter-battery work before the critical moment. Only when he thought that the force of the British attack had been weakened did he fully disclose the striking power he had been preparing. His plan was entirely based on the fact that he possessed practically uninjured communications between Douai and Cambrai, while the British forces had immediately behind them roads and lines and tracks wrecked by their own artillery in the previous battles.

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At first the German commander won a remarkable series of victories, from end to end of the open battle-front. By hurricanes of shell fire, the British forces in Gavrelle were compelled to retire. The Scotsmen in Roeux were driven beyond the ruins of the village and the fortified cemetery. The English troops on the southern side of the Scarpe were forced back. The victors of Guémappe village were smashed out of their defences, which had already been ruined by British gun fire, and then compelled to retreat, against fresh German troops pouring across the fields from Vitry-en-Artois.

Newfoundlanders at Monchy-le-Preux

Between the Cojeul and the Sensée Rivers the breaking of the English offensive seemed complete. The British troops were forced away from the positions around Chérisy and from Fontaine. The Pomeranians they had captured were recovered, and the battery of field guns they had taken was likely to be turned against them. In many places the German waves came over the low ridges and over their own dead, in solid lines of mechanical rigidity. The hill village of Monchy, which had been taken by the British in a fairly intact state, was reduced to a heap of powdered bricks. Cottage after cottage vanished in great pink clouds of smoke and brick-dust, until not a single wall remained with any semblance of the outline of a building. So it was all along the line. Ludendorff's concealed reserve of artillery power was as formidable as his hidden reserves of infantry.

Though overwhelmed by the tremendous weight and driving power of the enemy's counter movement, the advanced British forces rose to the highest military traditions of their race, and made a series of heroic, and often scattered, stands. The Newfoundland troops, who had proved their desperate valour on the Somme, had pushed to the farthest point of the preliminary advance in a most difficult part of the battle front. They were assailed by two fresh German columns, possessing a great superiority in numbers. Yet only some Newfoundland outposts were cut off. The main body of Newfoundlanders fell back in orderly fashion, keeping off the German masses by means of skilful and dauntless rearguards of machine-gunners and riflemen.

Reaching the trenches beyond the main British positions the enemy was caught by the British guns. In search of cover, he dropped into the advanced position that had been held by the Newfoundlanders. Without waiting for supports, the troops from the great island in the Atlantic surged forward again like men lashed to madness. For thirty minutes there raged, in and around their lost position, such a hand-to-hand fight as had rarely been seen in the whole course of the war. Good judges doubt whether such a fury of slaughter occurred more than once before along the British front. It was believed that not a single German got back to his own lines. In the trenches in which the Newfoundlanders again settled, and over the ground which they had counter-attacked, there were fifteen hundred German corpses, and many others wounded.

The Lincolns, helped by some North-Country troops, performed a similar achievement. They met a body of Bavarians who much outnumbered them. Nevertheless, attacking on both sides, first with the rifle, then with the bayonet and the butt, and at last with fists, they annihilated the enemy. For the Bavarians refused to surrender, and all went down to death. The Northumberland Fusiliers were another noble spear-head of the British Army. In a magnificent struggle they took and held one of the most important German strategic positions. The Shropshires, Londoners, Black Watch, and numerous other troops nobly distinguished themselves.

Some of the Middlesex and Argyll and Sutherlands touched the record of the Royal West Kents in the Somme Battle. In the great German counter-attack the two English and Highland battalions were driven right back to their original line. Only one company of the Middlesex and one company of the Argyll and Sutherlands remained, like khaki islands, in the grey inundation. Fighting on both flanks and on their rear, and breaking the German waves by machine-gun and musketry fire on their front, the five hundred enveloped men clung to two German officers and fourteen men they had taken prisoners, and swept with fire each German wave that broke against them and passed, under raking range, by their flanks. Theirs was a glorious example, under modern conditions of warfare, of the strength of the old British square formation by which Waterloo was won.

[*Canadian War Records.*

THE WINNING SPIRIT ON A RE-WON ROAD.

Exceedingly bad weather—gales and snow and howling storms—occurred during the second week of Sir Douglas Haig's thrust in April, 1917, covering the ground with mud ankle-deep. The victorious British troops, however, found any road from which they had driven the enemy a good enough road.

The square, however, had become obsolete, except for the purpose of hand-to-hand fighting. Against a ploughing, thundering modern barrage it was the easiest of targets. At first the men thought that they would be slain by their own guns. The British artillery put a terrific shell curtain upon the large German forces. Steadily, yet with apparently blind mechanicalness, the dreadful line of thunder, flame, and steel worked over the ground, blasting it into dust and preparing the way for the resurgent English and Scottish battalions.

Gallant Middlesex and Highlanders

Happily, some acute-eyed British forward observation officer glimpsed the island of khaki in the ocean of grey. The British barrage swept up to the rear of the two companies, jumped over their heads, in a strange, tense lull,

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and again descended, just beyond the front of the little encircled force. There it remained, protecting the two gallant companies from further attack from the east.

Instead of profiting by this unexpected help by making a desperate dash backward through the advanced enemy lines, the English and Scottish captains wisely decided to hold on until the British movement in force developed. In the triumphant moment, when the Germans broke and retreated, the fugitives were taken in the rear. The band of Highlanders, Londoners, and Middlesex county-lads avenged themselves upon the flying enemy, made a gap in the retreating German line, and then ranged in line with the main British force and continued the advance.

Magnificent stand of the Worcesters

A Worcester regiment, in another part of the field, made a similar stand on a larger scale and for a much longer period. Two great German charges swept back their comrades on both their flanks. Being well entrenched, the Worcesters were able to maintain a more deadly defence. They broke one wave of three thousand Germans, and, when the enemy commander launched another four thousand men, the Worcesters again withstood the solid waves and swept the divided force as it swirled along their flanks.

Soon afterwards all the German and British guns pounded the battlefield in dreadful and repeated hurricanes of shell. The Worcesters ran out of water, and became agonised by thirst, and the dust and smoke of the artillery action increased their sufferings and the strain on their bodies and minds.

Still they gave no ground. They were able to signal to their main forces, and they were confident that the tide of British victory would flow back to them. Husbanding their munitions, they fought the enemy off for thirty-six waterless, arduous hours, and were at last joined by the main British forces. The wood held by the Worcesters had been reached by them on April 14th. Thus, in addition to the magnificent stand they made in the acute phase of the battle of April 23rd, they fought for a previous eight days with their communications cut.

In the closing scene of this series of heroic stands the whole battlefield was veiled in the smoke of thousands

[*Canadian War Records.*

CAMERA IMPRESSION OF PART OF THE STORIED VIMY FIELD.

Canadian machine-gunners dug-in in shell-holes during the Vimy advance. Above: Thirsty soldiers flocking to a water-cart for water. The reservoirs of drinking water behind the British armies on the Somme were of a size suitable for London, and the difficulty which he anticipated the British would have in moving this vast system of works influenced Ludendorff in deciding on retreat. (*British official photograph.*)

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[Canadian War Records.

HUN HANDIWORK IN MISERY—A TOWN WITH A SADLY APPROPRIATE NAME.

Misery was once a large village about six miles south-west of Péronne, on the line to Chaulnes. The photo shows it completely demolished by the Germans before evacuation, without any military justification, but in accordance with their idea of appalling the imagination of the civil population of France, and thereby facilitating the intrigues for a negotiated peace which were being conducted through the medium of German socialists.

of bursting shells. Above the smoke the sky was full of fighting aeroplanes. In the rents of the smoke the grey German infantry could be seen forming in the open and marching resolutely through the British barrage. British pilots sailed through the clouds of shrapnel, and, darting down on the German formations, swept them at the range of a few score yards. Above the batteries on both sides more pilots hovered, watching the tongues of flame, signalling the positions to their own guns, and telling, as the shells thundered beneath them, whether the target was reached or the distance of the miss.

While everything still apparently indicated a decisive British check, the British forces regathered, with their main supports, for the grand clash of the Battle of St. George's Day. Between Gavrelle and the Douai railway and Scarpe River parks of British guns opened upon the solid lines of Germans advancing from Fresnes. Gavrelle and Guémappe were again ground to powder, while Chérisy, Vis, Fontaine, and other villages on which the victorious Germans had based themselves were caught in tempestuous blasts of high-explosives and incendiary shells.

Grand clash of the battle

Then, amid and around the dreadful shell curtains, maintained by the artillery on either side, the Scottish, English, Welsh, and Newfoundland troops closed upon Ludendorff's main armies. Gavrelle was recovered by bitter fighting by Sir Henry Horne's corps, and then held against incessant assaults by enemy storming troops. Again and again the Germans gathered, in a wood by the Douai Road, only to be more than decimated by the British barrage, and finally dispersed by the machine-guns of the British garrison in Gavrelle. The struggle went on for thirty-six hours. The survivors of each broken German force were sorted out, reduced from battalions to companies, and held in reserve for another attack. Meanwhile, fresh regiments, after toiling from Douai under long-ranged British gunfire and aeroplane attacks, were deployed near Fresnes, and sent into the defender's barrage and against the machine-guns behind the flaming, smoking, thundering line of shell. It was all in vain.

Nothing could shake the garrison at Gavrelle. They were a small number of men in comparison with the German divisions repeatedly thrown against them, and the victory they won was vividly illustrative of the superiority of the British tactics. In an attempt to break an already-shattered British position, which had not been organised for defence on its eastward side, the German commander lost men by the ten thousand, although the troops he continually tried to hammer out of the village numbered only some hundreds. He extended his attacks by column to the long road between Gavrelle and Roeux, trying to pierce section after section. But all the British line held firm.

British triumph at Gavrelle

The battle continued all night, and ended about mid-day on April 24th by the complete exhaustion of the German forces. The British garrison could then see on the fields in front of them an immense grey covering of German bodies. The action at Gavrelle was accounted the most successful along the front.

The Scotsmen, immediately southward along the Gavrelle road and in the outskirts of Roeux, also held most of their ground against incessant and very heavy storming attacks. They had captured, in their first advance, the chemical works on the Gavrelle road, which contained a useful amount of material, including some mine-throwers. The Germans held on to the village, or rather the site of the village, and retained the edges of the Scarpe River abreast of the ruins. They also won back the crest

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[British official photograph.

Animated scene of cavalry assembled on an open plateau for an operation on a large scale. Cavalry rendered useful service in the Pelves-Monchy area of fighting on April 11th, 1917, especially at the village of Monchy-le-Preux itself. Here, after the infantry had got in on the southern side, the cavalry, by a gallant charge, occupied and held the western and northern parts, and beat off counter-attacks.

[British official photograph.

Typical scene outside an advanced dressing-station when an engagement was proceeding in the near neighbourhood. Casualties were brought in from the regimental aid-posts by R.A.M.C. men, and laid down on stretchers to await their turn for attention. When they had received this they were conveyed the next stage of their journey hospital-wards in the ambulances here shown waiting for full complements.

BEFORE AND AFTER BATTLE: ASSEMBLING CAVALRY AND CLEARING CASUALTIES DURING THE BRITISH ADVANCE FROM ARRAS, APRIL, 1917.

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of Greenland Hill, and from all their vantage points they made continual rushes against the Scotsmen.

Neither the British nor German artillery could directly intervene in the swaying body-to-body infantry struggle. They could only curtain off supplies and reinforcements and take terrible toll of all supporting troops and marching reserves. Largely by reason of the nature of the ground, and especially by reason of the strength of the dominating Greenland Hill position, Ludendorff won an important defensive victory at Roeux.

Germans hold Greenland Hill

He completely checked an extremely dangerous British thrust north of the Scarpe, which would have turned his position south of the river and pierced the Drocourt-Quéant line in the neighbourhood of Douai. For months after the battle of St. George's Day, Greenland Hill remained an impregnable German salient, rising between the British positions at Monchy and Gavrelle. It became the principal point of conflict between the British forces based on Arras and the German forces based on Douai.

Immense was the sacrifice of life by which Ludendorff retained his hold on Greenland Hill. It is possible that his stern judgment in the affair was sound; for, as we have seen, his defences existed only in outline, being largely mere scratches in the earth, with no bomb-proof shelters for a large defending force. In some places there were dug-outs, while in some places there were practically none.

In fact, the Wotan line of the Hindenburg system seems originally to have run through Greenland Hill. The small concealed German forts of the new type, called by the British soldier a "Maybush," and known to the Germans by the more technical term of a M.E.B.U., were devised as part of the second Hindenburg line. It was only because the intended Wotan line, with its legendary vast caverns and its fabulous chain of impregnable fortresses, did not exist, in the fourth week of April, 1917, that Ludendorff fought an open-field battle.

His M.E.B.U. defences, or *Maschinen Eisen Betun Unterstand*—armoured concrete machine-gun positions—were first sited in the autumn of 1916, as outposts of a long, deep underground fortress, expected to excel, in the power of resisting heavy shell, Beaumont Hamel, Thiepval Ridge, and other lost works by the Somme and Ancre. The immensity of the design defeated its designer. He could not procure the needed labour, either from Germany or from occupied territories and prisoners' camps, within the short space allowed him by the advancing British armies. The long, hard, freezing winter had made digging slow and difficult, and both Sir Henry Horne and Sir Edmund Allenby drove into parts of the Wotan line before it really existed.

From the military point of view Ludendorff might have done well in continuing his retreat. He seems to have wavered when the Vimy Ridge was lost, and hesitated for some days to reinforce his troops at Lens. Having checked, by April 17th, the great French offensive along the tableland of the Aisne and the hills of Champagne, he might have pivoted on Lille and wheeled away from Douai, Cambrai, and St. Quentin, and created another deep zone of evacuation in front of the main British forces.

Reasons governing Ludendorff's action

Probably he would have lost some guns and some valuable railway communications, and provoked new British offensives against Messines Hill and the Ridges of Lille. On the other hand, he would have conserved nearly all his enormous forces of six million men, instead of losing some eight hundred thousand first-line troops. By transferring a large part of his reserves to the Ypres and Lille areas, he could have fought with the old advantage of standing upon a system of completely fortified lines.

There were, however, other points of view besides the military one. There was the naval view. The submarine campaign against shipping depended to a considerable extent upon the retention of the Flemish coast and the port of Zeebrugge. It seemed better to engage the extraordinary power of the British armies on the Douai-Cambrai-St. Quentin front, than to withdraw from there and allowing Sir Douglas Haig to bring most of his striking power to bear against the Flemish sector, close to the Flemish coast.

Finally, from the political point of view, the rapid surrender of the Hindenburg system, which the German population had been taught to regard as absolutely impregnable, might have produced a lowering of the German moral such as would have been most perilous between the general winter shortage of food and the harvesting of the potato and grain crops.

This seems to be the reason why Ludendorff judged it wise to hold on to Roeux and Greenland Hill, at the cost of enormous wastage in men. He was master of an army larger than existed in 1914, 1915, and 1916. By an effort of organisation, comparable with the British effort, he had given his nation, in the third year of a war of terrific attrition, four and a half million active troops, half a million line of communication troops, and one million reserve troops. He was thus very strong in regard to man-power; but in gun-power he was somewhat weak. He considered at the time he could sacrifice men, in order to grind down the British man-power before American man-power began to tell heavily upon the issue of the struggle.

[*British official photograph.*

HOUSEBREAKERS' "LAWFUL OCCASIONS."

The Labour Battalions won immense credit for their unceasing work, which seldom brought them a share in the glory of war. In the Arras fighting, however, one party found, attacked, and captured eighteen Germans in a dug-out by the side of a road where they were working.

He made the mistake of being too bull-necked. His method of attacking in solid lines may have produced good results when employed against the poorly-armed and badly-gunned Russian armies of the old régime; it did not make for eventual success against the superior machinery of war controlled by Sir Douglas Haig and his able lieutenants. Moltke and Falkenhayn had learnt by experience the worth of the British military organisation, even in the days when it was weak in machinery. Ludendorff, in turn, had to learn what it was worth in the period when its railways and roads, guns and shell supplies, surpassed those of any German army group.

At Guémappe the British troops repeated their success of Gavrelle. After losing the village in the morning, by

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GERMANY'S CROWNING DISGRACE: LEADING THE WOMEN AND CHILDREN INTO SLAVERY.

This poignant painting by Signor Matania illustrates the German iniquity which, more than any other, aroused the passionate protest of the entire civilised world—the deportation into captivity in Germany of women and children from the occupied districts of Belgium and France. Lille was particularly victimised in this barbaric fashion. Twenty-five thousand persons were deported in Holy Week, 1916, to slavery or worse.

being hammered out with heavy shell and swept in the flank by machine-gun fire, the British force went forward again in the evening against the famous 3rd Bavarian Division. They bombed and bayoneted the Southern Germans out of the ruins, and swept them back for half a mile or more. Towards nightfall, the German commander threw in fresh troops, but they were smashed up in the open near some farm buildings by artillery fire.

Around Fontaine, by the Sensée River, the remnant of the Pomeranian regiment, captured by the British infantry and released by the German counter-attacking forces, did not long remain free. They were caught, before they could recover their arms, in the grand return attack, and sent into the British cages. With them went prisoners from sixteen battalions, shattered in the raging, fluctuant series of actions around the bridge-head of Fontaine.

This village was as important to the enemy's system of defence as was Greenland Hill. It was not merely a bridge-head over the obstacle of the Sensée River. Scarcely two miles down the road was Hendecourt, with Riencourt about another mile away on the same road. South-west of Hendecourt and Riencourt was Bullecourt, where the Australians and the Londoners were fiercely thrusting at the Quéant end of the Hindenburg switch-line. Fontaine was the gateway leading behind both the Hindenburg systems. So Fontaine had to be held by the enemy at any sacrifice of life.

Importance of Fontaine

Seven or more divisions were brought up and poured through Chérisy to defend the flank of the Fontaine positions. Around Fontaine itself more German forces were sent forward, to get through the British barrage and strengthen the front running along the river towards Croisilles.

In this action the British artillery had a great superiority of position. From Ecoust St. Mein to Croisilles, some of the guns of the Fifth Army took in flank the large German forces on the Sensée River line. These same German forces were smitten on the river front by the guns of the Third Army. The Germans were in a large salient, subjected to cross fires by two masses of heavy British artillery. Sir Edmund Allenby's men held the great observation point on Tower Hill, which had been taken in the first British attack, and the forward observation officers were soon able to train their guns upon the enemy formations as these came into view over the lower undulations of ground. In the end, though neither Fontaine nor Chérisy was occupied, the enemy's losses were immense, and one of the two main objects of the battle was attained.

Sir Douglas Haig's object

Sir Douglas Haig's object was principally to wage a war of attrition on a grand scale, in order to relieve the French armies, whose Champagne offensive had been checked, and to recover the entire initiative in the European struggle. This initiative had been lost in a general way by the Entente Powers through the extraordinary disorganisation of the Russian forces.

German agents, in Petrograd and behind the Russian front, accomplished that which the German soldiers could not have effected. They had prevented the Allies from obtaining a series of decisive victories in the summer of 1917. Moreover, they made it possible for the German High Command to look forward to recovering some measure of initiative. Thereupon, Sir Douglas Haig decided at all cost to wear down Ludendorff's reserves.

Had both elements of the Franco-British plan developed prosperously, the French offensive of April 16th would have completely carried on the work begun by the British troops at Arras and Vimy. Sir Henry Horne and Sir Edmund Allenby would have had another fortnight for railway building, road-making, constructing heavy gun-emplacements, and accumulating shell. As it was, the British advance on April 23rd against the Gavrelle and Sensée River line had to be hastily prepared to give breathing time to General Pétain's army group, whose progress had been seriously arrested.

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Canadian War Records.]
German prisoners passing through a French village behind the Canadian lines on their way to be inoculated before going into internment.

[*Canadian War Records.*

Germans captured by the Canadians at Vimy Ridge being shepherded through a French town. Above: A group of enemy prisoners, four of them carrying a severely-wounded comrade (British official photograph). During this day, April 9th, more than nine thousand prisoners were taken.

GERMANY'S WANING MAN-POWER: THE EVER-GROWING LIST OF PRISONERS.

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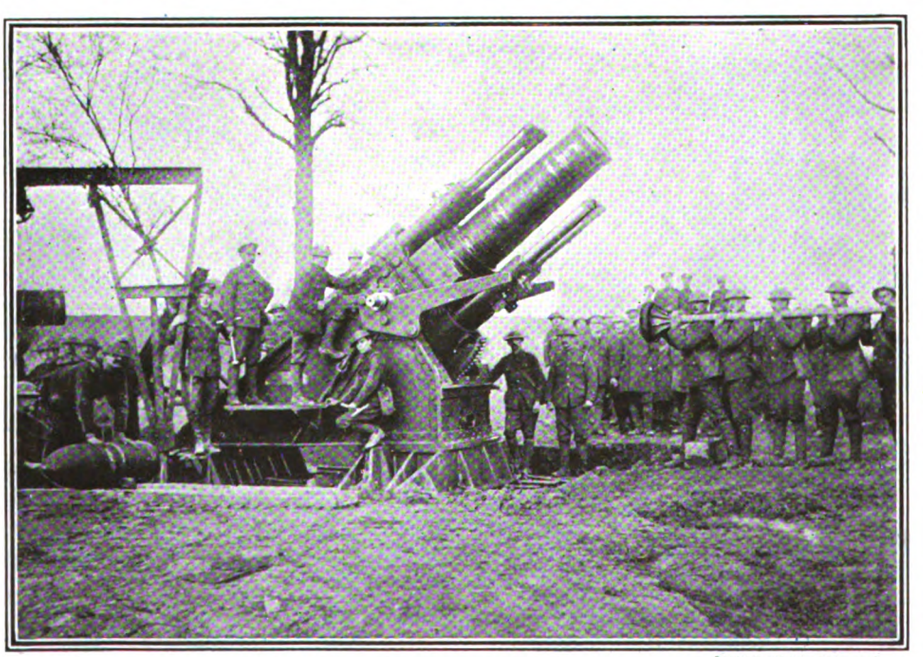
BREAKING A FORLORN HOPE OF BAVARIAN STORM-TROOPS AT GAVRELLE MILL.

Gavrelle Mill, an important position on the north side of the Scarpe, near Roueux and Oppy, changed hands eight times before it was finally secured by the British. The last German attack, made by a forlorn hope of picked Bavarian storm-troops, who had been specially incited to do their utmost, was repulsed after a desperate bomb and bayonet struggle, and most of the few survivors were taken prisoners.

Therefore the British victory of St. George's Day was not to be measured merely by the gain of ground and the capture of Gavrelle and Guémappe. Sir Douglas Haig aimed only indirectly at any further recovery of French territory. His target was Ludendorff's grand reserve. This target he struck and badly holed, and he continued to strike and damage it through the spring and summer of 1917, waiting somewhat anxiously all the time for news of the definite recovery of fighting power by the armies of revolutionary Russia.

Meanwhile, the magnificent forces of republican France made another great rush against the plateau above the Aisne, and stormed over Craonne, and exerted more pressure upon the German reserve. Some French military writers then suggested that the British Commonwealth forces should take over another large part of the French front, in view of the great strain upon the man-power of their country. Happily, the High Command of France appeared well content with the fact that the British forces were closely échelonned between Ypres and St. Quentin, and acting as an incessant and stupendous battering-ram against the most sensitive long stretch of German lines. It was the Belgian army that was relieved, near the coast, by the expanding, victorious forces of the British Commonwealth. A well-trained body of Portuguese troops joined the British armies, and only the urgent immediate want of another half a million new recruits prevented Sir Douglas Haig from rapidly developing the great advantages he had won. For at the end of April, 1917, he had to ensure himself against the situation on the Russian front, and prepare to meet, alongside the French and Belgian armies, the entire weight of practically five and a half million German troops.



[British official photograph.

BRITISH HEAVY GUN IN ACTION.

One of the finest triumphs of British organisation was the persistence with which, despite the many difficulties of the terrain, the heavy artillery was brought up behind the rapidly-advancing infantry.

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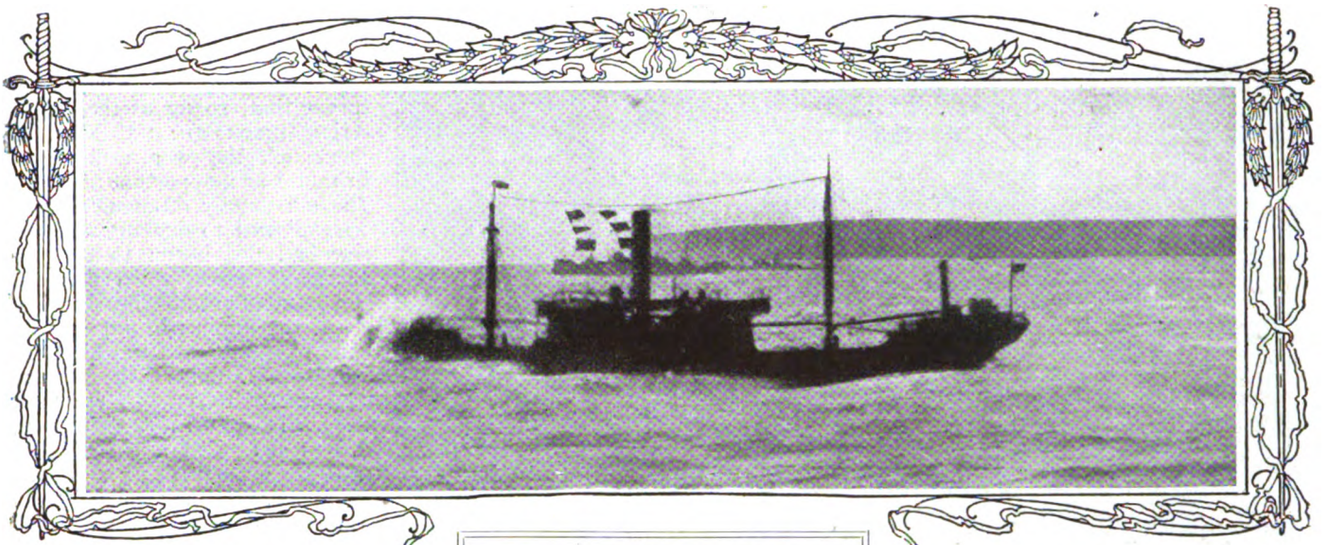

DANGEROUS SERVICE : CHAPTER CLXXXV. TRAWLING FOR MINES.

THE WORK OF THE NAVY ENGINEERS : A SPLENDID RECORD.

By Percival A. Hislam.

EDITORIAL NOTE.—In earlier chapters of THE GREAT WAR the Navy has been treated chiefly in its aspect as a fighting force. The efficiency of each ship as a fighting unit depends, however, upon the men who control and feed the engines, and although the splendid service of the lower deck throughout the war has been fully recognised, the nature of their work and the manner of their life are not generally known to the public. The Editors, therefore, asked Mr. Hislam to write the accompanying chapter to describe the work of the Navy Engineers, and of the many interesting points he takes, the following may be mentioned by way of summary :

Traditions of the Sailing Era Inherited by the Engineers—Initial Prejudice against Machinery, and Anomalous Position of Naval Engineers at the Outbreak of War—Demands which Could not be Met from Depleted Ranks of Officers Satisfied by the Lower Deck and the Mercantile Marine—Engine-room Artificers and the Submarine Service—Engine Power and the Stoker Branch —Advantages of Oil Fuel and its Influence on the War—Work of the Engine-room Departments in Action—Targets for Attack by Torpedoes and Mines—Tributes of Sir John Jellicoe, Sir David Beatty, and Others—Principal Engineer Officers at the Admiralty and Afloat—Growth of the Branch in the War.

IN the great wars of the past, upon which the enduring tradition of British naval supremacy was erected, mechanics, in the modern sense of the word, played but a little part. At the same time, from the earliest records of maritime affairs, the company of a ship of war has always been divided into two separate and quite distinct groups, the one responsible for the driving and the manœuvring of the ship, and the other for dealing with the enemy when the vessel had been brought by the seamen into the necessary position.

In the days of Alfred and the Vikings the galley-men, labouring at their great oars, carried the "keel" to where her presence was demanded by strategy or tactics. From before the time of Elizabeth—when the crews of English warships were made up of "mariners," "gunners," and "soldiers"—to past the middle of the nineteenth century, the seamen of the Navy, working amid a maze of rope and a cloud of canvas, built up a tradition of smart and fearless seamanship that no other fleet has ever been able to approach ; and it was indubitable superiority in this direction as much as anything else that was responsible for the opposition of the naval authorities to the introduction of steam in the first half of last century.

CAPTAIN W. R. HALL, C.B.
Appointed Director of the Intelligence Service of the War Staff at the Admiralty, October, 1914. He commanded the Queen Mary in the action of Heligoland Bight, August 28th, 1914.

Many of the soundest of foreign critics also held the sincere belief that the substitution of steam for sails would make for the depreciation of British sea-power by wiping out its traditions and rendering useless, or at any rate reducing to the Continental level, the vast resources of Great Britain's seafaring population ; and, as these views were widely shared in this country as well, it is no wonder that for generations both the marine steam-engine and those who managed it were looked upon with anything but favour.

It was not until the year of Queen Victoria's accession that naval engineers were permitted to reach the rank of warrant officer, nor were the commissioned ranks opened to them until ten years later—1847. Five years after this, the first line-of-battle ship to be designed for screw propulsion, the Agamemnon, was launched at Woolwich, but for many years subsequently, and even when ironclads were protected with several inches of side armour, the first-rate warships continued

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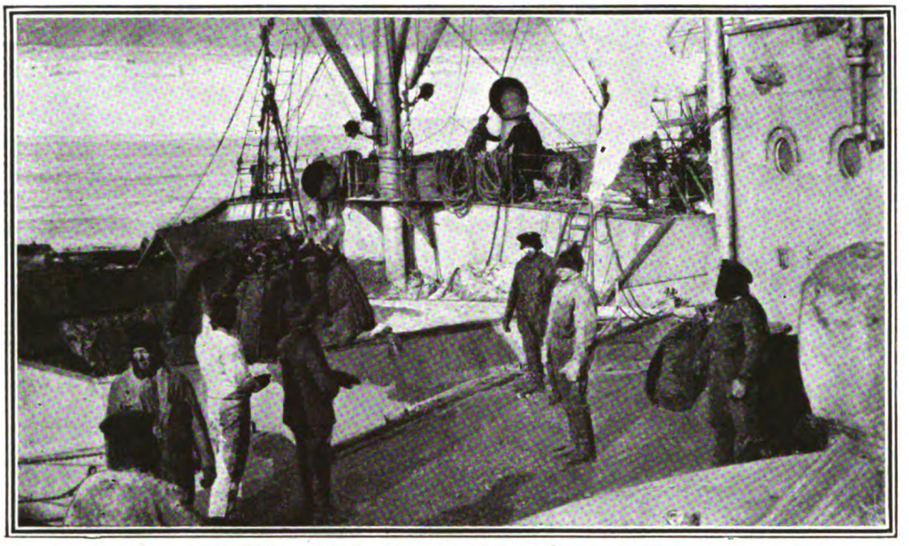

TAKING COAL ABOARD IN ARCTIC COLD.
Naval men had to be prepared for all variations of climate. Even in summer, those stationed or calling in the far north were compelled to keep their hands and ears well protected though engaged in the strenuous and warming work of coaling their vessel.

to carry a spread of canvas as big as, and often bigger than, that of any vessel afloat in the days of Nelson.

The sailing tradition died hard. Engines were distrusted, and engineers suspected of a jeopardising inability to live up to the high professional standards of their lineal predecessors, the mast-and-sail men. Even as late as 1902 the latter phase of this distrust existed in the most malignant and uninstructed form, and it was then decided that the engineer officers of the Navy should no longer be recruited from the ranks of trained engineers, and devote the whole of their service to their intricate and highly-specialised profession, but that the machinery departments of the Fleet should be officered by men who, entered in the ordinary way as naval cadets, should combine and alternate the supervision of masses of highly-complicated machinery with the ordinary duties of a naval officer.

In order to appreciate fully the incomparable work of the Navy's engineers during the war, it is necessary that their position at the outbreak of hostilities should be understood. In pursuance of the policy adopted in 1902, the entry of professional engineer officers was gradually slackened off, and came to an end with the commissioning of a small batch of sub-lieutenants in 1910. The original idea was that from this time onwards the natural wastage among the existing officers, together with the expanding needs of the Fleet, would be met by the voluntary specialisation of a sufficient number of officers entered in the ordinary way at the Naval College at Osborne; but, in point of fact, not a single officer had so specialised down to the actual start of the war, and this in spite of the heavy demands thrown upon the engineering personnel by the commissioning of great battle-cruisers like the Lion and Princess Royal, with their 70,000 h.p. turbines, and the multiplication of small craft of the light cruiser and destroyer types.

Failure of voluntary specialisation

During the four years preceding the war the only source from which the Navy drew its engineer officers was the ranks of the chief artificer engineers—chief warrant officers who, entering the Service as competent fitters, turners, boilermakers, and so forth, had, after many years of service, been promoted to the small number of lieutenancies held available for rankers. In 1914 a new scheme was instituted whereby the best of the younger artificers could be passed through the rank of "Mate (E)" and become engineer lieutenants in two or three years. The first lieutenants under this arrangement were commissioned in November, 1916

It will be seen from this brief survey that, so far as the engineering branch of the Fleet is concerned, the war came upon Britain at an inopportune moment. The old supply of engineers had been allowed to dry up, and the new had not begun to be productive. Indeed, when the war had been in progress nearly three years, the number of officers who had temporarily specialised in engineering under the "new scheme" of 1902 was fewer than forty. The naval authorities were thus faced with a shortage of trained personnel that might easily have been attended with disastrous consequences.

When ships were taken over from the mercantile marine for service as armed cruisers or fleet auxiliaries, the whole of their original engine-room staffs as a rule went into the naval Service with them, so that no additional strain was thus involved. On the other hand, not only was it necessary to increase the staffs of ships already in full commission in order to cope with war conditions, but every warship capable of doing anything at all was hurried out of the reserve into active service, while the immediate ordering of scores of warships of all types necessitated the despatch, to supervise their construction, of engineer officers thoroughly conversant with the special and peculiar needs of the naval Service. The needs of these new craft when in commission had also to be provided for.

In such circumstances it was indeed fortunate that the Admiralty was able to fall back upon the artificers and those who had risen from them to warrant and chief warrant rank. In fact, it is no exaggeration to say that the engineering department of the Fleet was saved from chaos and breakdown only by these men, who had not been affected by the scheme of 1902, and whose numbers had therefore continued to advance with the growth of the Navy. Within a few weeks of the outbreak of war the Admiralty began to remove commissioned engineer officers from the older destroyers and similar small craft, and to replace them by warrant officers, while the warrant officers were relieved in turn by engine-room artificers (chief petty-officers), or by men joining up in the Royal Naval Reserve from the merchant service. In numbers of big ships throughout the Fleet the process was repeated, a warrant officer or petty-officer taking the place of a junior commissioned officer, and the change so justified itself that in the course of a few months more than fifty per cent. of the destroyer flotillas had been taken over, so far as their engine-rooms were concerned, by men who had risen from the ranks.

Warrant officers promoted

In a perfectly governed world we should probably have seen the substitutes given the same rank—or at any rate something like the same pay—as the officers whose places they so efficiently filled; but nothing of the sort was actually done, with the result that some very striking comparisons became apparent. To take but one instance. For three years before the outbreak of war the engineer officer of the Firedrake, one of the fastest of our existing destroyers in 1914, with turbines of 20,000 h.p., was a lieutenant-commander whose service pay was 17s. a day; but the war had not been in progress very long when his place was taken by an artificer engineer—a warrant officer—whose pay was only 8s. 6d. a day, or exactly one half of what was paid to the former holder of the appointment for having charge of the same vessel's machinery in time of peace.

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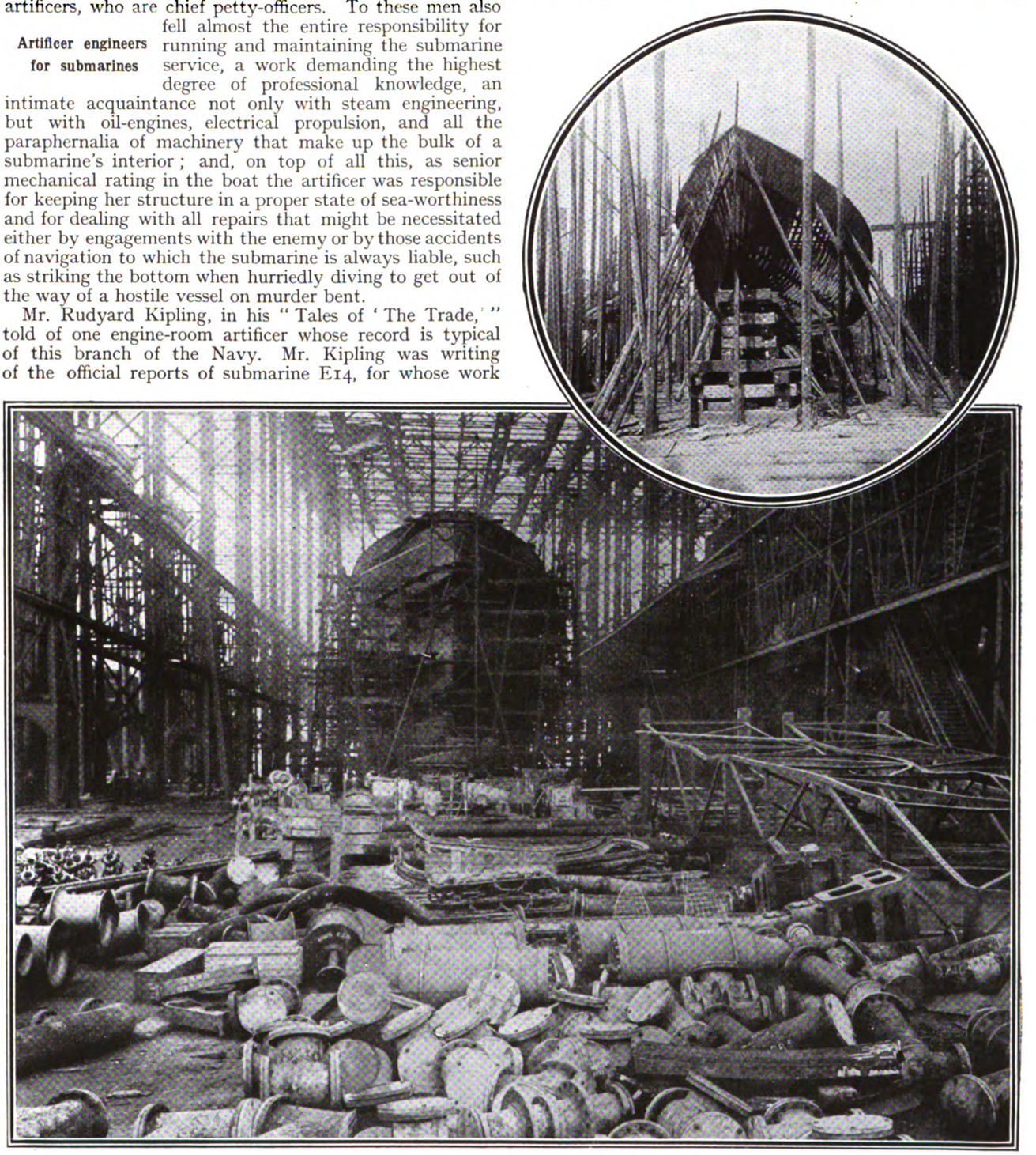
It says much for the loyalty of the artificers and artificer engineers of the Navy, who are as keen trade unionists as can be found anywhere, that they accepted such conditions as these without a trace of complaint, rejoicing in the confidence thus reposed in their professional capabilities.

As for the rest of our mosquito craft—the older torpedo-boats, the coast-service monitors of the "M" class, some of the special patrol boats known as the "P's," and the small monitors (officially known as "China gunboats") specially designed for work in Mesopotamia—practically the whole of these were put in charge of engine-room artificers, who are chief petty-officers. To these men also fell almost the entire responsibility for running and maintaining the submarine service, a work demanding the highest degree of professional knowledge, an intimate acquaintance not only with steam engineering, but with oil-engines, electrical propulsion, and all the paraphernalia of machinery that make up the bulk of a submarine's interior; and, on top of all this, as senior mechanical rating in the boat the artificer was responsible for keeping her structure in a proper state of sea-worthiness and for dealing with all repairs that might be necessitated either by engagements with the enemy or by those accidents of navigation to which the submarine is always liable, such as striking the bottom when hurriedly diving to get out of the way of a hostile vessel on murder bent.

Artificer engineers for submarines

Mr. Rudyard Kipling, in his "Tales of 'The Trade,'" told of one engine-room artificer whose record is typical of this branch of the Navy. Mr. Kipling was writing of the official reports of submarine E14, for whose work in the Sea of Marmora her commanding officer, Commander E. Courtney Boyle, was awarded the V.C.; and this is what he said after recounting some of her adventures: "But that, again, was only in the day's work. The point she insisted upon was that she had been for seventy days in the Sea of Marmora with no securer base for refit than the centre of the same, and during all that while she had not had 'any engine-room defect which has not been put right by the engine-room staff of the boat.' The commander and the third officer went sick for a while; the first-lieutenant got gastro-enteritis and was in



[British official photographs.

ON THE STOCKS IN ONE OF BRITANNIA'S WORKSHOPS.

A large destroyer in the course of construction in a British naval shipbuilding yard. In circle: A ferry boat for the Bosphorus, which was being built in a British yard for the Turkish Government. When the war broke out all further work on it was suspended.

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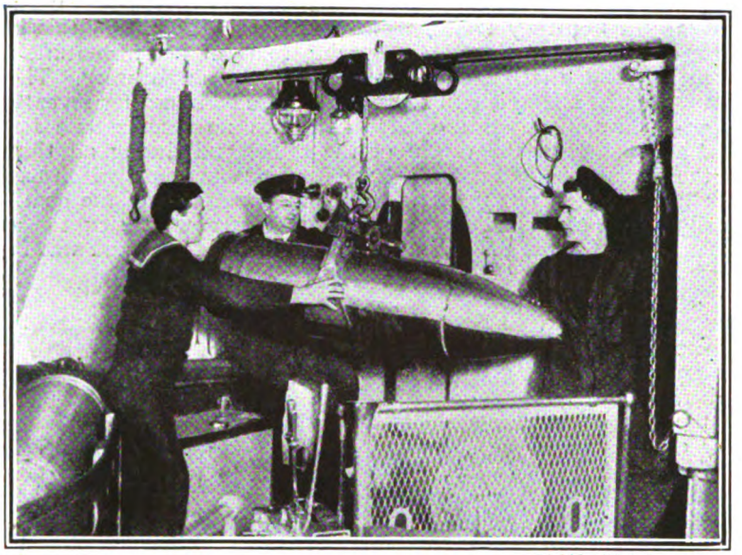

[British official photograph.

HANDLING A FIFTEEN-INCH SHELL.

The weight of a 15 in. projectile was not much short of a ton, and the normal possible rate of fire was about 1·2 per minute. The 100 lb. projectile of the 6 in. gun is the largest that in practice can be efficiently man-handled for any length of time.

bed (if you could see that bed !) ' for the remainder of our stay in the Sea of Marmora,' but ' this boat has never been out of running order.' The credit is ascribed to ' the excellence of my chief engine-room artificer, James Hollier Hague, O.N. 227715,' whose name is duly submitted to the authorities ' for your consideration for advancement to the rank of warrant officer.'

" Seventy days of every conceivable sort of risk, within and without, in a boat which is all engine-room except where she is sick-bay ; twelve thousand miles covered since last overhaul and ' never out of running order '—thanks to Mr. Hague. Such artists as he are the kind of engine-room artificers that commanders intrigue to get hold of—each for his own boat—and when the tales are told in the Trade their names, like Abou Ben Adhem's, lead all the rest." Hague was awarded the Distinguished Service Medal, and the Admiralty were not long in carrying out his commanding officer's recommendation, for in August, 1915, he was promoted to the warrant-officer rank of artificer engineer. What Mr. Hague, engine-room artificer, did for the E14, engine-room artificers were doing for every other submarine in the Service, some under better conditions, and some, at times, under worse, and it would be impossible to exaggerate the debt of gratitude the country owed to these men or to speak too highly in praise of their professional attainments, involving a wider knowledge of the various branches of engineering—mechanical, motor, electrical, hydraulic, and constructional—than is required in any other department of the naval Service.

Expansion of the stoker branch

So far we have glanced in a general way only at the higher grades of the naval engineering profession, but there remain to be mentioned those whose laborious and prosaic task it is to produce in the stokeholds the energy that is so marvellously harnessed and manipulated by the officers and artificers in the engine-rooms. For many years before the outbreak of hostilities the proportionate strength of the stoker branch had been steadily increasing until, in the year of the war's commencement, the number of stoker petty-officers and men authorised for the active list of the Fleet was very little short of the corresponding number of seamen, the actual figure being 39,274 and 44,947 respectively. The relative expansion of the stoker branch was, of course, directly due to the high speed of all recent warships, calling in the larger vessels for phenomenal engine-power and a correspondingly extensive steam-raising plant. In the Crimean War no British ship had machinery of more than 700 h.p., while in the victorious Japanese Fleet that beat the Russians in 1904-5 there was no more powerfully-engined vessel than the armoured cruiser Tokiwa, of 18,000 h.p. ; but all the modern light cruisers in the British Navy in 1914 equalled or exceeded the latter figure, the slower battleships ranged up to 27,000 h.p., and the battle-cruisers, beginning with 41,000 h.p. in the original trio of the Invincible class, ran up to 70,000 in the Lion and Princess Royal and 75,000 in the Queen Mary.

Fortunately, the expansion in the stoker branch which these facts involved was begun to be offset not long before the outbreak of war by the wider application of oil fuel for steam-raising purposes. The naval authorities had begun to experiment with oil-burning furnaces many years before, and such success had been attained that from 1905 onwards all British destroyers, with the exception of those built under the 1908 programme, were entirely independent of coal and used only oil in their furnaces. The advantages of oil over coal for this purpose are enormous. For a given space occupied, the distance that can be covered on a single supply is increased about fifty per cent. ; higher speeds can be reached, and can be maintained much longer, because the burning oil causes neither sooty deposits to form in the flues and between the boiler-tubes nor slag in the furnaces ; the number of men required to attend to the latter is reduced about sixty per cent., because, instead of coal having to be brought from the bunkers to the stokehold and there fed into the fires, oil is mechanically pumped from the tanks and double bottoms right up to boilers, where it exhausts itself in a series of blazing sprays, each requiring only the careful attention of two or three well-trained men.

Advantages of oil fuel

Quite as important as anything else, however, is the wiping out of that exhausting and nightmarish evolution known as "coaling ship." A vessel like the Iron Duke, carrying about 1,000 tons of oil as an auxiliary, has

[British official photograph.

HOLYSTONING THE DECK.

" Ship-shape," as a synonym for cleanliness and order, is the world's tribute to the British Navy's methods. The " holystone " is said to have got its name from being used to clean up before Sunday Church Service aboard ship.

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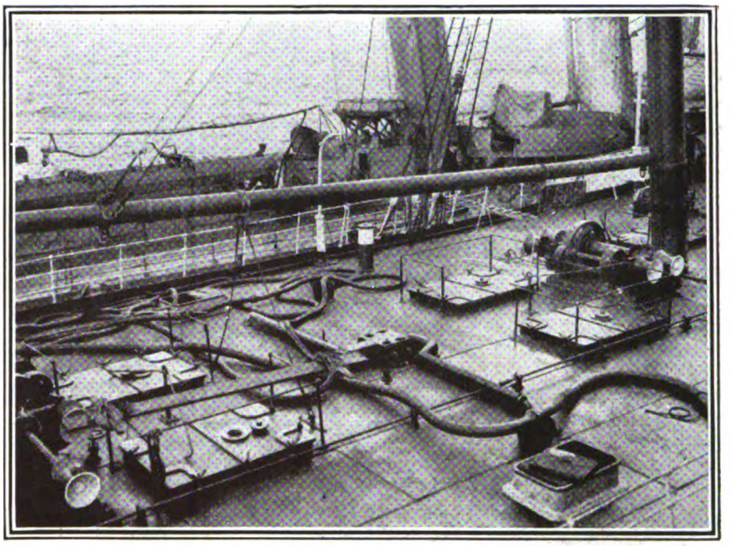
accommodation also for a storage of 2,700 tons of coal, and with the entire crew working at top speed—as crews always do when "coal ship" is the order—it would be impossible to get such an amount on board in less than from twelve to fifteen hours. After that the ship has to be thoroughly cleaned down, and by the time everything is ship-shape again and the men have had a little rest, anything from one to two days may have elapsed, during which period the ship is for all practical purposes demobilised. How different it is for everyone and everything concerned when the ship is an oiler! Then, when she wants a fresh supply of fuel, she simply makes herself fast alongside a wharf, various hoses leading into various tanks are connected up with the main pipe-line leading down from the storage depot somewhere in the background, and the whole business is completed quickly and cleanly, without more than ten per cent. or so of the ship's company having anything at all to do with it.



[*British official photograph.*

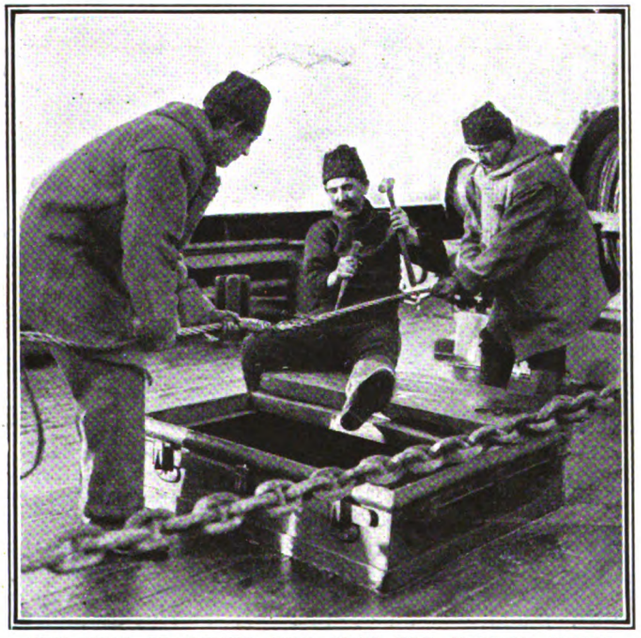
PIPE-LINES ON A BRITISH WARSHIP.

With the adoption of oil as generator of power in the Navy, the operation of taking fuel on board became greatly simplified. The gain in time was very considerable, and the dust and dirt inevitably associated with "coaling" were unknown in "oiling."

Problem of the oil supply

It was in 1912, with the battleships of the Queen Elizabeth class, and the light cruisers of the Arethusa group, that the Admiralty took the bold and inevitable step of applying the "all oil" principle to every type of naval unit. From the details already given it will be seen how thoroughly justified the decision was, but there was still one very serious objection remaining to be overcome. England has a monopoly in the production of the best coal in the world for steam-raising purposes, while her domestic supply of oil, confined to certain districts of Scotland, would be altogether inadequate for the requirements of an "all oil" fleet. The change meant, in short, that the Navy would have to depend for its mobility upon imported supplies—that, while fighting for the command of the sea, it would depend upon that command for its ability to fight at all.

To meet this difficulty the Admiralty at once took in hand the enlargement of old and the construction of new reservoirs for the storage of reserve stocks of fuel at various points round the coast and overseas. It is still too early to write of what was done in this direction after the outbreak of war, but an examination of the Navy Estimates for 1914-15 shows that there were oil-fuel depots then in hand at Dover, Port Victoria (on the Medway), Immingham (on the Humber), Rosyth, Invergordon (on Cromarty Firth), Portland, Portsmouth, Gibraltar, Malta, and Hong-Kong, the total estimated cost of these works, in hand at that moment, being over one and a quarter millions sterling. The Admiralty also acquired interests in various oil-producing areas, and laid down "tankers," or "oilers," for bringing the liquid home.



MEN WHO SEARCHED THE SEAS FOR HIDDEN MINES.

Repairing a "sweep" cable. With these cables attached from one trawler to another, the brave men of the Mine-sweeping Service went to and fro over the waters for the locating of mines, which were fired as soon as found.

If Britain's command of the sea had ever been in serious jeopardy all these arrangements might not have helped her much, for any reserve is likely to be exhausted before very long when it takes something like 4,000 tons of fuel—in other figures, the phenomenal total of 1,196,800 gallons—to provide such a vessel as the Queen Elizabeth with as much as she is able to stow. However, the official theory probably was that if the British nation was ever reduced to such a state that it could not get the oil needed, it would have reached such a hopeless position at sea that neither oil nor anything else could save it.

The all-important stoker

When the war began, the "oiling" of the Fleet had not proceeded to such an extent as to diminish the value of the old-time stoker. How valuable a man he really is is but dimly realised even to-day. Strategy and tactics alike depend essentially upon a ship being in a certain spot at a certain moment—indeed, that is the essence of both departments of naval warfare. The commanding officer is entirely dependent upon the "chief" of the engineering department for the speed and mobility of the ship, but the engineer, no matter how experienced and adept he may be, can do nothing by coaxing and manipulating his machinery unless he has the necessary steam pressure to work upon, and it is the stokers, and they alone, who can give him what he wants in that direction.

The stoker is to the modern fleet what Boreas was to the fleets of Nelson—a Queen Elizabeth without steam is as helpless as a Victory without wind—and it is all the more right and proper that the part he played in the war should be recognised by the country that owes him so much, because the conditions under which he works are well calculated to keep him out of the limelight. It is greatly to the credit of the Admiralty that in the years immediately leading up to the war, as well as in the course of that conflict, they did much to encourage the stoker and to recognise his merit. The man in the street probably

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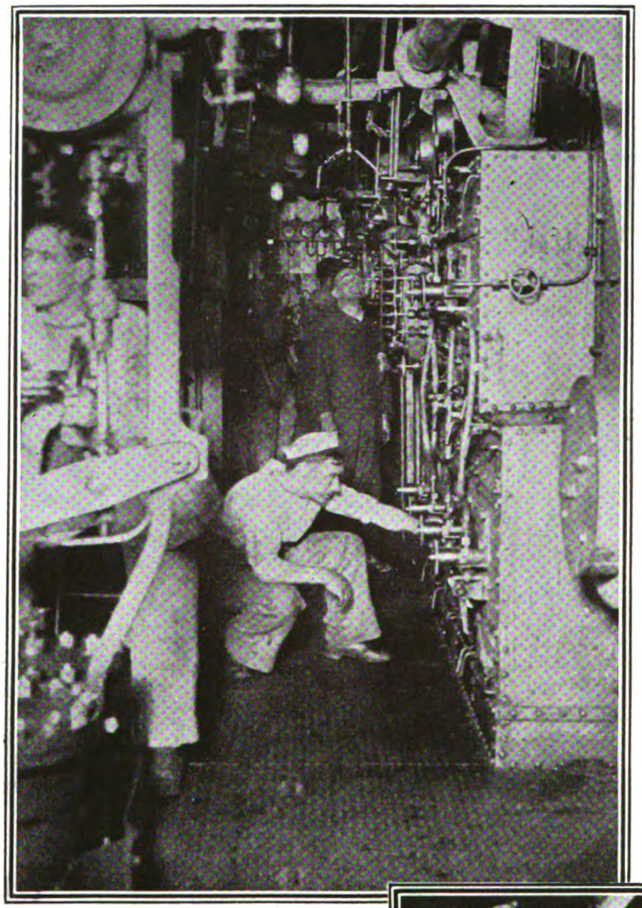


[*British official photograph.*

IN THE BOILER-ROOM.
One of the "vitals" of a battleship, the boiler-room, may be described as the heart which makes a living creature of what would otherwise be a mass of inert metal.

thinks of him as a mere shoveller of coal—but even the firing and trimming of a boiler furnace calls for a degree of skill, to say nothing of physical stamina, that comes only with long experience. Faulty stoking, by betraying the position of a ship and her consorts, may easily lead to the miscarriage of some plan, and even to disaster.

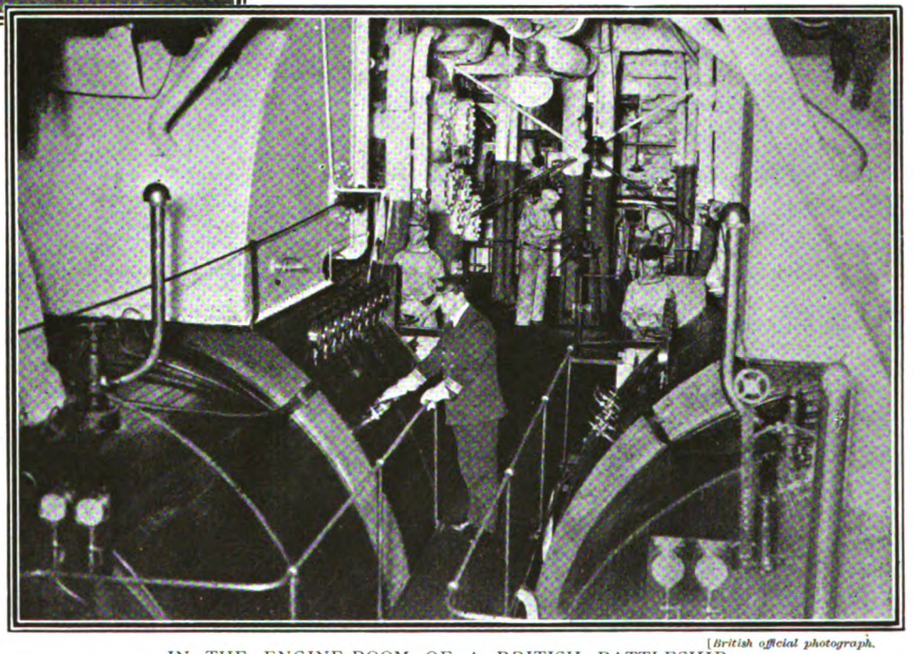
In the rather ludicrous air raid that was made by some British seaplanes on the German Zeppelin sheds at Tondern, behind the island of Sylt, in March, 1916, the seaplane carriers were convoyed by a force of light cruisers and destroyers all of which were exclusively oil-burners. While running for home on the 25th, in a dark night and a heavy snowstorm, the look-out in the light cruiser Cleopatra sighted not far away a stream of sparks driving with the wind. It was obvious that it was not a British vessel, for oil-burners do not throw sparks out of the funnel. It was equally obvious that the ship concerned was steaming for all she was worth, and the high speed her commander was trying to get out of her was leading to frantic and faulty stoking down below.

Finally, the sparks showed that she was steaming on a more or less parallel course with the Cleopatra, and the people in the cruiser, putting two and two together, decided that she was an enemy up to mischief. Wherefore the British ship suddenly swung round her bows, and, heading straight for the source from which the tell-tale sparks were issuing, cut so cleanly through the mysterious craft that in the darkness of the night the two halves of her could be seen drifting by, one on either side. It turned out afterwards that the Cleopatra had sent to the bottom the German destroyer G194—a vessel which might have been afloat to this day, and which might have succeeded in torpedoing one of our ships that night into the bargain, had her presence not been betrayed by the unscientific handling of the stokers' shovels and rakes.

The feeding of fires, however, is the lowest and most elementary form of a stoker's work. If he wants to get on at all in his profession he must prove himself capable of looking after the various types of auxiliary machinery that are to be found in every nook and corner of a modern ship of war; he must also attend a mechanical training course and pass a satisfactory examination at the end of it; and he must prove himself to be fairly capable in some such trade as fitter and turner, boilermaker and smith, coppersmith, or moulder.

Career open to stokers

In short, the Navy takes its stokers as absolutely untrained youths and turns them in a very few years into skilled mechanics. So successful has this policy been that in 1904 a new rating, that of mechanician (chief petty-officer) was instituted for stokers up to twenty-eight of proved efficiency and intelligence, and so well have the "shovellers" responded to the opportunity that it is now possible for a man who joins as a stoker (the sole requirements being a very good character and physical fitness) to become in time a commissioned officer with the rank of engineer-lieutenant. This is, indeed, a remarkable testimony to the efficiency of these men and the efficiency of the Navy system of training, and should abolish for ever the idea that all the Service wants in its stokers is brawn and the ability to work four hours at a stretch in the melting inferno of a warship's boiler-room. The opening of the ward-room (commissioned rank) to stokers was a direct outcome of



[*British official photograph.*

IN THE ENGINE-ROOM OF A BRITISH BATTLESHIP.
Another of the battleship's "vitals"—all of which are grouped below the waterline and protected above by a curved armoured deck of thick steel. The engineers, knowing nothing of what was going on overhead in a battle, thus carried on in a "steel box, suspended, as it were, under the fighting body of the ship."

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the Jutland Battle. Mr. Clayton Hartnup, who was one of the first stokers to reach warrant rank (warrant mechanician) and chief warrant rank (commissioned mechanician), was serving at that time in the armoured cruiser Shannon, and was very highly commended for his services by his commanding officer, Captain J. S. Dumaresq.

The commendation was repeated by the Commander-in-Chief in his despatch, with the note that he recommended the officer for "early promotion." The Admiralty in turn included Mr. Hartnup among the "officers noted for early promotion," although at that time it was quite impossible for him to be advanced above the rank he then held. However, as the authorities—quite possibly in a moment of forgetfulness—had promised to accelerate his advancement, they were morally bound to open up some rank to which he could be advanced; and, therefore, in the course of a few months came the announcement that warrant and commissioned mechanicians (who enter as stokers, second class, at one-and-eightpence a day) should be eligible for promotion to engineer-lieutenant for long and zealous service. It was one of the most democratic little innovations that the Navy has ever witnessed.

It would be difficult to exaggerate the drab monotony of the life of the officers and men of the engineering branch of the Fleet in war. Cruising, or on patrol, engines and boilers must be kept continuously at work, and when the ship returns to harbour for her periodical rest there are coal-bunkers or oil-tanks to be replenished, boiler-tubes to be examined and perhaps replaced, and a hundred and one little defects to attend to that could not be remedied while the ship was at sea. The general method of working the engineers' department at sea was "four hours on, eight hours off," but naturally this was an elastic sort of rule entirely dependent upon circumstances. As soon as the "Action" call sounded every man had to make at once for his allotted station. During the war the "normal" complements of our ships were increased twenty-five or thirty per cent., so that the strain of constant working and constant watching might be the better distributed; but in action there was never a surplus man in a ship's company. Only a certain number of men could be employed in working the guns and torpedo-tubes, in passing up ammunition from the magazines and shell-rooms, and in keeping the boilers charged with a full head of steam, but there was never any difficulty in finding ample employment for the increased complement of stokers.

The call for speed

In nearly every action fought the call from the first sign or news of the enemy until the last shot was fired was for speed, more speed, and still more speed, and as a boiler-room, even in a big ship, is hardly remarkable for its roominess, the demand had to be met not by increasing the number of stokers at work, but by getting those already there to work twice as hard. This, again, meant more frequent reliefs, and in some ships—as, for instance, the Glasgow and the Kent in the fight off the Falklands in December, 1914—the cry for speed was so urgent and insistent that numbers of seamen and Marines took a hand down below in order to give the stokers a brief respite. The innumerable pieces of auxiliary machinery all over the ship would each demand its special party of attendants, usually consisting of a few stokers in charge of a petty-officer, while others of the engineer's men would be attached to the various "fire-parties" detailed to quench any outbreak that might be caused by the enemy's bursting shells.

The position of those actually in the engine and boiler-rooms during an action is one of the few things in modern naval warfare for which no parallel can be found in the fleets of the past. There are certain parts of a modern battleship known collectively as her "vitals," and consisting of the engine and boiler-rooms, the shell-rooms, and the magazines. It is necessary above everything else that these "vitals" should be protected from the enemy's fire.

A single shell bursting among the machinery or boilers might convert a great, fast-steaming steel fortress into a mass of inert metal, while an explosion in the magazines would send the ship instantly to the bottom and everyone on board to eternity. Therefore the "vitals" are all placed below the water-line, while over the top of them, forming a roof that runs from end to end of the ship, is a curved, protective deck of steel two or three inches thick designed as a defence against shell splinters and dropping fire.

In this steel box, suspended, as it were, under the fighting body of the ship, the engineers and the stokers work. For them the battle has few excitements. The chief engineer has a loud-speaking telephone at his ear, leading down from the commanding officer in the conning tower; before his eyes is the engine-room telegraph, registering on a dial the orders transmitted from above, while around him on all sides are other dials each automatically recording in its own way what every boiler and every bit of machinery is doing. A single word comes down from the conning-tower, and in a twinkling the engineer has translated it into action, controlling with a wheel here, a lever there, and a few bawled orders to his subordinates, a moving,

Engineers and stokers in action

NOT AFRAID OF THE GERMAN UNDERWATER PIRATES.

A British trawler, equipped with two guns, was attacked by a submarine more heavily armed. With a couple of shots she forced the pirate to submerge, and, though badly damaged herself, survived to fight four others before her plucky career ended.

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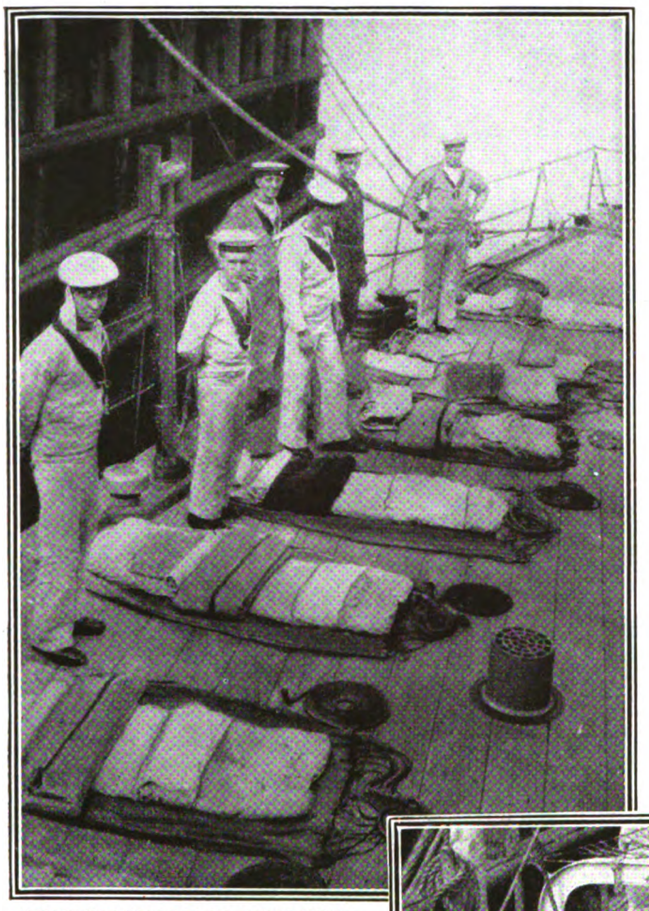
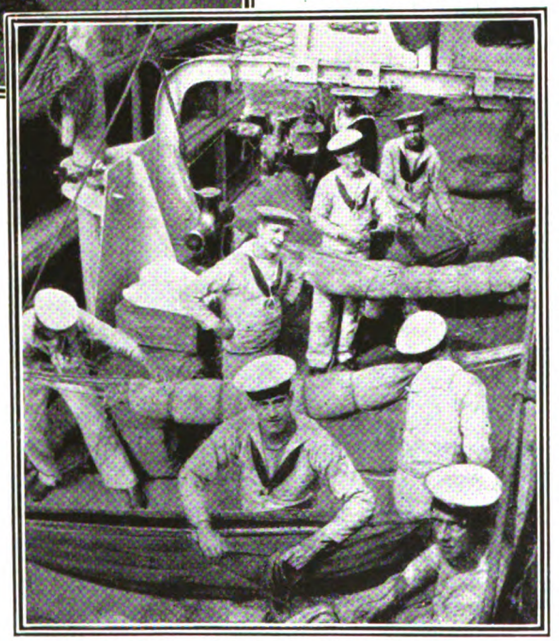


AWAITING HAMMOCK INSPECTION.
Hammocks and bedding laid out for inspection by the divisional officer, with the owners standing by awaiting his arrival.

living mass of machinery which, in such a ship as the Queen Elizabeth, cost more than it did to build and complete outright any ten of such three-deckers as Nelson commanded at Trafalgar.

In the stokeholds the dripping firemen, stripped to the waist, frequently with no more covering than a loin-cloth, give their unremitting attention to the furnaces. In an oiler they were lucky, but it can well be imagined what it must sometimes have been like in such a vessel as the Lion, which, when running at full speed, could eat up coal at the rate of forty tons an hour —2,240 lb. every ninety seconds. Speed was no concern of the stoker—nor, indeed, of the "chief." Once a ship settled down after her commissioning trials the engineer ceased to think in terms of speed and concerned himself only with the "revolutions per minute" of the screw propellers. The reason for this will be readily understood. The engineer can see just what his machinery is doing, and knows what, in theory, should be the speed of the ship for any given number of revolutions; but he can know nothing of the currents through which the vessel may be steaming at the moment, of the wind which may be helping or retarding her progress, or of the marine growths on the ship's bottom setting up friction and tending to hold her back. So it is with the stoker. He knows nothing of either speed or revolutions. His business is simply to keep up the pressure of steam, so that when the captain rings down for more speed the engineer passes on the word to the stokers for a few more "pounds per square inch," for without the steam pressure he cannot get his "revolutions."



LASHING UP AFTER INSPECTION.
Blankets and bedding are folded longitudinally in the hammock and rolled up in it, the whole being then lashed up with rope. This photograph shows clearly the several stages of the process.

For those who can look about them a naval action is full of incident, excitement, and achievement, while down below there is nothing but the roar of furnaces and machinery, a concentration of mental and physical energy on what lies immediately to hand, and utter ignorance of the progress of the fight until it is over, or until a blow from the enemy lays them under tribute. It is impossible to imagine, and the men themselves found it almost equally difficult to explain, what their feelings are during a fight. In the battle off the Falklands it fell to the lot of the Kent to attend to the German cruiser Nürnberg, which was nominally her superior in speed by half a knot. The German was well out of range when the chase began, and both ships were short of fuel—though, of course, neither ship knew the state of the other. The problem on board the Kent was to overtake a nominally faster ship and bring her within decisive range before the bunkers were swept clean, and there is perhaps no more brilliant incident in the war record of the naval engineering department than the fact that the Kent's "black squad" acquitted themselves "as requisite," and had quite a good supply of fuel left in their bunkers when the Nürnberg went to the bottom.

Stokers of H.M.S. Kent

One of the Kent's chief stokers, speaking of this action to the writer, said: "We had treble odds against us—the Nürnberg's ten-mile start, her extra half-knot in speed, and our own bunker shortage. While we had to go top speed to catch her we had to be on the look-out against running dry ourselves. Every shovel of coal had to be handled like gold-dust, and if we hadn't had good, experienced men we should have burned ourselves out and lost the Nürnberg into the bargain." In order to encourage the stokers, word was frequently passed down as to the progress made in the chase, but "when we heard our 6 in. bow-chasers let fly, and knew we had got them in range at last, the men gave a tremendous yell and seemed to redouble their efforts—though Heaven knows they had been going 'all out' before."

The great development of underwater attack during the war added very considerably to the immediate risks of those serving in the engine- and boiler-rooms. Anchored mines and torpedoes are alike designed to strike their victims several feet below the water-line, and although it would at first appear that in the case of mines, at all events, the chances were heavy that the extreme bows would, in the majority of cases, bear the full force of the explosion, this was not in actual fact the case. Unless a ship bore down on a mine in an absolutely straight line, what usually happened was that the cushion of water carried along ahead of the ship and around the bows pushed the mine slightly out of the way, and it would remain a small distance from the side of the ship until about half the latter's length had passed

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when the mine would sweep inwards and strike the vessel's side.

In November, 1916, the destroyer Zulu was badly mined in this way. As a result of the explosion the bottom of the after-part of the engine-room was blown out and the whole compartment reduced to a mass of débris and broken steam and water pipes. Immediately after the explosion Engine-Room Artificer Michael Joyce and Stoker Petty-Officer Walter Kimber made their way to the engine-room, the latter not leaving the boilers of which he was in charge until he had shut off the oil supply and sent his men on deck. From the inside of the engine-room came the sound of groans, and both men tried to enter it by way of the foremost hatch and ladder. The heat, however, was intense, and volumes of scalding steam were pouring out of the hatchway, so they went farther aft, wrenched off one of the ventilating hatches over the engine-room casing, and lowered themselves into the rapidly-filling compartment over the steam-pipes, which were extremely hot.

"Well done, stokers!"

Scrambling over the débris, they discovered well over on the starboard side a stoker petty officer named Smith, who had been badly injured and was nearly unconscious, and quite unable to keep himself clear of the rising water, which was already up to his neck. He was, indeed, held fast by the twisted pipes and other wreckage flung about the engine-room by the explosion, but a rope was lowered from above, and with great difficulty Joyce and Kimber succeeded in extricating him, and he was hoisted safely to the deck. Another stoker petty-officer was hauled out in the same way, but he was, unfortunately, dead; and by this time the water had risen so high in the engine-room as to make it impossible for the two rescuers to work there any longer, and their search for the body of another man who was known to be there had to be abandoned. Joyce and Kimber both received the Albert Medal (second class), while the Zulu was ultimately got into port.

[*Swaine.*

WING-COM. E. F. BRIGGS, D.S.O.
One of the R.N.A.S. men who bombed Friedrichshafen in October, 1914, when he was taken prisoner. Nearly two and a half years later he escaped from Germany.

[*Heath.*

ENG.-CAPT. C. G. TAYLOR,
Who became soon after the outbreak of the war principal engineer staff officer to Sir David Beatty. Killed in the Dogger Bank fight of January 24th, 1915.

Torpedoes, being set as a rule to run about nine or ten feet below the surface in order to strike a battleship under the lower edge of its main armour belt, will, if they hit at all, probably strike a ship either in the machinery or boiler compartments, or abreast of the magazines lying under the main turrets fore and aft. In either case it is those down below who have to bear the brunt of the explosion, and one may well imagine the ghastly and terrible result of the detonation of 420 lb. of trinitrotoluol among high-pressure boilers or a mass of machinery. There is no possible escape for officers or men. Those who are not killed by the force of the explosion or the flying fragments of metal as the interior of the ship is blown to pieces are bound to be caught in the floods of steam, boiling water, and, possibly, blazing oil. For those who are above the protecting deck, whether on duty or off, there may be some hope of escape, but there is precious little chance for those below.

Every one for himself is the only possible order after everything possible has been done to secure the safety of the ship, but even then the chances are that the shock of the explosion will have dislocated the hatchways and sliding doors, cutting off all hope of escape, and confining the men to their terrible prison until death ends all. It is some slight consolation to reflect that in such cases as these death must nearly always be instantaneous. Happily, too, there have been many cases in which the main shock of the torpedo attack has been absorbed by the coal-bunkers, which, when possible, are always so arranged as to flank the "vitals," and in such instances the casualties were small and the vessel was able to make her way into port.

In practically every naval action of importance the work of the engine-room staffs of British warships was singled out for special praise. In the Dogger Bank fight of January 24th, 1915, which from start to finish was a speed contest between Sir David Beatty's and the enemy's battle-cruisers, resulting in the sinking of the Blücher, the British vice-admiral reported that "the behaviour of officers and men was only what was expected, and great credit is due to the engine-room staffs for the fine steaming of the squadron." The Indomitable especially distinguished herself on that occasion by well exceeding her designed speed, and those responsible were more than rewarded when Sir David Beatty, at the close of the action, made the special signal, "Well done, Indomitable stokers!"

Vice-Admiral Sir Frederick Sturdee, the victor of the Falklands fight, recorded in his despatch: "I have pleasure in reporting that the officers and men under my orders carried out their duties with admirable efficiency and coolness, and great credit is due to the engineer officers of all the ships, many of which exceeded their normal full speed." Captain J. C. T. Glossop, of the Australian cruiser Sydney, wrote of his successful action with the Emden (November 9th, 1914): "I have great pleasure in stating that the behaviour of the ship's company was excellent in every way, and with such a large proportion of young hands and people under training it is all the more gratifying. The engines worked magnificently, and higher results than trials were obtained."

Most emphatic of all, however, were the remarks of the principal flag officers engaged in the Jutland Battle of May 31st-June 1st, 1916. Admiral Sir John Jellicoe, Commander-in-Chief, wrote: "I cannot adequately express the pride with which the spirit of the Fleet filled me. . . . It must never be forgotten, however, that the prelude to action is the work of the engine-room department, and that during action the officers and men of that department perform their most important duties without the incentive which a knowledge of the course of the action gives to those on deck. The qualities of discipline and endurance are taxed to the utmost under these conditions, and they were, as always, most fully maintained throughout the operations under review. Several ships attained speeds that had never before been reached, thus showing very clearly their high state of steaming efficiency. Failures

Engineers in the Jutland Battle

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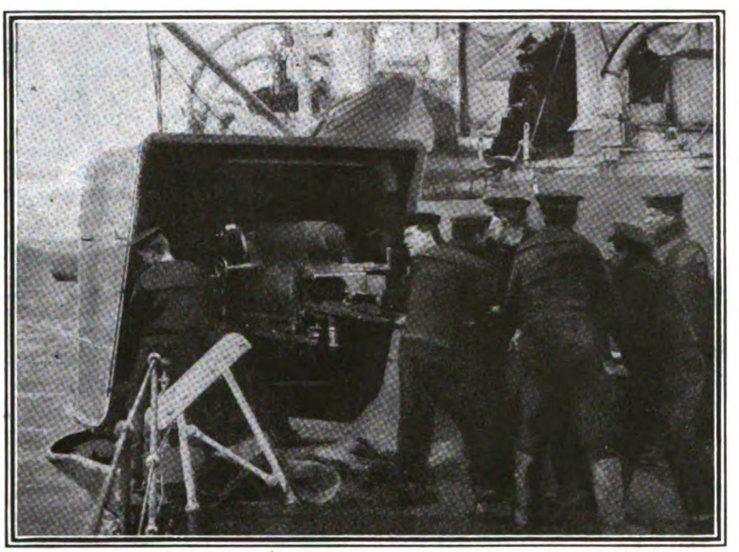
in material were conspicuous by their absence, and several instances are reported of magnificent work on the part of the engine-room departments of injured ships."

Vice-Admiral Sir David Beatty was briefer, but no less eulogistic. "As usual," he wrote, "the engine-room departments of all ships displayed the highest qualities of technical skill, discipline, and endurance. High speed is a primary factor in the tactics of the squadrons under my command"—there were then under his orders the Battle Cruiser Fleet, and its attendant squadrons of light cruisers and flotillas of destroyers—"and the engine-room departments never fail." Higher praise than that there could not be.

Engineers of "emergency" ships

It would be altogether improper here not to make some further mention of those skilled engineers who came into the Navy from the mercantile marine at the outbreak of war, and put their services at the disposal of the country, very often at considerable financial sacrifice. In nearly all the "emergency" ships—armed liners, mercantile fleet auxiliaries, and such small craft as trawlers and drifters—the original staffs remained—a double advantage to the Service, inasmuch as it left officers and men in the ships,



[*Canadian War Records.*

JEALOUS FOR THEIR GUN'S APPEARANCE.

Gun crew cleaning their 6 in. gun after firing practice aboard one of the light cruisers of the Arethusa class with the Grand Fleet. This gun can fire about ten rounds per minute, the projectile weighing about 100 lb.

and with the engines and boilers to which they were accustomed, and relieved the already short-handed Navy from the impossible task of providing for these vessels' requirements. The extraordinary value of the assistance rendered from this quarter is to be seen in the fact that although, in the spring of 1917, there were in service just about three hundred armed merchantmen and mercantile fleet auxiliaries, absorbing almost exactly nine hundred engineer officers, there was in the whole of them but one officer of the engineering branch of the Royal Navy, and he was serving on the Staff of Vice-Admiral R. G. O. Tupper, commanding the 10th (Blockade) Cruiser Squadron. The whole of the others had taken commissions in the Naval Reserve, and for the most part were serving in the same ships as they had done before the war. There were, of course, large numbers of other Royal Naval Reserve engineer officers scattered throughout the Fleet as watch-keepers in battleships, cruisers, and so forth, while the machinery of the trawlers and drifters was exclusively in the hands of their own "enginemen" of pre-war days.

For nearly the first three years of the war the superintendence of British naval engineering was in the hands of Engineer Vice-Admiral Sir Henry J. Oram, who had been appointed Engineer-in-Chief of the Fleet in 1907. Admiral Oram entered the Service in 1879—the year after Sir John Jellicoe received his first commission as a sub-lieutenant—and his administrative talents and the broadness of his grasp of naval engineering problems so quickly asserted themselves that after serving a commission in the Crocodile, an Indian troopship, he was appointed to the Naval Engineering Department at the Admiralty in May, 1884, and never left it until his retirement on June 8th, 1917. There is possibly something in this record that is reminiscent of Gilbert's famous gibe at Mr. W. H. Smith, who, though he had "never been to sea," yet became First Lord of the Admiralty. The requirements of a navy are, however, far too varied for any man to become familiar with them by first-hand acquaintance, and it is only in the Admiralty, where the experience of every ship of every type is concentrated in analytical reports, and where engineering progress the world over can be closely followed in its entirety, that a comprehensive view of the needs of the Fleet can be obtained. Throughout the nineteen years when the late Sir A. J. Durston was Engineer-in-Chief, Admiral Oram was closely associated with him, and it was towards the end of that period—in the opening years of the twentieth century—that some of the most vital revolutions in warship machinery had been effected. The water-tube boiler was introduced and established; the turbine, experimentally installed in the ill-fated destroyers Cobra and Viper, was first applied to a cruiser (Amethyst) in 1903, and to a battleship (Dreadnought) in 1906; while experiments with oil fuel, begun in the 'nineties, had so far prospered that by the time Sir Albert Durston handed over his office to Admiral Oram we had in commission thirty-six torpedo-boats using turbines for propulsion and oil exclusively for steam-raising. In ten thousand minor ways the mechanical equipment of the Fleet was improved, and Admiral Oram, being at the hub of things, necessarily had a full and complete knowledge of everything that was going forward not only in our own Fleet, but elsewhere. He went to the Admiralty, as has been said, in 1884, and he left it after a most successful career in 1917. In that period the speed and power of battleships was raised from 16·75 knots and 11,500 h.p. to 25 knots and 58,000 h.p.; of cruisers from 22 knots and 20,000 h.p. to well over 30 knots and 100,000 h.p.; while destroyers, submarines, and aircraft were all introduced and most successfully established. The years during which Sir Henry Oram was Engineer-in-Chief were not marked by any large innovations, but by the most profound developments in speed, power, and equipment; and the almost monotonous tribute paid by commanders afloat to the excellence of the engine departments, as regards both their materiel and their personnel, is the greatest testimony that could be desired to the soundness of his work. In June, 1917, he was succeeded by Engineer Vice-Admiral George Goodwin, who for the previous ten years had served at the Admiralty as Deputy Engineer-in-Chief. By his appointment there was secured a continuity of tradition, as well as the certainty that the new chief would be no less familiar than his predecessor with the position and requirements of naval engineering in all its branches.

Engineers' headquarters work

In the Admiralty itself the principal work of engineer officers lay in designing machinery for such ships as were deemed by the Board to be necessary for the prosecution of the war, so that the Engineering Branch came for the most part under the Department of the Director of Naval Construction. The Board of Admiralty, for instance, would say that they wanted a ship to carry so many guns of such and such a calibre, to make a certain speed, be able to steam so many miles, carry so much defensive armour,

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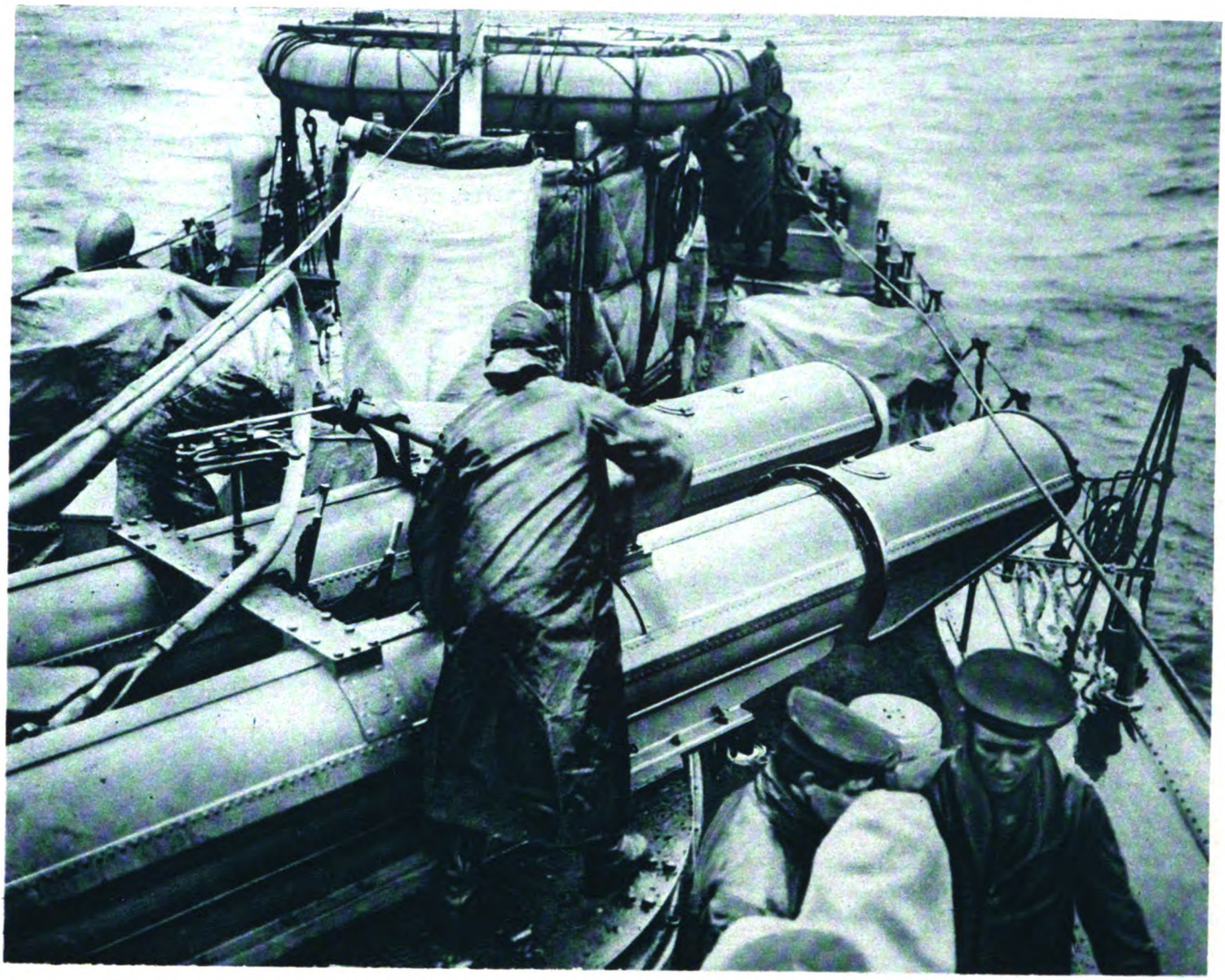
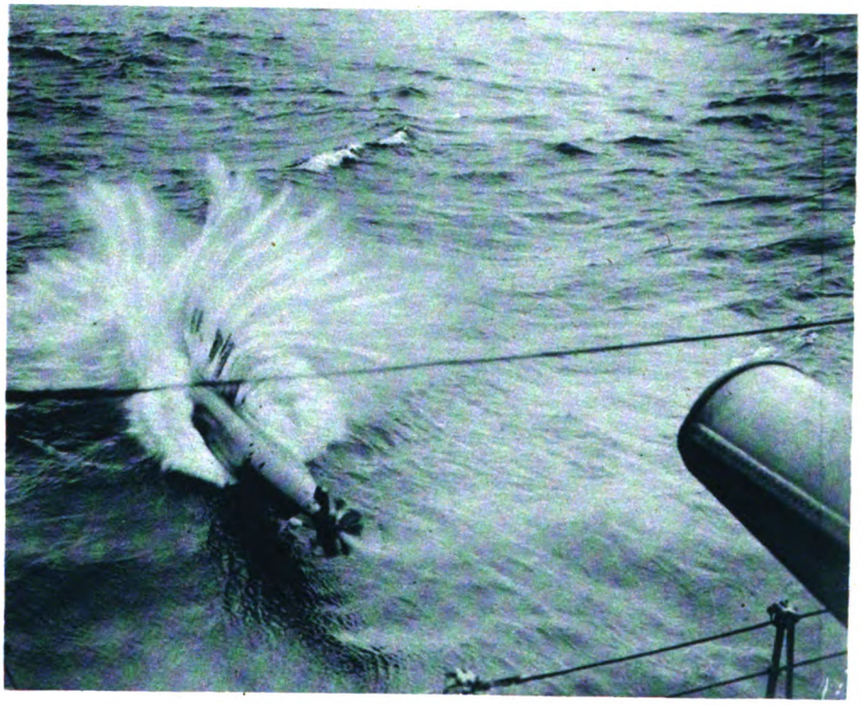


Training torpedo deck tubes on the target before dropping the torpedoes into the water. [British official photograph.



Torpedo taking the water. Right: Coming to the surface at the end of the run. [British official photographs.

Keeping in form for the next sea affair: Torpedo practice in the British Navy.

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Hit in the stokehold! The appalling risk engineers and stokers faced unflinchingly.

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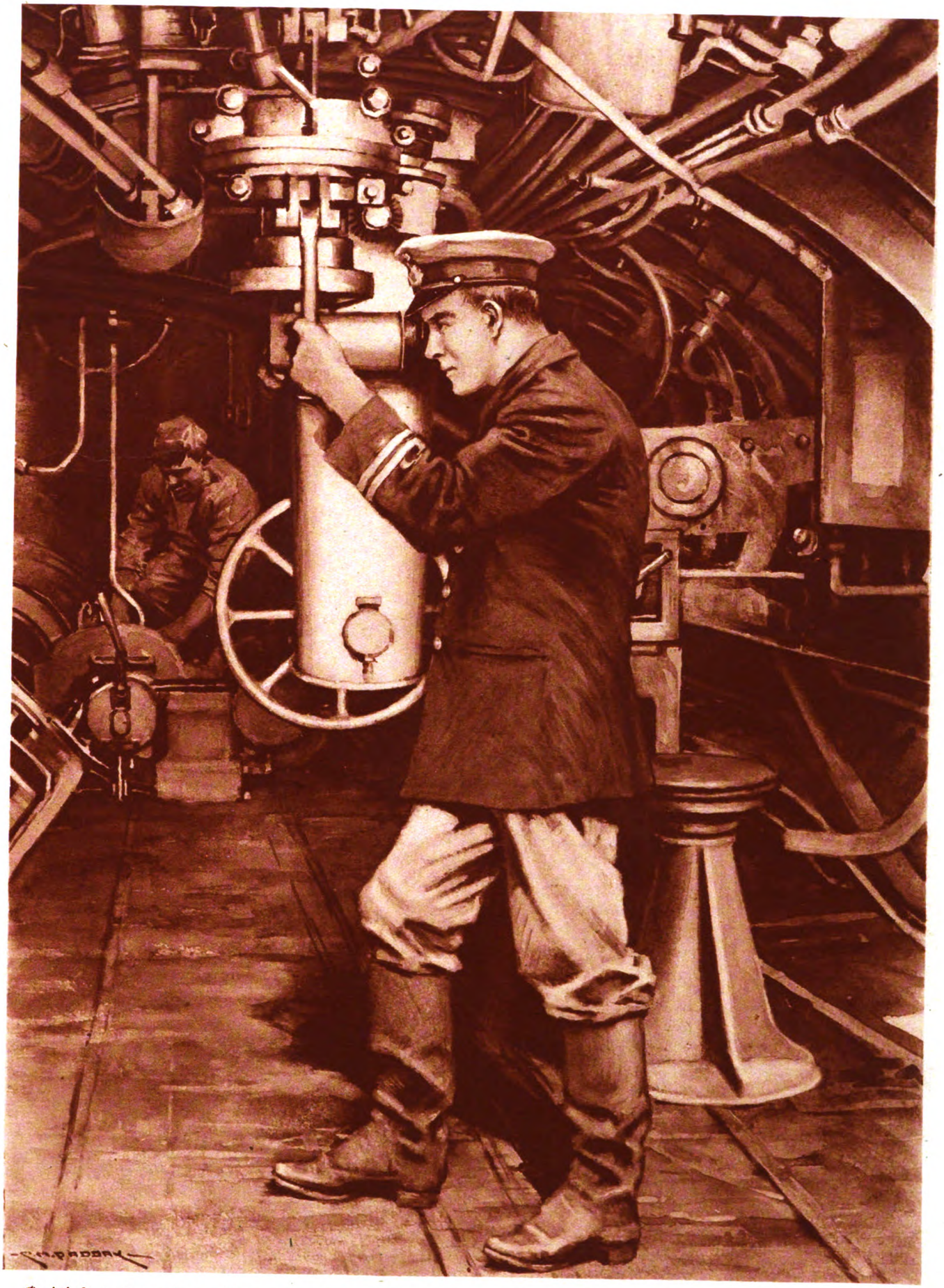

British submarine officer examining the periscope in the hope of finding an enemy target.

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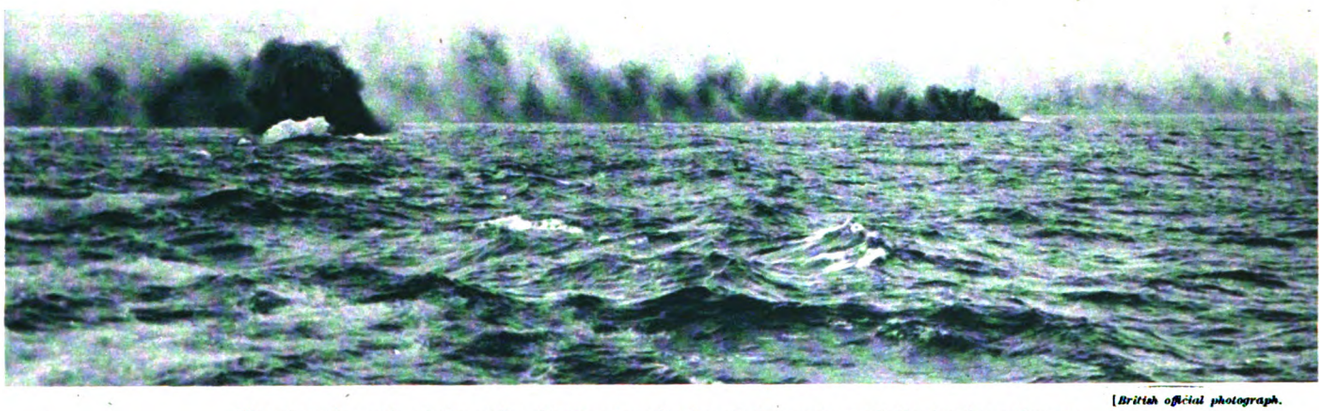
[British official photograph.

Destroyers starting to make a smoke-screen to reduce or veil the visibility of their fleet.



[British official photograph.

Weaving the web of the veil: Destroyers altering their course and digging into the sea.

[British official photograph.

An effective smoke-screen drawn before the fleet in long and heavy sable convolutions.

A lesson man learned from the cuttlefish, which hides itself in its own inky fluid.

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and, in some cases, to draw no more than a certain amount of water; and it is obvious that the Department of the Director of Naval Construction could make no progress with the plans until the machinery details had been drawn out; because, for one thing, the engines, boilers, and fuel spaces often account for a third or more of the entire structure of a ship. But the "headquarter" work of the engineers extended far beyond this. Engineer officers figured in the Intelligence and the Trade Divisions of the War Staff, and in the Departments of the Directors of Naval Ordnance and Naval Equipment. In the Air Department of the Admiralty and the R.N. Air Service engineers figured prominently. Engineer Lieutenant-Commander E. F. Briggs was one of the trio who raided the Zeppelin factory at Friedrichshafen in October, 1914. His machine was brought down and he was taken prisoner, but nearly two and a half years afterwards he made his escape, and returned to England for further service.

In the Grand Fleet the individual "chief" in each ship was naturally responsible for the efficiency of his own engines, but the most responsible work fell upon those officers who were borne on the Staffs of the principal flag officers. During the time that Sir John Jellicoe commanded the Grand Fleet the principal engineer officer on his Staff was Engineer Captain Howard Bone, who was appointed to that post in November, 1914, after having been for two and a half years Chief Engineer at Haulbowline Dockyard. Captain Bone entered the Navy as an assistant engineer in July, 1889, and, unlike most officers of his branch, divided his time fairly evenly between sea and shore service. In 1906 he was appointed assistant to the Chief Engineer at Chatham Dockyard, quitting that post three years later to go afloat in the armoured cruiser Natal (since lost), which was at that time commanded by Captain W. R. Hall, who became Director of the Intelligence Division of the War Staff a few months after the outbreak of war. When Sir John Jellicoe left the Grand Fleet for the Admiralty, Captain Bone went from the Grand Fleet flagship to the Lion, in which vessel he joined the Staff of Rear-Admiral Sir W. C. Pakenham, who succeeded Sir David Beatty in command of the battle-cruiser force. Captain Bone was made a C.B. in the Birthday Honours of 1917.

Engineer Captain Fred Hore was senior engineer officer on the staff of the second-in-command of the Grand Fleet from February, 1915, until June, 1917, when he was appointed to the position of Chief Engineer at Haulbowline. He entered the Navy in January, 1885, and served in the Royal yacht Osborne in 1893-97, and in the battleship Albemarle in 1908-9, during which period that vessel carried the flag of Admiral Jellicoe in the Atlantic Fleet. From 1909 to 1913 he was associated in various ways with the torpedo branch of the Service, but just a year before the war began he went on the Staff of the admiral commanding the 2nd Cruiser Squadron, where he remained until his transference to the Marlborough, flagship of Admiral Sir Cecil Burney (second in command of the Grand Fleet) in February, 1915.

Battle-cruisers' greater speed

In the Battle-Cruiser Fleet there were fewer ships than in the battle squadrons forming the backbone of the Grand Fleet, but each vessel was much faster than any battleship, and, what was equally or more important, speed counted for much more in the general "make-up" of the force. Soon after the outbreak of war Sir David Beatty took as his principal engineer staff officer Engineer Captain C. G. Taylor, but that officer, accommodated at the time in the battle-cruiser Tiger, was unfortunately killed in the Dogger Bank fight of January 24th, 1915. He was succeeded by Engineer Captain D. P. Green, who had actually been in charge of the machinery of the Lion (Admiral Beatty's flagship) since she was first passed into service. Joining the Navy in 1887, Captain Green had spent many years in instructional work, and the fact that he was selected in 1910 to take charge of the Lion, whose engines were almost twice as powerful as any ever built into a ship of war, is sufficient testimony to the confidence placed in him by the authorities. He was made a C.B. in the Birthday Honours of 1916, and—perhaps more significant from a professional point of view—was taken by Sir David Beatty to be his principal engineer adviser when that officer assumed chief command of the Grand Fleet in December, 1916. From one point of view it is perhaps unfortunate that it is impossible to give a more picturesque atmosphere to the work of the most important of the Navy's engineers; but there is little that is picturesque about their work. They are to the Fleet what the officer in command of communications is to the Army. They have to guarantee the ability of the Fleet to move at any moment, at any time, at any speed, and to any distance that may be required by the circumstances of the moment. To bring it to that state of efficiency calls for a measure of professional capability which, though invariably forthcoming, is never likely to be given its due place among the factors that go to the achievement of victory.

Increased numbers of the engineers

[*Canadian War Records.*

TAKING SHELLS ABOARD A BRITISH BATTLESHIP.

Vitally important work was the maintaining of ample supplies of munitions to all units of the Navy. In the receiving of these on board a big warship, and the moving of them on their way to the ship's magazines, the Marines lent a helping hand.

The expansion of the engineering branch of the Fleet between the outbreak of war and the spring of 1917 is broadly shown in the following comparison:

	August, 1914.	April, 1917.
Commissioned Engineer Officers, R.N. ..	833	819
Ditto, for temporary service	—	219
Lieutenants (E.)	—	37
Mates (E.)	—	73
Chief Warrant and Warrant Officers, R.N...	752	852
Ditto, for temporary service	—	26
Commissioned Engineer Officers, R.N.R. ..	142	1,772
Chief Warrant and Warrant Officers, R.N.R.	176	243
	1,903	4,035

The war decorations won by officers and men of the branch down to April, 1917, included, for those who then survived, eight C.B.'s, seventeen D.S.O.'s, ten D.S.C.'s, twelve Conspicuous Gallantry Medals, and three hundred and nine Distinguished Service Medals. In addition, numerous special promotions had been made.

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[British official photographs.

The transport train of the Newfoundland Regiment and (right) the regiment marching back elated and triumphant from Monchy-le-Preux, where it added glory to the renown it had gained at Gommecourt on July 1st, 1916.

[British official photograph.

Newfoundland officers resting in billets after their return from Monchy. Monchy-le-Preux was a dominating position in the Switch line, south-east of Arras. The Newfoundlanders held out there for three days against savage German counter-attacks, winning special praise from General Allenby.

HEROES OF GOMMECOURT WHO GATHERED NEW GLORY AT MONCHY-LE-PREUX

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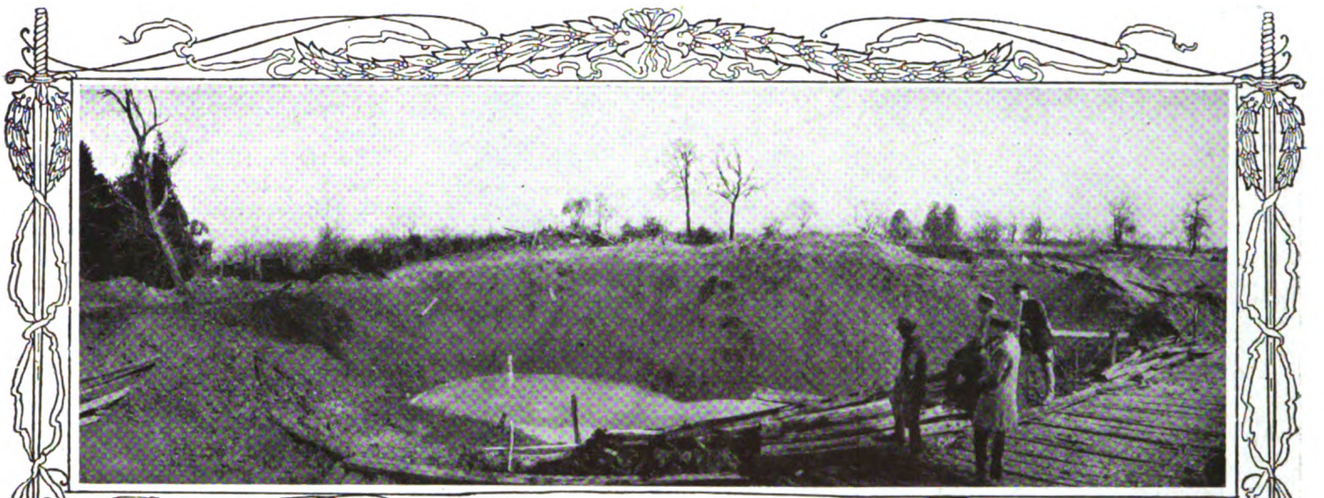


FOOTPRINT OF THE HUN: CHAPTER CLXXXVI. CROSS-ROADS MINE CRATER.

THE VICTORIES ON THE OPPY LINE AND THE SENSÉE FORTRESS SYSTEM.

By Edward Wright.

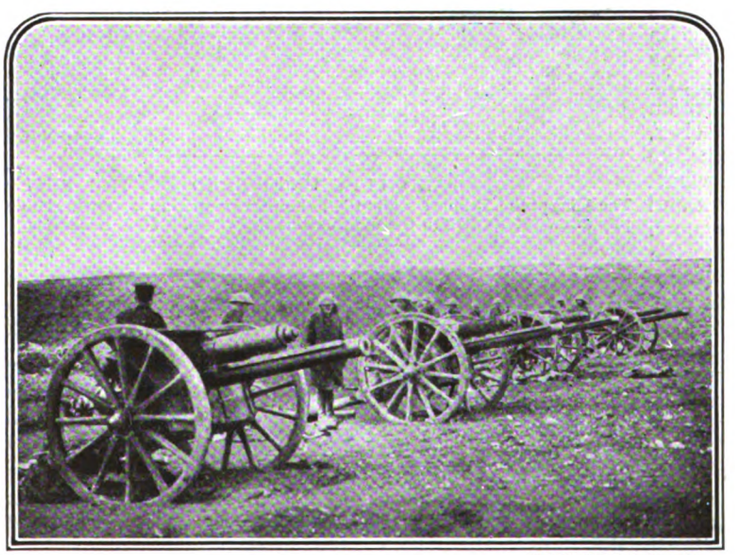
Haig Comes to the Rescue of Nivelle—Sacrifice of a Fortnight's British Preparations to Help French at Craonne—Magnificent Feat by Canadians at Arleux—Sand-Spouts Dancing Upon Volcanoes—Secret of Oppy Wood—Terrific Swaying Battles Round and In Village—Attacking Prussians Surprised and Enveloped in Fresnoy—Three German Divisions Counter-Attack English Garrison—Excessive Price Paid by Enemy—Field of Slaughter Around Gavrelle—Strange Adventures of London Company—How the Men of Kent Returned Home—Annihilating Struggles at Roeux—A Comedy of the War—Enemy Defeated by His Own Engineers—Fierce Actions at Monchy—Breakfast-Snatching at Infantry Hill—Why Ludendorff Poured Reinforcements Towards Guemappe—Triangle Wood and the Advance Towards Chérisy—Enemy Recovers Cavalry Farm—Resurgence of British Attacking Force—Discovery of Ludendorff's Vast Tunnel—Battles Around Fontaine—German Shock Troops and their Tragic Cost to Germany—Enemy's Rabbit-Hole Tactics Restore Confidence to his Troops—Allenby Teaches German Private that the Great Hindenburg Rabbit-Hole is Imperfect—Extraordinary Duel Between Tunnel and Gun—Triumph of British Gunners and Munition-Makers—Germany Can Only Fight With Her Left Hand—British Victory Between Bullecourt and Fontaine.

AFTER the Third British Army, under Sir Edmund Allenby, fought forward on April 23rd and April 24th, 1917, from Roeux to the ground near Fontaine-les-Croisilles, the First British Army, under Sir Henry Horne, resumed its action in strength. As before explained, the immediate aim of the British High Command was to compel Ludendorff to swing over a large part of his reserves, from the Laon front to the Douai and Cambrai front, and thereby facilitate the second great French offensive arranged for May 4th.

In this view, it was absolutely necessary for Sir Douglas Haig to put aside his own scientific plan for a battle of artillery, based upon his Vimy Ridge and Arras victory, and rush his infantry onward against the Wotan and Siegfried lines. As soon as any considerable part of the British artillery could be brought forward, the struggle was continued, up and down the Hindenburg system, in order to attract, hold, and waste the German reserves.

Immediately the battle of the rivers ended in a final repulse of a large body of German troops near Gavrelle, on April 25th, Sir Henry Horne turned the main mass of advanced guns against the top of the Wotan line. The villages of Acheville, Arleux, and Oppy had been transformed into fortresses, to protect the top of the Hindenburg switch system at Drocourt and all the southern side of the Lens salient from Avion and Méricourt to Rouvroy.

These last three villages were built on or among a series of foot hills, some three hundred feet lower than the topmost points of the Vimy Ridge. The lighter British artillery, which was hauled up to the great crest, had Avion at about a three miles range, Méricourt at about four miles range, and Acheville at a little more than a five miles range. In all three places a plunging fire effect could be obtained by the guns



[British official photographs.

BRITISH GUNNERS IN THE OPEN.

During the first phase of the advance on Oppy, Sir Henry Horne, commanding the First Army, worked forward mainly with his field-guns, sending out only comparatively light infantrymen behind his barrage.

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[British official photograph.

ALL GOES WELL.

Sir Edmund Allenby showing the King of the Belgians over ground which had been newly recovered from the common enemy.

on the Vimy cliffs, giving the cannon almost as much power of pitching its shells behind the German foot-hills as the howitzer possessed.

The ordinary British howitzer, with good aerial and hill fire controlling observation, could smash up any hostile concrete fort by its creeping barrage. If General Horne had had another fortnight to site his heavier artillery, accumulate shell, and photograph and register upon all German works within a range of six miles, he could have paralleled his Vimy success. Having to act quickly in order to assist the French armies, the brilliant Scots gunner-general attacked the new enemy line in piecemeal fashion. He was opposed by a reorganised and greatly strengthened German army, under General von Reiser, which he had driven from the Ridge to its fourth line, which originally ran from Fampoux and Gavrelle to Arleux and Méricourt. The enemy retained only the upper part of this last system of his original front.

The part which he held divided at Oppy into two branches, making a loop at Arleux. General Horne worked forward mainly with his field guns, sending out only comparatively light infantry forces behind his barrage. He was well aware, from his experiences at Gavrelle, that the German commander would hold his main infantry divisions in reserve, until the force of the British attack seemed to be spent, and then thrust back furiously with overwhelming masses.

Large scale skirmishing

The first phase of the battle was therefore in the nature of a skirmish on a large scale. Storming parties of Canadian, English, and Scottish troops fought into Oppy, and broke into and beyond the junction point of the German system at Arleux. At the same time, the British forces in Gavrelle swept forward more than half a mile south of the village, and reached the western slope of that low ridge of blood and mud known as Greenland Hill.

The capture of Arleux was a gallant feat. It was carried out by a Canadian force that fought on April 9th from Neuville St. Vaast over the Vimy Ridge, and continued its great drive for a depth of six miles into the German front. When the attacking troops leaped over their parapets before dawn on April 28th, the German wire entanglements remained uncut over several long stretches, and behind the wire was a Prussian Division, the 111th, who also held the crest of a slight slope running towards Oppy.

Arleux was a straggling street, flanked by groups of cottages, small gardens, and orchards. All these were fortified by the enemy, together with some sunken roads at the northern end of the village. At first, the Canadian battalions, who advanced against the uncut wire entanglements, were compelled to lie down under a rain of machine-gun bullets. On their wings, however, other Canadian battalions found paths for them, through the wire broken for them by the guns. Bombing and bayoneting along the flanks, the Canadian wings shook the nerves of the enemy machine-gunners, and enabled the held up Canadians in the unbroken sections to tear over the finger-thick wire, and arrive, with their clothes ripped to rags, against the enemy's centre.

[British official photograph.

LAND LEFT UNCOVERED BY THE RECEDING TIDE.

The King of the Belgians seldom left the narrow strip that remained to him of his own kingdom except to pay a few brief visits to the fighting line in France. Here he is seen standing with General Sir Hubert Gough at the entrance to a captured German dug-out.

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The Prussians endeavoured to hold out until reinforcements arrived from the neighbouring village of Fresnoy; but the Canadians pressed their attack with such fury that Arleux fell in two hours of very fierce hand-to-hand fighting. The isolated cottages, gardens, and orchards were bombed until the dogged Prussians were forced out into the open. Some of the enemy then surrendered, and others did not cease fighting until they were bayoneted.

At the end of the two hours' action, only one enemy detachment held out in the village. The Canadians drew well away from the position, and it was levelled to the ground by some fine shooting from the batteries on Vimy Ridge. In the sunken roads a line of German machine-guns continued to worry the conquerors until night-fall. Then they were rushed by the same tactics as had won the crowning hummock of the Vimy cliffs. The crest between Arleux and Oppy was stormed in a very few minutes after the opening of the attack, and the Prussians were driven along the two roads to the village and there slowly broken in the hand-to-hand action already described.

Canadians in Arleux and Fresnoy

As soon as news of the defeat reached the German gunners, they made Arleux look like a sandspout dancing upon a volcano. When the clouds of red and yellow dust cleared, the buildings of Arleux were scattered around the fields. Yet the Canadians held on to the spot where the village had been. Fierce counter-attacks were launched by the German commander. He barraged the village with gun fire, and swept it with an arc of machine-guns before sending his infantry into the open. It was all in vain. Every time his troops came out, they were seen from the Vimy Ridge, and shelled into scattered impotence. Not only did the Canadians hold on, but a few days afterwards they magnificently celebrated their month of continual fighting by breaking into the German position at Fresnoy.

Captured German officers were incredulous when told that Arleux and Fresnoy had been taken by the same troops that had stormed over the Vimy Ridge. They thought that all the original British attacking forces of the Easter Monday battle had been so wasted by four weeks of fighting as to need withdrawing and reorganisation. As a matter of fact, the Canadians had suffered rather heavily, and had found the action at Arleux more arduous than that at the Vimy Heights. Yet, by some wonderful power of recoil, it was the battalions that lost most men which were the most high-spirited and grimly enduring. The pipers of the Canadian Scots played their men into the battle and out again; the bandsmen of other Canadian regiments made music under shell-fire, and then brought up supplies through the enemy's barrage around Arleux.

Fortified wood at Oppy

With the storming of the crest between Arleux and Oppy another important success seemed to be assured. Oppy, however, was a more difficult position to assail. It was farther removed from direct observation from the Ridge and from the British batteries around the conquered heights. The key to Oppy was a wood beside the village, and this wood the enemy had fortified in an amazing manner. It was a grand rookery of machine-guns. The guns were mostly placed in the budding boughs twenty to thirty feet above ground, and the gunners took shelter during a bombardment on ladders running down the eastern side of the trunks. On the ground, the deep dugouts placed behind barricades were concealed and strengthened by felled trees.

In the first advance, the British troops penetrated the

[*British official photograph.*

DEVASTATION WROUGHT IN ONE OF THE RECAPTURED VILLAGES.

British waggons passing through a ruined village on the western front. Partly by the artillery fire of modern war conditions, and partly by the Germans who indulged in frenzies of wanton destruction, many places when retaken by Sir Douglas Haig's armies were found thus reduced to heaps of rubble. In this instance the crossed timber that remained upright seemed symbolical of the regeneration which was being won.

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ONE OF H.M. "LANDCRUISERS" FIGHTING ITS WAY INTO WANCOURT.
On April 12th, 1917, "tanks" played a great part in the forward movement of Sir Douglas Haig's armies, especially in the capture of the villages of Wancourt and Heninel on the Cojeul River, where two of these landcruisers carried on what was described as a forty hours' duel with the foe.

village and reached the wood and then swayed backwards and forwards for hours in attack and counter-attack against tremendous odds. German reinforcements came up in columns of motor omnibuses as well as by rail, and from Neuvireuil filtered into the wood and the groups of houses near the white manor-house to reinforce the garrison.

In almost regular periods, the fresh enemy forces surged up in three, four, or five successive waves. The struggle grew so close that the gunners on either side had to stop shooting at the village, and barrage the hostile communications. For example, three Englishmen, carrying up ammunition for a Stokes' gun, captured, amid the storm of German shrapnel, an enemy detachment who were crouching in a shell hole against their own gun fire. In the end, the German reinforcements worked back through the wood, and round the Church and recovered the village.

It was a costly recovery. The atmosphere was bright and very clear. From the eastern slopes of the Vimy heights, the field of war was spread out to view in minute distinctness. German observation officers enjoyed a clear view of the Vimy slope, but they could not see down into the hollows between the slope and the Oppy line, and they could not overlook the preparations in the British rear. British observation officers, on the other hand, were able to study all the enemy's movements as far as Douai.

Only in some crinkles of ground, close to the fire trenches, were German troops able to gather without being seen from the Vimy Ridge. Even there they were exposed to the view of the pilots and observers of the Royal Flying Corps, who often bombed them or raked them with Lewis gun fire. For the rest, the individual horses, waggons, omnibuses, trains, and marching columns of men on the German front were visible at a distance of several miles from their fighting-line. They had to move through a storm of shrapnel and high explosive, so that some German battalions were reduced from a thousand to four hundred men before they got into action.

Oppy was bound to fall, as the capture of Arleux and Gavrelle, on either side of it, left it projecting into the new British line. Sir Henry Horne brought forward his heavy guns, and lashed the village with big shell and hammered at all its communications.

Yet for days the big white manor-house survived, with its broken roofs and empty windows clearly visible through a thin fringe of dead trees. The German commander seemed to be defying all military doctrine by clinging to the remnant of the Oppy line, and wasting battalions day after day on bits of low ground, almost surrounded by British infantry and entirely dominated by British guns. Through gaps in the shattered wood, observers on the Ridge could at last espy the Oppy trenches, filled with dead Prussians and wrecked machine-guns.

Nevertheless, the German commander would not give ground. He retired the broken garrison and sent forward the Second Guard's Reserve to man the village, wood, church, and manor-house. When the British troops again attacked Oppy, in darkness before dawn on May 3rd, they came at once under a hail of machine-gun bullets, and afterwards under a hurricane of shell fire. Again they penetrated into Oppy Wood, only to be thrown out by the massed counter-attacking forces of the Prussian Guards, and forced back, for the second time, to the outskirts of the village.

Obstinate German resistance

While the British barrage went ahead to the eastern end of the village, with the assaulting troops following close behind it, the Guard's reserve drove in sideways in a

TRIUMPHANT ENTRY OF A "TANK" INTO THE VILLAGE OF HENINEL.
Extraordinary work was achieved by the "tanks" which cleared the way for the British infantry into the twin villages of Heninel and Wancourt. That which reached Heninel swept down numbers of the enemy, many of whom fled from the monster against which rifles and bombs were of no avail.

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southernly direction, through the wood and across the village. This compelled the British flank to fall back over the Gavrelle Road. Oppy again was won and lost.

Northward, however, the second British offensive on the Oppy front was more successful. Long stretches of trenches were stormed between Oppy and Arleux, enabling the line to be linked up with the Canadians in Arleux.

The superb Canadians were by this time known to the enemy command, and regarded by them as their prey. Sir Julian Byng, so the Germans thought, had kept the division so long in action that its strength was gone. The 15th Reserve Division of Prussians was informed that it had weak troops in front of it, and was deployed in and around Fresnoy, with orders to attack in the morning of May 3rd.

ARMOURED MONSTER THAT THERE WAS NO WITHSTANDING.

During the fighting to the south-east of Arras the "tanks" were taken by their crews wherever their irresistible force could be best employed. Many thousands of yards of wire were flattened out, dug-outs broken in, and machine-gun corners destroyed by them in the fighting along this front.

The result was that before morning dawned, the fresh Prussian division was surrounded in Fresnoy village. By six o'clock in the morning the Canadian encircling movement was completed. The enemy's front was strongly defended with machine-guns and wire entanglements, and as at Arleux, part of the Canadian force was held up in the centre. But again on the wings, the Canadians broke through, linked together along the enemy's rear, and, after a short, fierce bomb and bayonet attack, captured the remnants of the Prussian division. Only two hundred men and eight officers were taken, as the nine Prussian battalions had been under British gun fire all the way from Douai.

Canadians beat the Prussian Guards

Fresnoy, however, then became a British salient between the enemy positions at Acheville and Oppy. A counter-attack by the First Reserve Division of the Prussian Guards was shattered by high explosive shell and shrapnel from British guns on the Vimy positions. This repulse enabled the Canadians to improve their lines beyond Fresnoy by the capture of another German trench. The Canadians, however, remained with two flanks to defend, and when they were relieved by English troops the enemy continued to thrust in on either flank to prevent the new garrison from working forward throughout the line.

Then at dawn on May 9th the German artillery around Lens, together with every available gun north of the Scarpe, drenched the five hundred yards of front at Fresnoy with shells of all calibres. The enemy's new high velocity guns, throwing 5 in. shell a distance of ten miles and 13·5 shell a distance of twenty miles, were employed in large numbers for making gas bombardments of British artillery positions, amid hurricanes of black smoke projectiles. Dense white smoke screens were skilfully used by the enemy to hide his firing artillery as well as to cover his infantry advance.

The men of the 15th Reserve Division advanced at dawn in dense columns, and were repulsed as they reached the fire trench. At nine o'clock in the morning the First Reserve Division of Prussian Guards, which had been detached from the Oppy sector, also attacked in column formation, and, after tremendous losses, gained a foothold on the outskirts of the village. For several hours the struggle continued, but though hard pressed, the English troops gradually won the mastery, and took prisoners from both Prussian forces which surrounded them on three sides.

PRISONERS CARRYING THEIR GUN FOR THEIR CAPTORS.

Many of the underground fortresses which the Germans had constructed to withstand any advance from Arras proved of little avail against the terrific British artillery fire, and the advancing infantry were frequently able to compel dazed prisoners to bring up their own guns with them.

Just as a defensive victory against great odds was shaping, the German commander brought up a third division, the 5th Bavarian. Through the lines of the weakened 15th Division the Bavarian troops passed in columns with a battering ram effect against the lads from the English Southern Counties. In spite of the intense bombardments and extraordinary pressure of the enemy, the Englishmen served their machine-guns to the last moment, and when the village, or rather the cellars of the village, was choked with gas and blown in by high explosive, they fell

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ENEMY CAVALRY IN THE FIELD.

German photograph showing cavalry ready for action. When in the spring of 1917 the cavalry came into contact during the fighting to the east of Arras the enemy horsemen were found of poor quality compared with those who had fought in the earlier actions of the war.

back to Fresnoy Wood. Thence they recovered part of the lost ground by a counter-attack, and from the north-west corner of the wood defied the Prussian and Bavarian masses to shift them. Canadian officers, fighting alongside the South-country Englishmen, were full of praise for the manner in which their comrades fought.

The enemy High Command paid an excessive price for the recovery of Fresnoy. Any commander could have broken into a salient, only five hundred yards in breadth, by concentrating the guns of two armies upon the small patch of ground and its neighbouring batteries, and deploying three divisions of the first class to wear down the physical power of the small garrison. It was mere bludgeon work, this counter-attack by 27,000 men in dense column formation, and as the field of war was dominated by the Vimy Ridge, the destruction of German men, guns, and material was enormous. The same conditions obtained at Oppy and along the next village southward at Gavrelle. While the forces of the First, Third, and Fifth British armies swayed to and fro on the wings of the battlefield, their centre stood almost motionless during weeks of incessant slaughter.

Gavrelle and Greenland Hill

The garrison of Gavrelle had heaps of dead grey figures before it in the action of April 23rd. In the next action, on April 28th, the British forces that attacked from the south of Gavrelle village achieved a remarkable success. They swept over a wide tract of vague country, which had no special landmarks, and reached the western slopes of Greenland Hill. At that time Greenland Hill could have been transformed into another dominating British position, and saved from becoming one of the most terrible of enemy obstacles. The movement, however, was checked by flanking fire from the next German position southward around Roeux. Until Roeux fell Greenland Hill could not be entirely conquered.

While fighting was going on at Greenland Hill on April 28th, some of the forces on the left, including a London battalion, dug themselves in and stayed there, and stubbornly broke a number of German counter-attacks. It was, however, very disappointing to them to have to stop owing to a check at Roeux of which they knew nothing at the time.

They had completely shattered all the enemy forces in front of them, and could have won, at scarcely any cost, for the time being another two miles of territory. They might have suffered badly from flanking counter-attacks from Fresnes, Plouvain, and the miners' cottages between the two villages, after the Germans had again strengthened themselves at Roeux. It was absolutely sound tactics to dig in between Gavrelle and Greenland Hill.

Yet the remarkable adventures of some two hundred London men showed what possibilities lay in the situation, had Roeux only been captured. On the left of the attack a company of London troops had all their officers either killed or wounded, and were left to do what they liked. A German company under the same conditions would have withdrawn; but, as always happened among British troops in such cases, the officerless Londoners worked forward in a spirit of savage adventure.

They scouted ahead to discover something worth attacking, and, about a thousand yards from Greenland Hill, they saw a small patch of woodland known as Square Wood. Here, they said to themselves, was a visible objective in the featureless countryside. So they gathered and headed for the woodland. Greatly were they cheered on finding that the first German trench, on the skirts of the wood from which the enemy had been firing at them, was obliterated by their own barrage.

Square Wood and Railway Copse

In spite of the fact that the British artillery was still bombarding the patch of trees, the Londoners ran through their own shell curtain rather than be baulked of the kind of fighting they wanted. Square Wood was a strong fortress, originally intended to strengthen the German defences south of Gavrelle. After Gavrelle was captured it was used as a concentration place for some of the unceasing enemy counter-attacks.

Arriving unexpectedly in front of their barrage, the band of Londoners took the garrison by surprise, bayoneted them, and occupied the wood. It was a lonely place to hold, and the conquerors were hungry for more hand-to-hand fighting. They did not care to go back to their main body, as this seemed a tame ending to an extraordinary outing. A thousand yards in front of them was another and larger wood, known as Railway Copse, from which enemy gunners began to fire at them.

In wide order they charged for the best part of a mile against the hostile batteries, leaving behind only a handful of men to hold Square Wood. When they closed upon the German guns, the gunners fled, thinking that the entire British Army had broken through the line, and was storming upon them. The London men fired upon the fugitives, and some German infantry at a distance also brought machine-guns and rifles to bear upon their own frightened gunners.

Since April 9th there had been a very fierce bitterness

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among the German infantry over the lack of support they received from their artillery. In the prison cages the gunners had at times to implore the help of the British guards to prevent them from being done to death by their angry countrymen. It was a fact that many German artillerymen had been so panic-stricken by the British bombardment that they kept in their dugouts instead of courageously trying to cover their infantry. This was the reason why the men serving German batteries in Railway Copse were shot down by German troops as they fled.

End of a gay adventure

Decisive was the assistance the Londoners received from their enemies. They could have taken the guns back to their own line, had they been a little stronger and possessed the necessary horses. As it was, the Germans closed on their rear, and swept them with fire from all directions. The Londoners dug themselves in and arranged outposts all around and beat the enemy off.

They got in touch with the few men they had left in Square Wood, and in the evening the tiny Square Wood garrison communicated with the main body, near Greenland Hill. Thereupon, some officers went out and brought most of the adventurers back. Their losses were remarkably slight in proportion to their achievements. The entire battalion to which they belonged had less than sixty casualties throughout the day's fighting, so that the small advanced party, which engaged in one of the most audacious escapades of the war, got off practically scot free.

Their feat indicated how near the German line was to breaking. When, however, the London men withdrew, Ludendorff reoccupied Railway Copse and Square Wood with division after division, and, after another fortnight of intense fighting, the main British forces only won one quarter of the ground through which the two hundred Londoners had penetrated. Greenland Hill, which they could have swept on the rear with the German guns they might have captured, remained for months the base of the German defences on the Douai road. It was not until the first week in June, after a month of terrific battering, that the British hold on the western slopes of Greenland Hill was for the time assured. The eastern slopes were still occupied by the enemy.

In another part of the field, during the struggle along the three rivers of Artois, forty Kentish men had an experience somewhat similar to that of the Londoners. They went out to attack in one of those remarkable nocturnal offensives which have great advantages and great disadvantages. British commanders often used the night attack on the grand scale, because it forced the enemy artillery to reveal itself against the dark sky, and come under the superior and heavier counter-battery fire of the British artillery. The cover of darkness also impeded the work of German machine-gunners, as they usually retired to their covering when the bombardment opened, expecting only a raid. If they emerged before the attacking infantry reached them, they had to wait for star shells and other illuminating devices, in order to mark their targets. On the other hand, it was difficult for the assailants to maintain communications during a night action, and the fighting tended at times to grow confused and full of incredible incidents.

The forty men from Kent were among those who lost direction in the darkness. They went far beyond the rest of their line, and settled in a small copse, considerably more than half a mile beyond their comrades. Being well out in the middle of the enemy territory, and having a machine-gun with them and Germans all round them, they settled down to do all the damage they could.

No German discovered from what direction the deadly, unexpected fire came, as the spurts of flame from the Kentish rifles, with the longer flame from their machine-gun, looked like the work of a German supporting force, covering a counter-attack. Shrapnel was

[Canadian War Records.

CANADIAN GUNNERS DRAWING AMMUNITION.

Ammunition dumps presented an incessant sequence of scenes like this, waggons running in an endless chain to the batteries in front. When the great advance of April, 1917, began specially arduous work devolved upon the field artillery until ways had been made on which heavy ordnance could move forward.

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falling everywhere, and the comrades of the men that fell put the casualties down to gun fire.

Throughout the night and all through the next day the men from Kent held on to the copse. When evening came their ammunition was running low, and they resolved to cut a way back. Between them and their friends were scattered posts and two well made trenches full of Germans. They evaded the posts, and, screened by the dusk, reached the first German trench without being detected. But in the trench a German officer, with drawn sword, and the two orderlies beside him, saw enough of the Kents' uniform to detect them. There was a call to surrender.

In reply, one of the little Kentish force shot the officer, and the two orderlies were killed at the same moment. As the whole trench sprang to life, the men from Kent charged. A wild, sharp bout of fighting followed. The Englishmen disengaged themselves, and, amid a hail of bullets and bombs, sprinted to the second trench. By good luck this trench was deep and narrow, and the Kents' leaped it, over the Germans, who took pot shots as the unexpected figures made flying jumps above their heads. The remnant of the little party still had the zone of fire to cross. In the first rush two officers and thirteen men came in unwounded, and a few wounded stragglers kept turning up at night. In all, twenty men out of the original forty got home.

[Canadian War Records.

MEN OF THE MAPLE LEAF BOUND FOR THE TRENCHES.

Canadian troops going forward. Several of the men had fixed to the muzzles of their rifles special wire-cutting machines, designed to help them in getting through any wire that had remained standing after the preliminary bombardment that preceded their attack on enemy trenches.

In another strange episode of the nocturnal battles, some British troops north of the Scarpe, near Roeux, rushed a position from which, for the first time, they could look down and take in enfilade a hostile position on the south side of the river. Dimly they saw that the enemy trench was full of Germans, and, therefore, they furiously raked it with machine-guns. Their smashing fire, however, did not seem to worry the garrison. Only when day broke was it discovered that the men who filled the trench had been killed by gun fire before the British infantry arrived on the scene.

On April 30th the Germans round Gavrelle re-organised the ground they had temporarily lost to the London group, and, on a day of brilliant weather, stormed back towards the village. The great counter-attack was ineffectual, and resulted only in fresh and larger grey swathes being piled upon the barren fields of dead bodies. On May 3rd the British troops in turn resumed the battle in the Gavrelle sector.

They were met by masses of Germans in a violent hand-to-hand combat round a windmill north of the Douai road. Eight times the windmill changed hands while the gunners on both sides looked on helpless. Few were the rockets that could be carried to the opposing fighting-lines, and artillery observers were often afraid to act on the signals they perceived, because of the sandwich medley of the action.

Sometimes British rockets went up on the rear of strong parties of Germans, with the result that the enemy was shelled by his own guns. The German gunners acted too readily on the information conveyed by the British rockets, and thinking that the entire ground was lost, deluged it with shell, effecting more demoralisation among the Germans than slaughter among the British.

Another Prussian Guard defeat

Another division of the Prussian Guard was engaged in the struggle around Gavrelle on May 3rd. It was supported by the Reserve Guards Division, which was detached for the first counter-attack at Fresnoy. In these circumstances the nine battalions of Guardsmen completely lost the day, and, leaving the windmill in the hands of the British troops, after seven vain counter-attacks, retired, after piling the field of death with thousands more of their newly dead.

In all cases, the number of British troops engaged against the Hindenburg system at the end of April to the beginning of May was small in comparison with the number of German troops. Ludendorff went out of his way to state in his official reports that the British attack on April 28th was of terrific weight, while the attack delivered on May 3rd was feeble.

On both occasions the British Army commanders used almost a similar weight in the offensive, and obtained almost similar results. The Germans employed more troops and lost more from shell fire during the preliminary operations. Moreover, by reason of their system of mass attack, either in solid lines or in solid columns, they lost far more from machine-gun and musketry fire.

The German anticipation of the tactics of the Hindenburg system was reversed. Ludendorff had arranged that Sir Douglas Haig's lieutenants should launch dense, large forces against the invincible machine-gunners and long range artillery of Germany. This arrangement did not prove practical. Such was the danger to the Hindenburg lines that the German command had to employ men by the mass in its defence, while the British command generally used troops in open order to induce the foe to gather in large targets for the British artillery.

Around Roeux the fighting on April 28th and May 3rd was as terrible as at Gavrelle. The English troops who relieved the gallant Scotsmen had a most bitter time in and about the chemical works and on Greenland Hill. Having recovered the factory, the enemy made it a machine-gun and trench-mortar position, from which a blast of fire swept the attacking troops. Many leading English officers fell, but subalterns and sergeants succeeded them, and with brilliant initiative held on to important points of ground, and made fierce attacks against the increasing pressure of the enemy.

Fierce fighting around Roeux

In the afternoon of April 28th the German commander collected a great force of men and launched them in wave after wave. Happily, the preparations for the grand counter-stroke were observed by British pilots. Their signalling helped the British gunners to get quickly upon the moving target.

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Three counter-attacks were completely broken, between Plouvain and Roeux and Greenland Hill, by intense artillery fire. The English battalions, though enfiladed northward from the high ground of the Douai road, and caught on the flank by a line of German machine-guns on a slope between the Scarpe River and Monchy Hill, retook the chemical works as the Scotsmen had done, but had to fall back.

Violent enemy counter-attacks

The enemy had a labyrinth of defences knitted together from the ruins of the railway station, manor-house, chemical works, cemetery, churchyard, and cottages. They also held two dominating positions north and south of the village. Bombarded out of the chemical works on April 28th, the English troops resumed their attack, and again entered the factory and captured a hundred German Poles in and around the works. Again, however, they were driven back, the ground being untenable because of its exposure to the German positions beyond.

Owing to the formation of the terrain, the enemy was able to bring up continuous reinforcements along the north bank of the River Scarpe, where there was a winding, sheltering hollow that could only be reached by indirect fire from the British artillery. When a British pilot was circling above the hollow lane, amid innumerable bursts of shrapnel from hostile anti-aircraft guns, a considerable amount of damage could be inflicted upon the fresh hostile forces before they reached the caverns below the complicated nest of machine-gun defences.

British airmen, however, could not bide all day over Roeux on observation work at a low level. Not only were the enemy's anti-aircraft guns numerous and manned by very skilful men, but there were other important sectors of the great battlefield where aerial observation work was so vital as to tax the material resources of the Royal Flying Corps.

However, in the action of May 3rd the British troops, south of Roeux and the Scarpe River, succeeded in taking and holding two new German trench lines, thereby much improving the conditions for a further advance. Continuous fighting went on around Roeux for the first two weeks of May. Finally, in the evening of Friday, May 11th, the English troops, with Irishmen and Scotsmen helping them, completely broke the enemy's grip upon this group of fortified buildings which had been one of the most intense centres of conflict since the second phase of the Arras Battle opened. In the great night attack the sand-bagged cellars of the chemical works, which had changed hands almost as frequently as the Gavrelle windmill two miles northward, were cleared and reorganised. The quarry by the chemical factory yielded two hundred and fifty prisoners, and some four hundred

British win the chemical works

(Canadian War Records.

HAULING A GUN INTO POSITION ON THE CANADIAN FRONT.

Great work was done by the Canadians during the fighting to the east of that Vimy Ridge with which their fame will be ever gloriously associated. On April 28th, 1917, they captured most of Arleux, but one enemy position still held out; the Canadians then drew well away while their guns were turned on to this position and levelled it with the ground, after which they successfully completed a dashing performance.

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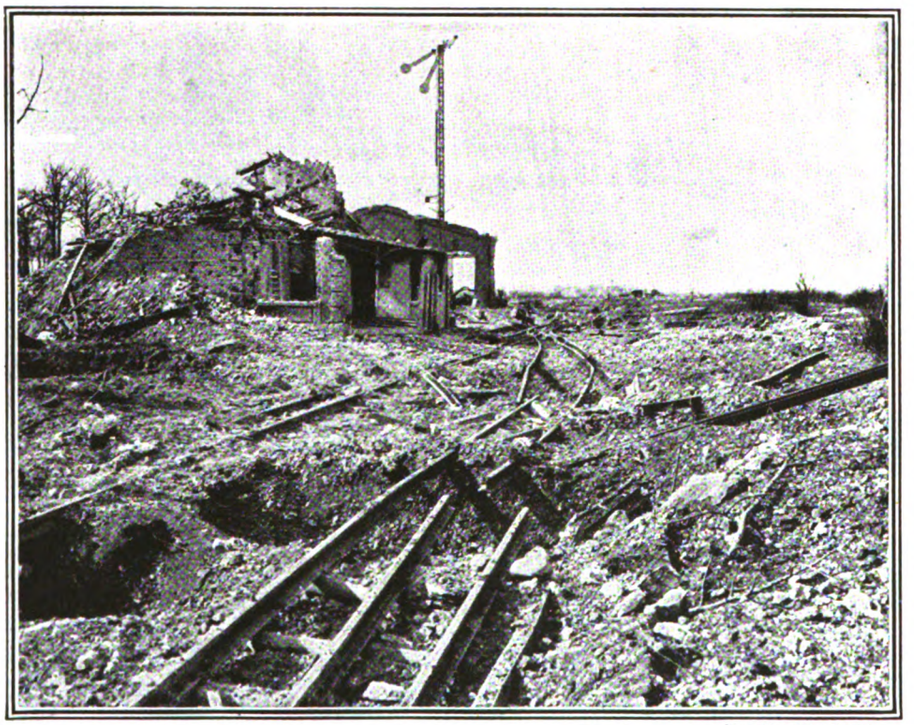
and fifty more were taken in the works and the churchyard, in the tunnels and open fields.

The Bavarian and Würtemberg battalions had come straight from Douai to garrison Roeux. So frequent had been the British attacks that the enemy commander did not expect another assault until the morning. He reckoned that fresh British troops would have to be brought forward in the night. As night was falling a terrific bombardment of shrapnel rained upon the network of defences and drove the garrison underground. The attacking troops followed so close behind their barrage that they carried many of the enemy machine-gun posts before the gunners came out to fire.

The larger part of the German garrison fled across the open fields of Plouvain, only to find this way of escape closed by another British barrage. Some of them went through the curtain of death, and paid heavily for their gallantry; other groups, caught between two fires, and hammered also by English, Scottish, and Irish infantry, surrendered, bringing the tale of prisoners to seven hundred.



[*Canadian War Records.*

FARBUS STATION AS RECOVERED BY THE CANADIANS.

Farbus village, with a station on the Arras-Lens railway, was in the heart of the Vimy Ridge fighting area, and was demolished. Both the village and Farbus Wood, west of it, were cleared in the morning of April 10th, 1917, after heavy fighting in generally unfavourable weather conditions.

The total British casualties were below this figure, while the losses of the two German regiments amounted to two thousand men, in addition to the unknown number of fugitives caught in the enveloping curtain of shell near Plouvain. The English troops cleaned out the nests of machine-guns behind the broken gravestones in the churchyard, and were helped in their work by the Scotsmen. From the cemetery there extended a large tunnel, entered through an old well among the tombstones and running westward, with openings at intervals for machine-guns. The machine-gunners, however, were held down by the hurricane of shrapnel, and, after some savage fighting underground, in which all the defenders were either killed or captured, the tunnel was taken.

Savage fighting underground

Meanwhile, the Irish troops worked among the wrecked houses between the churchyard and the village, cleaned out more German machine-gunners from the cellars, and broke up all counter-attacks on this flank. The English troops stormed the Manor House in a remarkable manner. The German sappers had fortified it in front and on both flanks, and placed in it an extraordinary machine-gun redoubt that could fire in three directions. But the English troops attacked the building from the rear, where there were no machine-guns sweeping all the approaches. Though in the confusion of the fighting some of the attacking troops lost their way, and, as usual, went ahead two hundred yards beyond their objective, the advanced line on which they dug themselves in proved a better position than that which their Staff had fixed on. Its value was decisive.

English enterprise rewarded

One incident in the fighting formed a notable comedy of the dreadful war. A German doctor was found in a dug-out, and instead of taking the trouble of explaining the position to him and making him a prisoner, he was given the work of attending to wounded British soldiers. He worked well and quickly, and dressed more than a hundred injured men. Each one he labelled for Berlin, and sadly was he surprised when he learnt that his patients were not prisoners of the Germans but that he was a captive attending to his conquerors.

The victorious troops spent the night and the following day in turning the labyrinth of tunnels, dug-outs, and machine-gun emplacements to their own use. Only when their explorations and repairs were thoroughly carried out were they able to appreciate their own valiant tenacity. Not since the Ulstermen charged up the Ancre valley on July 1st, 1916, had anything been seen like the first Scottish and English attacks against Roeux.

The tunnelled and caverned position, lying in an arc of German dominating heights, seemed impregnable. In the Manor House the roof above a central machine-gun position consisted of seven feet of concrete. Roeux had originally been a warren of ancient tunnels and large cellars, to which the villagers fled for refuge from Germanic invading forces in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Modern German engineers had extended and linked the old underground ways; and then, with tons of concrete and an infinite number of sand-bags, they had made the village safe from high-explosive shell.

As we have seen, it was captured merely by shrapnel that held the enemy down until all his rabbit holes were guarded by British bombers. After spending a day in the work of consolidation the conquering force again advanced in the evening, and steadily worked through the village, which was entirely conquered against incessant German counter-attacks by May 16th. The last German assaults were made under deadly disadvantages.

Fresh battalions were sent out from the fringed woodland along the Scarpe Marshes, and over the broken ground by the Douai railway line. They had to sit in makeshift shallow trenches along the river-bank, entirely exposed to the fire of the British artillery. The new defenders of Roeux held the tunnels and concrete pits, while the ruins above them rocked and smoked under an equally terrific German shell fire.

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In the supreme counter-attack the enemy reached the famous chemical works and the railway-station after plunging through the British barrage. There was a desperate struggle with bomb and bayonet in and around the cellars, but finally the Germans were forced back in headlong flight into the British shell curtain.

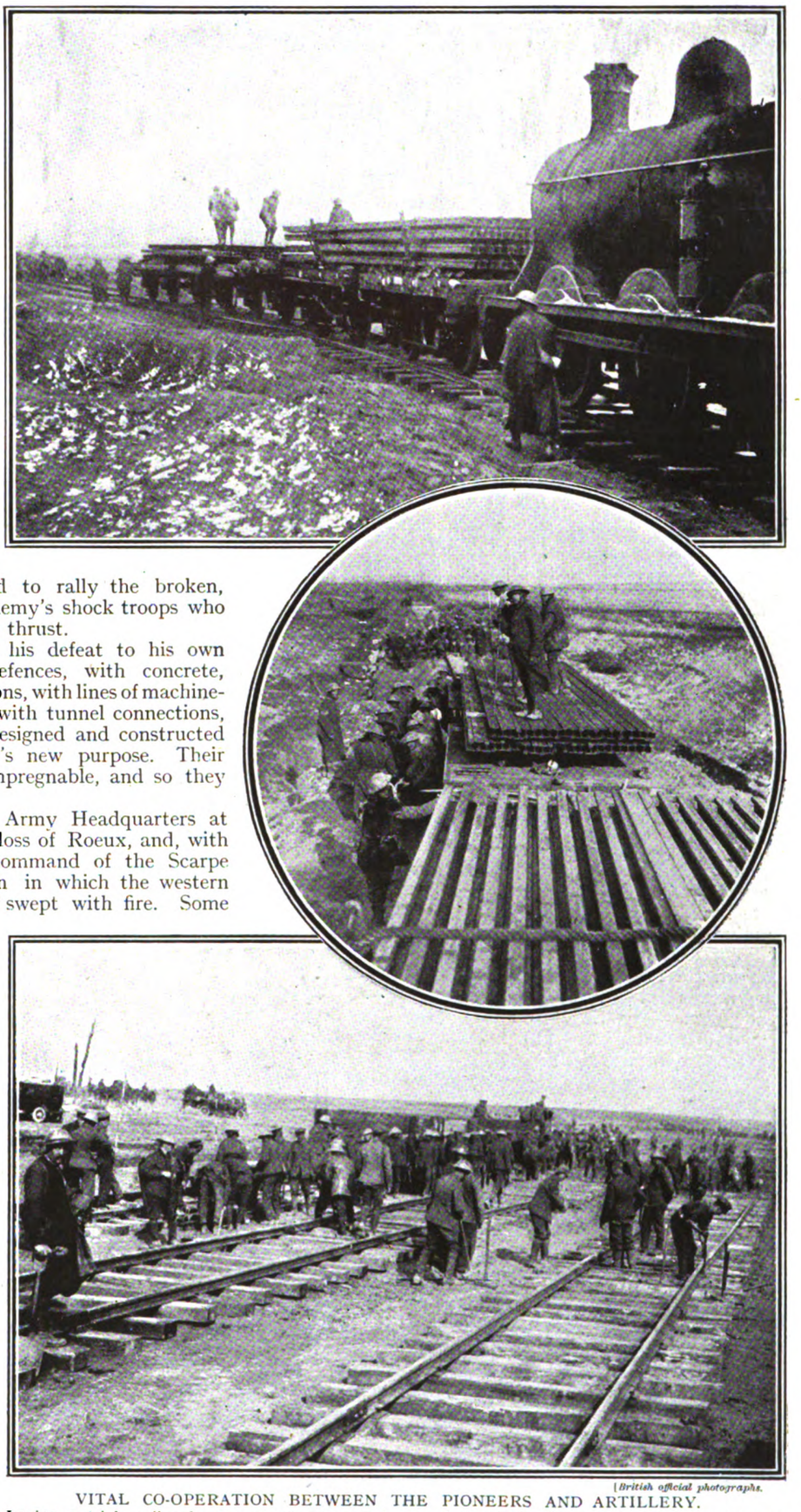
Another wave of Germans—Bavarians as usual—broke against the great tunnel, Manor House, and churchyard. Parties of enemy gunners tried to work forward among the shell craters, while machine-gun teams nosed warily along the ground. At times the pressure of the assault was very strong. In one place a single British soldier surviving from a machine-gun team retrieved the critical situation. Single-handed he swept the Bavarians back until they gathered in such force as to break the line. He then helped to rally the broken, scattered defenders against the enemy's shock troops who had converged for a final winning thrust.

In one way the enemy owed his defeat to his own engineers. The German-built defences, with concrete, loopholed bastions, with lines of machine-gun posts and with tunnel connections, were too well designed and constructed for the enemy's new purpose. Their makers had regarded them as impregnable, and so they were against German troops.

Boomerang recoil of thoroughness

After May 16th the German Army Headquarters at Douai resigned themselves to the loss of Roeux, and, with Roeux, to the loss also of the command of the Scarpe valley and the flanking position in which the western slope of Greenland Hill could be swept with fire. Some two miles south of Roeux was the famous dominating British position, the hill of Monchy, which looked across the valley to Infantry Hill and the slope on which Sart Wood and Vert Wood rose.

In spite of the fact that the British artillery on and behind the Monchy plateau could fire, with continual and exact information, upon the enemy's trenches and gun-pits on the rolling eastern plain, it was very difficult for the British infantry at Monchy to storm down and up to the wooded slope. North and south of the valley, around Pelves, and on the Arras highroad near Guémappe, the Germans had some skilfully-sited M.E.B.U. sunken machine-gun forts, that were very difficult to knock out with gun fire. Every night German Pioneer companies excavated new dug-outs, trenches, and redoubts, so that the positions constantly increased in strength, after the first battle of the rivers on April 23rd. By machine gun and rifle fire the



[*British official photographs.*

VITAL CO-OPERATION BETWEEN THE PIONEERS AND ARTILLERY.

Laying a triple railroad over recaptured ground. In circle: Unloading rails for a permanent way under construction. Above: Bringing up rails along the lengthening line. The work of the pioneers and other construction forces in organising new lines of communication from Arras to Fampoux Monchy, Guémappe, and Wancourt for the artillery was amazing in scope and rapidity.

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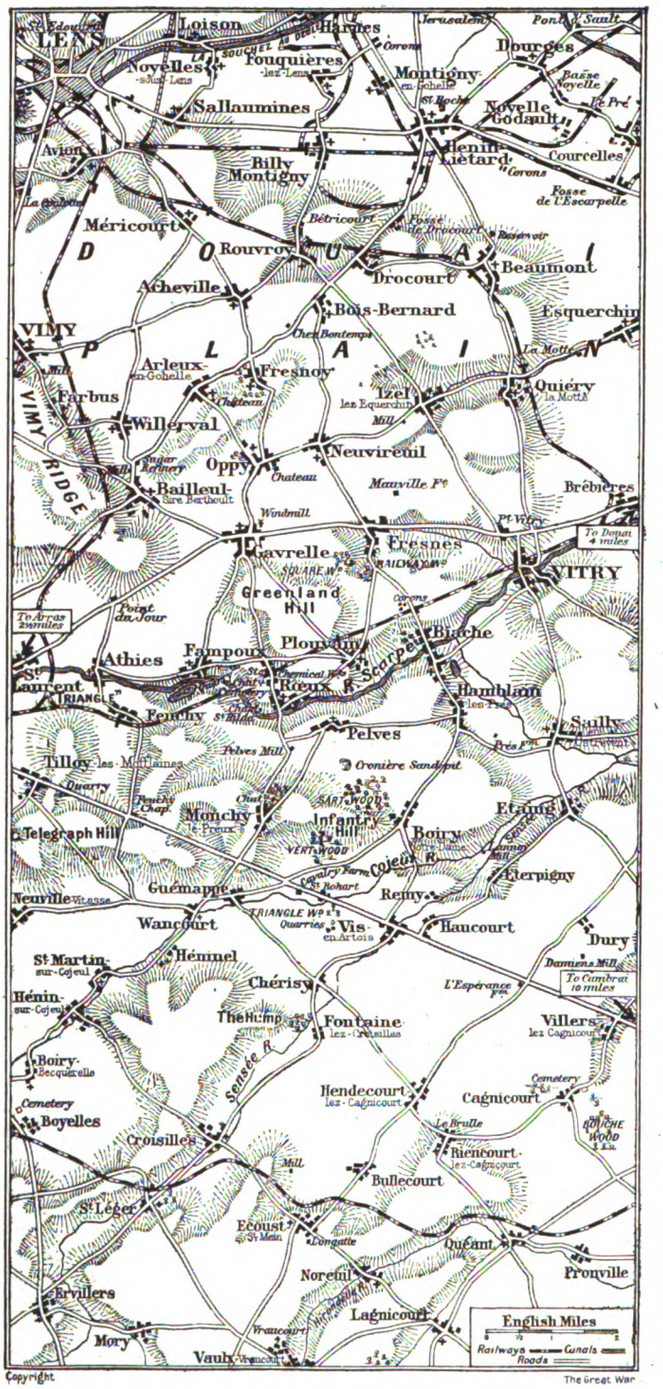
enemy garrison swept Guémappe in enfilade, as well as raking directly the hillside and hollow at Monchy.

In every action the German artillery was massed in remarkable force upon Monchy. The aim apparently was to kill the British observation officers peering from the hillside and telephoning to their guns, and to smash up the British troops gathered upon and around the plateau. As has been seen in the Verdun and Somme Battles, great hill positions, with long slopes, had their weak side.

With a very powerful artillery, concealed in creases of ground and patches of woodland on the rolling eastern plain, the Germans were able to fire tornadoes of shell, with direct observation, upon the eastern slopes of Monchy. They checked many of the British advances against Sart and Vert Woods, but in turn lost still more heavily when they endeavoured to send their infantry forward under direct observation of British fire control officers. The Third Army possessed a magnificent cover along the western side of the plateau, but had to use a large number of howitzers for indirect and sheltered fire behind the height. Only by means of aeroplane reconnaissance was the enemy occasionally able to bring his howitzers deliberately to bear upon the hidden British howitzer batteries.

A grand increase of heavy British artillery, sited behind the Monchy Plateau, was a fundamental condition of a successful British advance on Monchy. The artillery problem could only be solved by a vast amount of organising work on the new lines of communication from Arras to Fampoux, Monchy, Guémappe, and Wancourt. Magnificent in scope, intensity, and rapidity were the labours of the British pioneers and other construction forces. Yet they needed time to carry out their mighty work, by reason not only of its magnitude, but of the continual harassing effects of the enemy's long-ranged gun fire. His new field guns reached Arras; his new, big, naval guns, with flat trajectory, could have havocked Dover from Calais. Both of these pieces were used largely in imitation of the British naval ordnance employed in the Somme Battles to disorganise the German rear.



BATTLE FRONT FROM LENS TO THE SENSEÉ RIVER.
On this map may be followed the course of the fighting during the spring of 1917 from Acheville, Arleux, and Oppy—which had been transformed into fortresses to protect the top of the Hindenburg switch system at Drocourt—to the Fontaine salient, where on May 20th the British consolidated their victory on the Hindenburg line.

Yet the Germans were subjected to much more damage than they were able to inflict. Their loss of the dominating positions of the Vimy Ridge and the Monchy Hill laid all their communications generally open to well-directed gun fire in clear daylight, and enabled an exactly registered long-ranged British bombardment from invisible howitzers to be maintained against all their rear in the night-time. On the whole, therefore, the incessant artillery duel was as wearing to the low-lying German batteries as it was to the German infantry forces burrowing in the plain.

Nevertheless, all British infantry advances from Monchy were conducted under local disadvantages, until the British siege ordnance could be massed in overwhelming strength behind the plateau. From the valley positions, captured by the cavalry brigade immediately after the storming of Monchy, the British infantry gradually worked forward and upward to Sart and Vert Woods and the knoll, known as Infantry Hill, lying between the woods. Some progress was made north of Monchy at the end of April, and in the hard fighting of May 3rd the Sart and Vert Woods were approached and part of Infantry Hill occupied. A continual British bombardment on the enemy forces, concentrating for counter-attacks in the large woods, made it impossible for the Germans at once to sweep back down the lower slopes. Infantry Hill was carried, and the German lines driven in some three hundred yards in front of Vert Wood.

The British success, however, was not permanent. The enemy was able to filter large reinforcements into the caverns beneath the blasted woodlands. Though the woods were smitten constantly by the British artillery with an increasing weight of metal and high explosive, the enemy countered by deepening his underground works and pouring thicker concrete upon his roofs. The result was that Infantry Hill was recovered by the Germans, and carried again by the English and Scottish troops, who were in turn thrown back.

On June 14th, 1917, the knoll was again stormed on a front of three-quarters of a mile, and the survivors of the garrison were captured. Scarcely more than two minutes elapsed between the beginning of the assault

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and the victorious end of it. It was a brilliant feat of surprise, as the Scotsmen and East Anglians went forward without artillery support, snatched the hill from the Germans, and ate their breakfasts. Once more the Germans counter-attacked in great force, and drove the British troops from the crest. Yet again the Englishmen and Scotsmen returned the attack, and recovered their advanced posts on Infantry Hill after shattering a violent thrust by the enemy.

About a mile and a half below Monchy was the village of Guémappe, consisting merely of a chaos of shell holes near the Arras-Cambrai highroad. After the victory of St. George's Day Ludendorff's lieutenant sent the famous Third Bavarian Division forward, and when this in turn was broken he brought up an increasing number of larger forces.

His aim was to retain a series of machine-gun positions on the Cambrai Road, from which the flank of the British from Monchy could be swept. He rightly regarded attack as the best form of defence in the circumstances. Dragging up many new batteries of heavy guns, that began firing night and day at long range, he became especially powerful in 5.9 in. pieces, which were the favourite German weapon for general bombardment and counter-battery work.

British thrust from Guémappe

In spite of the renewed strength of the enemy in both guns and men, the British troops at Guémappe heroically fought forward, on May 3rd, towards St. Rohart factory, near the enemy village of Vis-en-Artois, at the junction of the Sensée stream and the Cambrai highroad. This advance was of enormous importance. Had it been allowed fully to develop it would have cut through and behind the supreme German fortress system around the Sensée River and around Bullecourt, Quéant, Riencourt, Chérisy, and Cagnicourt.

The entire Hindenburg system, with its illimitable tunnels, its thousands of M.E.B.U. forts, redoubts, and earthworks, would have been decisively pierced. Months of incessant and most murderous work would have been spared the English, Australian, and Scots forces on the Sensée River and Bullecourt sectors, and the enemy would have been compelled to make a longer retirement to a weaker line.

Hindenburg system threatened

As will be seen from the map, the junction, at Quéant, of the remnant of the Siegfried line and the Wotan line had been reduced to a salient by the magnificent series of victories won by the Third Army under Sir Edmund Allenby. Basing his observation posts on the dominant position on the hill at Monchy, Sir Edmund Allenby, the moment he launched from Guémappe on May 3rd, threatened to cut through the base of the great German salient.

Naturally, the German High Command could not permit the Guémappe operation to proceed so long as any strength remained in their Empire. They massed more guns and more of the forces of their grand reserve in the Cambrai area. When at last even their great reserve was in danger of exhaustion they brought guns and men from the Russian front.

As the Russian Commander-in-Chief, General Alexeieff, explained to his officers, scarcely any German artillery of importance was left to hold back the disorganised Russian armies. All the German active and reserve troops were moved westward. Their place in the eastern theatre of war was supplied by Landwehr and Landsturm troops, with shattered active divisions, that were merely sent into Russia to recuperate and train their new young drafts.

[*French official photograph.*

GERMAN PRISONERS IN A CROWDED "CAGE" ON THE WESTERN FRONT.

Sir Douglas Haig's statement of captures by the British during the month of April, 1917, reported 19,343 German prisoners, of whom 393 were officers. Between April 16th, when their offensive began, and April 30th, the French took over 22,000 prisoners, bringing the German losses through capture alone to more than 41,000 men. Letters found on them testified to general depreciation of moral in the troops in the German front line.

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BATTLE OF THE SAPPERS.
Where the ground won by the British neared the new German line, working parties sometimes came into contact, when picks and shovels were promptly exchanged for bombs and rifles.

In this way, the German High Command brought absolutely the whole of the sound fighting forces, in its army of six million men, against the British front of battle and the French front of battle. The British troops at Guémappe, notwithstanding, succeeded in pressing back the most intense concentration of enemy forces. South of the Cambrai road, at a distance of about a mile from the Sensée River, the Germans were imbedded in three quarries and a triangular wood, all connected with each other by means of tunnels, and likewise provided with underground galleries running to the Sensée brook.

The fighting in Triangle Wood was extremely arduous. The German garrison resisted hard and steadily, and was driven out slowly. But the troops in the three quarries were of poorer quality. After a mere show of battle, consisting of a few spurts of machine-gun fire and some disconnected bombing, they endeavoured to withdraw to Vis, and came under a formidable British barrage. Most of them, it was reckoned, were killed.

The victorious British troops then crossed the Sensée River, south of Vis, and, swinging their right wing along the Guémappe-Chérisy road, stormed into Chérisy village. So easy were the first stages of this advance that one English battalion had no casualties. The success was, however, only a prelude to main battles, for the German position at this point was extremely strong. The trenches were heavily held, as also were two difficult sunken roads which had been converted into lines of machine-gun forts. In addition, the narrow valley of the Sensée brook, that ran across the new British front immediately behind the village, formed a very formidable obstacle.

Chérisy won and lost

On May 3rd the British advanced troops broke clean through the village, fought across the river, and began to progress towards the rear communications of the Fontaine-Bullecourt-Riencourt-Quéant salient. Thereupon, the German Commander brought up an overwhelming counter-attacking force, and from woods, hollows, and tunnels sent them, in convergent mass, storming against the new temporary British line.

Though the fresh German reserves greatly outnumbered the advanced British forces, they could not easily recover Chérisy. They did not have everything their own way. S.O.S. signals went up from the British outposts, and, in answer to these signals, a blasting British barrage fell upon the German multitudes. Yet in some places the enemy came through the fire in sufficient force to press back the British troops.

STERN STRUGGLE IN THE FORTIFIED OPPY WOOD.
Never before had the machine-gun been employed in trees on any such scale as by the Germans in defending Oppy Wood. The British troops, however, fought their way despite the tangled wire stretched from bole to bole, and of the firing from above in the trees and from the veritable warren of machine-gun pits which had been established in the ground below.

Chérisy was lost, and soon afterwards the Germans recovered the strong point of Cavalry Farm, lying east of Guémappe, and almost as tragically famous, for the times it changed hands, as was the mill by Gavrelle.

Except for the enemy's tunnels, the ground that was given up by the English forces was of no value. It was wholly exposed to gun fire and unprotected by trenches, save for fragments of shallow ditches that had been wrecked by the opposing artilleries. Sir Edmund Allenby relied, in this kind of open field warfare, more upon his guns than upon his men. His method was to use fewer troops than did the enemy, while bringing a heavier gun fire to bear upon the great counter-attacking masses he provoked into action.

Allenby's open field tactics

The additional guns employed by the enemy at the beginning of May did not increase his fire power proportionately to their number. Many of the new pieces were needed to replace the batteries which the British gunners had rooted out with remarkable accuracy. In one part of the field, where three German batteries were grouped, two of them were completely destroyed by British counter-battery fire, and the third was badly damaged. Therefore, when the German infantry came

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back to the exposed ground between Chérisy and Cavalry Farm, they had again to suffer terribly, until they could construct fresh earthworks and excavate new dug-outs.

Night and day they were bombarded, as they laboured in the open fields; then, by a nocturnal attack delivered by the British troops along the Arras-Cambrai road, on May 12th, 1917, Cavalry Farm was again recovered, together with twelve hundred yards of German trenches. West and north-west of Chérisy village the British regiments slowly gained more ground by slight pushes, but no further general assault was delivered for many weeks.

Amazing German tunnel system

One of the reasons for this was that the extraordinary strength of the southern end of the Hindenburg systems had been revealed in the intense fighting around the Sensée brook salient. The German stand was based upon two continuous tunnels, placed about a hundred yards apart, and apparently extending for many miles like the underground electric railways of London. There were innumerable exits to each tunnel, and an unparalleled number of sunken concrete machine-gun redoubts. A rush across one of the tunnels was usually ineffective. German reinforcements were sent, in continual streams along the subterranean galleries, against both sides of the attacking force. At the same time the main masses of German reserves came out into the open, and stormed against the British front.

For the purpose of grinding down the enemy's strength Sir Douglas Haig decided it was wisest merely to nibble at the strong, completed path of the Hindenburg tunnel system, and induce the enemy to counter-attack in the open. At Fontaine-lez-Croisilles the tunnel system was as perfect as it was at Bullecourt. In the battle of May 3rd the English regiments, on the Fontaine section of the Sensée line, stormed forward at dawn, and captured all the enemy's first zone of defences, including the important observation position known as the Hump.

Then they carried six hundred yards along the first Hindenburg line and took Fontaine Wood, north of the village. The Germans, however, remained in the south and south-east trenches and occupied the sunken roads west of Fontaine.

Also, near the wood on its southern side there was a very strong system of hostile defences, and all the ground which the Germans lost was pounded in fearful fashion by a barrage of heavy shell-fire. The British detachments in the wood obtained contact with the forces in Chérisy, but the enemy remained pocketed along the western side of the Sensée brook and immediately below it, and made the most of the cover afforded by the sunken roads.

When the British advanced forces were weakened by the tremendous barrage, the new German shock troops crept forward in the converging movements of which they were excessively proud. These "stosstruppen" were regarded by themselves as being a great improvement upon the older storming troops. In the original German plan there were one or two battalions of shock troops to an entire German army. Afterwards numerous new battalions of these troops were formed out of able-bodied unmarried men, youngish married men without children, bad characters of the regiments, and even convicts, with unusual strength of body. First, each German Army Corps was given a battalion of shock troops. Then one battalion was allotted to each division, and at very critical points brigades of shock troops seem at times to have been employed.

German shock troops method

The method was bad, and was not adopted by the British and French armies. All the attacking infantry of the Western Allies were shock troops. The effect of this element of Ludendorff's reorganisation in the western theatre of war was to empty the main body of eight thousand men in every division of its most powerful fighting men. The general quality was much reduced, while the men who were regarded as the cement of each battalion were

BRITISH INFANTRY CAPTURE A GERMAN BATTERY AT THE POINT OF THE BAYONET.

Early in the April offensive some British troops rushed a battery which the enemy, not expecting so determined an assault just then, had left posted in the open. As the attackers got up to the battery with the bayonet the gunners threw up their hands. Only the captain refused to surrender, and fought to the last. The victorious British captured six field-guns on this occasion—the first taken in open warfare since 1914.

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[British official photographs.

DESOLATION WROUGHT THROUGH RUTHLESS INVASION.

View of Puisieux as it appeared when re-won for France; (in oval) the road into Puisieux and (top) wrecked houses of the town. The photographs indicate in graphic fashion the ruin which desolated the French countryside from which the invading Germans had been driven.

removed and exposed to greater wastage than the less valuable main force.

The shock troops were an expedient of desperation. From Fresnoy to Bullecourt parcels of the enlarged Prussian Guard were sandwiched between ordinary divisions, with a view to supplying the strength that had been sapped by the formation of shock troops. Other German divisions, who had proved themselves finer men than the best of the Guards, were also sandwiched between the ordinary masses of German soldiers. Yet, as nearly all the best divisions had their shock battalions, which were terribly shattered by the incessant counter-attacks they conducted, there ensued a natural and widespread decline in the fighting quality of the picked divisions as well as of the ordinary divisions.

Never in all their history had the German tribes been so winnowed of their strength as they were in the prolonged operations along the rivers of Artois. At Fontaine the German shock troops succeeded at heavy cost in holding the village and pressing the British battalions back. Nevertheless, the British retained the supreme advantage of the possession of the high observation point known as the Hump.

Intense bombardment of Fontaine

Immediately after the battle of May 3rd, Sir Edmund Allenby massed an enormous weight of artillery south-east of Arras. Employing the dominating height as a permanent fire-control position, and sending up squadrons of machines to assist in discovering hostile battery sites and movements in the enemy's rear, the British Army commander broke up the Hindenburg system round Fontaine by a fortnight of intense bombardment. The artillery of Sir Hubert Gough's Fifth Army strongly assisted in the work of shattering the German front between Fontaine and Bullecourt.

The enemy's main communication tunnel was the supreme masterpiece in modern military engineering. It was lined as comfortably as the hall of a new dwelling-house, with countless alcoves, containing sleeping bunks, shelves for rifles, small arms ammunition, and bomb supplies. Electric light was employed in lavish fashion, and many dynamos were fitted to supply fresh air even in the event of the machine-gun shafts being blown in by British shells. Great underground caverns were connected with the main tunnel, into which were also built concreted shafts, running outward to enable machine-guns to be thrust up into the shell holes of No Man's Land on one side, and shell holes in the rear of the tunnel on the

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other side. In some cases the protective wire was of the marvellous depth of six hundred yards. It was arranged in a zigzag pattern, so that any attacking force, seeking the line of least resistance, would become enmeshed in an angle lined with the machine-gun positions extending in the tunnel. Mole warfare was developed by the Germans to its extreme possibilities.

Weakness of strength exposed

It was only when the British troops reached the main Hindenburg tunnel, largely constructed by British, French, and Russian prisoners of war and Belgian and French deportees, that they could appreciate the basis of the early boasts of invincibility made by Hindenburg and Ludendorff. During the battles of April and May the German High Command sacrificed men by the hundred thousand in order to win time to complete the construction of the great tunnel and the various subsidiary underground galleries connected with the gigantic rabbit run.

Like the formation of hundreds of battalions of storm troops, the scheme of the great tunnel and its subsidiary works was a confession of general weakness. The German troops as a whole would not face the British gun fire. Their own commanders thought that they would break unless they were comforted by some new protective invention that promised to save them from the suffering they had endured on the Somme.

The great tunnel seems to have been at first a successful means of reviving the confidence of the German soldier. Many of the numerous prisoners captured by the British Army became, after they recovered from fear of instant reprisals for the way in which British prisoners were treated by the enemy, as full of proud confidence in the resisting power of the Hindenburg tunnel as their comrades used to be of the attacking power of their national armies.

It was, therefore, one of the main objects of Sir Douglas Haig and his commanders of the Third and Fifth Armies to prove to the German ordinary soldier that the Hindenburg tunnel was merely a trap for rabbit-hearted men. Between Fontaine and Bullecourt the heaviest British artillery poured hundreds of thousands of the new British high-explosive shell upon the tunnelled line. The effect was terrifying.

Deep as the German garrisons had burrowed, they could not stay far below ground for a fortnight. In shifts they had to man their trenches and serve in their machine-gun forts. Many of them were blasted out of existence. Very many more were reduced by varying degrees of shell-shock into hopeless, human wrecks or enfeebled, nervous hospital cases.

For ten days and nights the overwhelming parks of British artillery played incessantly upon the surface and surroundings of the tunnel. Concreted and heavily-banked pits, enormous zones of thick wire, deep and well-timbered dug-outs, and reveted fort lines vanished in the smoke of hurricanes of shell. Where aerial photographs first revealed the most intricate system of defences that military engineers could construct, there remained at last only a tortured stretch of brown, beaten, and featureless earth.

Great were the British gunners, and the men who trained them, and the men and women who worked for them. Besides the grind of incessant labour, at sustained topmost speed, with the air continually in concussion, and the fumes of the charges blowing into mouth and eyes, the gunners had to share most of the battle with the infantrymen. They escaped usually the agony of thirst and the weakness of hunger, with machine-gun fire and hand-bomb explosions. Yet their foes tried to smother them with gas shells containing the newest poisons, to put them out of action with shrapnel, and destroy them and their guns with concentrated bursts of high explosive.

Incomparable British gunners

As the Germans possessed high-velocity guns that could have bombarded Dover from Calais, any former British recruit that enlisted in the Royal Garrison or Field Artillery, to escape the ordeal of the Infantry, must have been sadly disappointed. All held to their wearing,

BRITISH RAID ON GERMAN TRENCHES.

Night raiding of the enemy trenches was a constant feature of the fighting on the western front between the operations on a more extended scale. In this picture a raiding party is shown after it has reached its objective. Some of the soldiers are bombing the German trenches on the left, while in the foreground a couple of their comrades are seen to be shepherding three prisoners towards the British line.

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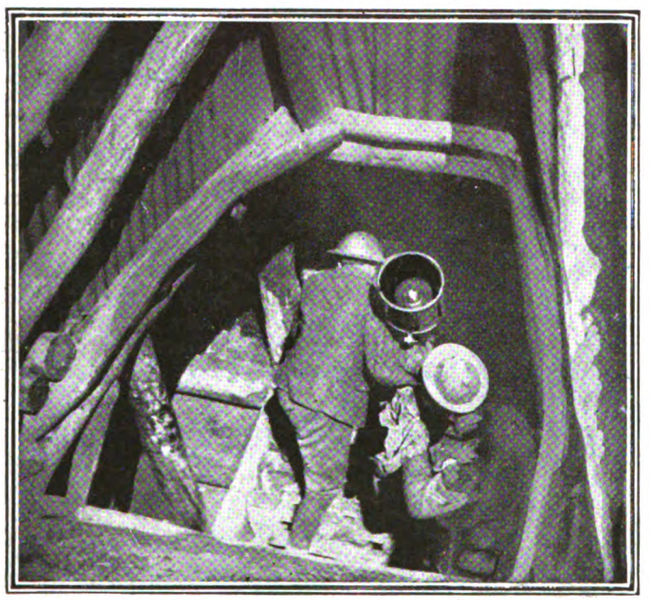
perilous labour. The German foot soldier wished to shoot or strangle his gunners. The British soldier wanted to worship his protectors, but contented himself with joking at them as he passed, and offering them a cigarette if, by a miracle of forgetfulness or economy, he had one left as he came back from the trenches.

Experienced as the British infantryman was in the effect of high explosive, he was amazed when he saw what his guns had done between Fontaine and Bullecourt. At times the German expenditure of munitions was only one-tenth of that of the British. Apparently, they did not lack shell, but had to be frugal in the matter of guns. When taking over supreme control of all German forces, during the battles of the Somme, Ludendorff and Hindenburg had promised to double their artillery by the spring of 1917.

Superior British gun power

They had not done so. Ludendorff was considerably inferior in gun power to Sir Douglas Haig, though he showed some progress since the days of Falkenhayn. Either he was still bent upon an offensive in another direction, upon saving his material and guns as much as possible and storing shell, or his final combing out of German productive labour had prevented his munition factories from carrying out his artillery programme. The latter appeared the more probable.



[*Canadian War Records.*

SETTING A TRENCH-MORTAR IN POSITION FOR FIRING.

Directly our infantry had rushed a position previously hammered by their guns, they reorganised and consolidated it, converting parados into parapet, and arming it with machine-guns and trench-mortars.

All the German dictator had to fear was that important American forces would arrive before Sir Douglas Haig was constrained, by exhaustion, to a standstill. In these circumstances the German High Command must have employed all its available artillery power on the western front in order to support all its available infantry power. Consequently, it may be concluded that the munition workers of Great Britain had surpassed all the productive energies which German workers could devote to supply their men along the British front of battle.

This did not mean that the munition factories of Great Britain had excelled in output the German factories. Germany still remained the master industrial country of Europe. Against her were the refined and most expert mechanics, male and female turners, chemists, and engineers of France, with the larger part of the engineering plant and personnel of the industrial regions of the United States, and all the male and female munition workers of England, Scotland, Wales, and the Belfast nook of Ulster. This fact deserves to be kept in perpetual remembrance. Great Britain was only one of three great Powers who, in combination, defeated the possessors of the Lorraine iron mines, the Lorraine coal-field, the vast Westphalian coal-field, the smaller Saxony coal-fields, and the large coal-fields in German, Russian, and Austrian Silesia.

British sea power it was that originally tapped the industrial resources of the United States, the iron mountains of Spain, and the British and French colonial ores. Notwithstanding this means of increasing the native resources of Great Britain, France, and Italy, the fact remained that Germany alone was stronger in warlike productive power than Great Britain was.

On the other hand, Ludendorff had to recognise that practically the entire world was against him. The only foreign help he received, in direct military material, was derived from the iron mountains of Sweden and to a less extent the iron fields of Norway. He was compelled to economise in gun power, and chiefly for this reason he extended the tunnel tactics in defence which Falkenhayn had really originally invented.

The battle in the Fontaine salient became a decisive duel between the gun and the tunnel. The gun won. In the early morning of May 20th, 1917, the British infantry advanced between Fontaine and Bullecourt, and carried the first Hindenburg line. When night fell the attacking forces were firmly in the support line above the tunnel.

English and Scottish battalions went into the wreckage. They met with no opposition from the fire trench, because no fire trench remained. A scattering machine-gun fire from the tunnel outlets delayed, for a time, the British troops, yet before noon they had driven right across the flanking systems, between the enemy's first and second lines, and reached the alley ways in the support line.

Thereupon the German commander launched his reserves in open warfare according to the ordinary Ludendorff plan. The fresh German troops fought well, and held the Englishmen and Scotsmen back until the afternoon, while the German artillery no longer practised economy, but ravaged the lost territory and the British rear with whirlwinds of shell.

In the meantime the British gunners had obtained information of the positions of their advanced artillery. In the evening the undulating land for miles along the British front again flamed and thundered, and, assisted by their overpowering barrage, the British troops obtained a firm footing in the last German trenches and consolidated their victory on the Hindenburg line.

The 49th German Reserve Division, composed mainly of Poles who garrisoned the Fontaine salient, was in such a condition that officers and men did not care whether they lived or died. The division had come to France from Rumania in February, and after being in the trenches for twenty-one days the troops were so dazed by the shock of the continuous bombardment that those who escaped and were captured staggered along the road like drunken men, and were so spent that they did not want food when placed in the wired cage.

The next day, when they were able to talk, they explained that they had never slept at night. The garrison remained in their tunnel, with a few sentries posted at intervals on the open ground. The sentries, however, became nervous, and frequently in the afternoon brought the troops up the steep stairways from the caverns on a false alarm. After the battle of May 20th only two thousand yards of the Hindenburg tunnel remained in the possession of the Germans between Fontaine and Bullecourt. What was of more importance, the new undergrounds of confidence supplied by Ludendorff to his troops had been shattered by British gun fire. Closely connected with this result was the magnificent work of the Australians, Englishmen, and Scotsmen in Bullecourt, which deserves a special chapter.

Hindenburg tunnel failure

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Back at Victoria for his first furlough.

Flowers for the brave at Charing Cross.

Soldiers bound for the front leaving Euston in volunteer motor transports for the boat trains.

Scenes of poignant joy and pathos enacted at the great railway-stations of London.

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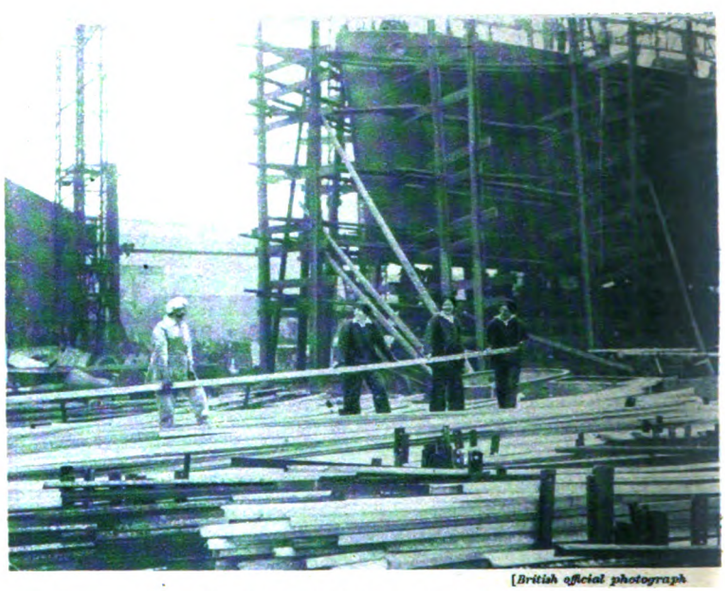
Cornish prize-winner for harrowing, driving, and costume.

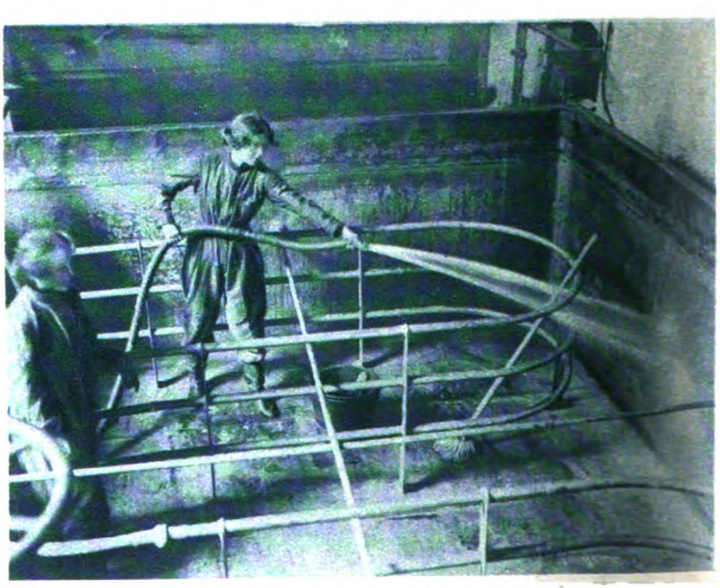
Carriage-washers on the Great Eastern Railway.



[British official photograph

Handling long steel bars in a shipyard.

Wheeling coke to tracks at Coventry gasworks.



Cleaning brewery vats at Burton-on-Trent.

Helpmates at home for heroes abroad: Some of the many diversities of national service wherein

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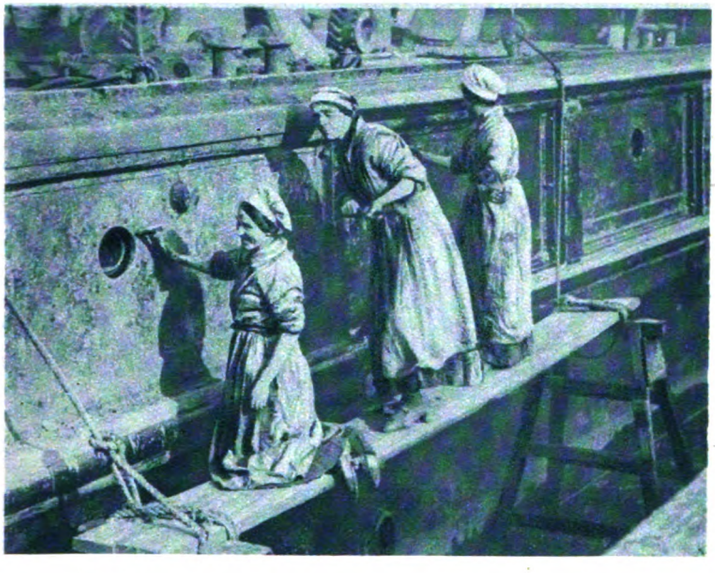
Carrying sacks of coke in a London gasworks.



Cleaning and painting a trawler salvaged at Rainham.

Lumber-women sawing pit-props near Ludlow.

Coal-women on a daily round in Glasgow.

Bricklayer's labourer in an English village.

women quickly proved their adaptability and endurance, and released men for military service.

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[Bassano.

Welcome guests in a stately home of England: Wounded soldiers at Longleat Hall, the seat of the Marquis of Bath.

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A PASTORAL INTERLUDE: SOLDIERS SHEARING SHEEP.

CHAPTER CLXXXVII.

NATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY AND SOCIAL CHANGES.

By Harold Owen.

A New Experience for Mankind—All "Precedents" Valueless—New and Magnified Factors—Our Unpreparedness—The End of an Era—The Unknown—The Red Dawn—An Awed Nation—The Crowd before the Palace—Hasty Provisioning—Five-Pound Notes and Gold Shortage—Holiday-makers Stampede—The Veil of Secrecy and the Growth of Rumour—"Business as Usual" Folly—Lord Rosebery's Plea for War Derbys—The New-comers in the City Trains—The "Nut": What he Was and What he Became—Changed Outlook of Society—National Slackness—A Nation without Leaders—Our Immunity from the Realities of War—The First Wounded—A Quick Acceptance of the Horrors of War—The Reaction to a False Gaiety—The First Zepps—"Full Moon" in London—Changes in the Small Things of Life—"Do you Take Sugar?"—Closer Mingling of the Classes—A Blow to Snobbery—Decrease of Drunkenness—Disappearance of the Tramp and Gutter Merchant—Trains that Did Not Run—Travel Stopped—The Vain Lure of Holiday Posters—Passports—The Cocaine Habit—Fortune-telling Epidemic—The New Class—"Equality of Sacrifice"—The War as a Boon—The Things that Could Not be Done—The Things that Had to be Done Without—A Nation of Gardeners—Spade Work in the Suburbs—The War and the Homes—The Mansions of the Rich—Migrations to London—"To Let"—Broken Hearts and Broken Lives—War Weddings—New Buildings Everywhere, but No New Homes—Canteens for Women and Crèches for Babes—Less Cooking at Home—Domestic Shopping—Children Left to Themselves—Increase of Juvenile Crime, but Decrease of all Serious Crime—No Murder "Sensations"—Decrease in Litigation—Changes to Come.

LOOKING back on those fateful days of August, 1914, the imagination and memory must be struck by one outstanding feature: the disparity between the great event then looming upon us and the outward signs of it. One chapter in the history of mankind had been closed, and the book of Fate lay open before our eyes, but with the record still to be written upon it. What would that record be? To a few, a very few, the record was to be brief. There were prophets who said that it would "all be over in six months," and their confidence was even unchecked by the recollection that the same prophecies of time, money, and men required to bring another war to its conclusion had been made and falsified. But these baleful optimists, soon to realise how greatly they were to be confounded, were few and for the most part unheeded. No man, however ignorant of the rudiments of military knowledge, or of those larger considerations which might determine the course of Armageddon, could fail to reflect that there was about to burst upon the world something so different from everything that had ever preceded it as to amount to almost a new experience for mankind, in which all "precedents" would be valueless and even positively misleading. The mere extent of the theatre of war—even as the scene was then set upon the stage of Europe—rebuked all *a priori* reasoning and theory, for though the tide of battle had flooded the same countries in other wars, the world of Napoleon was not that of to-day. Then the resources of mankind for its own destruction were small indeed. The armies were but a fragment of the peoples engaged in war, great battles that settled the fate of Europe (as our forefathers thought, just as we, perhaps as mistakenly, hope that this most dire tragedy will settle the fate of mankind, in the end beneficently, for countless generations to come) were decided on a few acres of ground between sunrise and sunset. Then the resources of money and material were as limited as the armies engaged, and then the powers of offence and of destruction were on the same small scale, so that the Marquess of Anglesey could almost see trundling across the ground the solid shot which a moment afterwards made him exclaim: "By God, duke, I've

ST. GEORGE FOR ENGLAND.

St. George's Day, 1917, was celebrated throughout England by much charitable work. At Windsor Queen Mary drove through the town and bought flowers wholesale for hospitals, accepting a bouquet from the Festival Committee on her way.

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lost my leg!" and brought from the Iron Duke, sitting his horse but hardly turning his head away from the battle that was to settle Europe, the laconic reply: "By God, have you?" But looming over us now was something not to be measured by the mind of man, with every factor that was a delusive "precedent" magnified enormously—the first war of *nations* since civilised man had deputed the defence of his countries to standing armies.

The first war of nations

The territory to be fought over, limited as it then was compared to its future extension, had been fought over before, in little patches that the mapmakers had shown on the map with signs of crossed swords—here a battle-ground and there a battle-ground, in clusters here (as in Flanders, that predestined cockpit) and there in simple isolation. But, though the veil had not then lifted to disclose to us how this dire event would shape (in battle-lines that extended from sea to sea across all Europe, so that the mapmaker's crossed swords would look like so many thousand miles of barbed-wire or chevaux de frise), we knew that the territory involved was the least instructive factor, except in technical military considerations, in the whole sum. For it was not the miles that stretched from the Ural Mountains to the Belgian coast, from the Baltic to the South Coast of France, or the vast oceans that we should have to guard to preserve the highways of our Empire—it was not these geographical factors that would decide the magnitude and the intensity of the coming struggle. What counted most were the armies to be engaged—the millions who would shake the earth with their marching, the amazing intricacies of modern life and economic interests, and, above all, the actual powers of destruction that had been perfected and increased since the last great scourge of war in Europe. Even since the Boer War—that trivial incident, though rich in consequences, that was then called "a dress rehearsal for Armageddon"—two military factors had arisen that were, in practice, totally new to mankind: the submarine, which had only emerged from the experimental stage since the Treaty of Vereeniging, and the aeroplane. That is to say, to the old elements of sea and land were now to be added two imponderable factors—the element of the air, and the new element (in a military sense) of under the sea.

SORTING THE SOLDIERS' POST IN THE GENERAL POST OFFICE.
Men of the Royal Engineers instructing women at the G.P.O. in the sorting of letters addressed to men on military service. In June, 1917, the Postmaster-General stated that his department dealt every week with nearly twenty million letters and parcels to and from members of the British fighting forces.

But, above all these material magnifications and complications of all precedents and experience, there was the moral and political factor of our unreadiness for the bursting storm. War is not *our* national industry—it has never been, except during the progress of a war, our national or political preoccupation, and Armageddon burst upon us as an incredible thing. When the history of these years comes finally to be written, and the judgment of the historian is mellowed by time so that he can see the essentials clearly, perhaps that which will most astonish the generations that will read of these days is the contrast furnished by our general, national, and political preoccupation with everything but Armageddon and the imminence of that calamity. Not until it was, so to speak, thrust under the noses of the statesmen did they give any indication to the nation whose destinies they largely controlled that even its possibility was present in their minds. As to the nation itself, it could not learn what it had not been taught, and obviously a country which was so habituated in Parliament to all deprecation of "provocative armaments," and which never heard any warning uttered half so loudly as the voices of protest that drowned the warning—a nation accustomed for more than a decade to seeing military problems debated in a thin House of Commons by experts who were thought to be cranks and were stigmatised as Jingoes—such a nation, lulled into a false sense of security by its public instructors, accustomed to hear every problem debated to rags except the problem of national defence, and somnolent with prosperity, peace, and plenty, and politically active only in internal dissensions—such a nation was manifestly unprepared for the red dawn of Armageddon.

Yet, the moment it became probable, all saw that it had been inevitable. To the shocked mind leaped all sorts of recollections of symptoms, warnings, and ominous truths. In a flash those who had been derided became suddenly right, those who had scoffed became silent. Perhaps our political history does not afford a more bitter irony than was furnished by this swift and terrible disillusionment of those idealists who had so largely affected our policy during the critical years when our unreadiness for Armageddon was being so sedulously prepared. Perhaps never has there been such a contrast as that provided by the intensity of our party political "warfare" and our obliviousness to the shadows cast before by the coming war of the world.

Suddenness of the storm

The suddenness of it all—the first mutterings of the coming storm passing so quickly into the onset of the storm itself—awed the nation. It all seemed incredible, yet it was all true. It had been talked of as something remote in time and even in probability—yet here it was. It "could never be," it "must not be," "it would be a

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crime if ever such a thing came to pass"—so the politicians' clichés had run, to take our minds off its probability—and now, under lowering August skies that seemed heavy with Fate, we had, almost in the twinkling of an eye, to realise that it had come, and that the last days of one great era of mankind were yesterday and the day before, and the first days of a new era of mankind, be it what it might be, were to-morrow and the day after. To some there was an overpowering awe even in the reflection that it had come in our time—that we, even we, were to live in the most majestically critical days and years of the history of man—that it had come to us and to our generation to stand out in the pages of history as the generation that bore upon its shoulders the burdens of the greatest tragedy ever brought upon mankind by man.

SOCKS FOR THE TROOPS.
Lady Byron (left) enlisted the aid of many helpers in providing socks for sailors and soldiers.

QUEEN MARY'S BIRTHDAY GIFT FOR SAILORS AND SOLDIERS.
In celebration of Queen Mary's birthday, May 28th, 1917, the many branches of her Needlework Guild in the United Kingdom and Canada sent a "shower of gifts" to her Majesty for the sailors and soldiers. Over one hundred thousand gifts of all kinds—games, pipes, walking-sticks, writing materials, blankets, etc.—were received by Queen Mary at St. James's Palace on behalf of the fighting forces.

To all, even the least reflective and imaginative, there came a sense of dismay before the vast uncertainties that stretched onward. For it was now seen how true it was that Germany had been working to this end. We had been warned not to heed the warnings—we had been told that Germany's aim was merely an economic expansion, that she had no rivalry with us except in the markets of the world, that our Free Trade policy was in itself a bulwark of peace, that we must distrust even the evidence of our eyes and of our ears in order not wickedly to contemplate as a possibility that which had now become a reality.

But once the great shadow fell across the world men realised, in a flash, in what a cave of delusion we had been living. The course of the diplomatic events of those last few days of peace showed us a Germany true to the revelation of Germans themselves—a hectoring, bullying race, aggrandised by conquest and swollen in pride by victories, preparing in peace only for the last great effort that was to establish for her the hegemony of the world. And the sudden and supreme infamy of the invasion of Belgium, with Visé burning as soon as the grey hordes had crossed the frontier and violated the territory of a little nation trusting in Germany's word and relying on even her protection, luridly showed from the first moments of the war what we were now confronted with—a Power mighty in its preparations, united as one man in its policy of conquest (the success of which was then doubted by no individual German, however much individual Germans may have come to "repudiate" aims of conquest when those aims had been finally frustrated)—and a Power that had cast behind it all considerations of humanity to alleviate the horrors of war, but was prepared from the very first day to march through terror and "frightfulness" to triumph—the triumph of barbarism over justice and right.

It was clear that this was to be a war *à outrance*—a war, if necessary, to exhaustion—a war that must extend as the weeks and months went on until it embraced practically the whole world, for there could only be two sides in such a struggle for elemental things: the side of right and the side of wrong. So, in those heavy August days—the culminating days of a feverish era of unbridled luxury and of great industrial prosperity, and yet of acute and constant social unrest, of violent theories and fantastic ideals, of fads and follies in every department of life, of weak statesmanship and of political turbulence about every issue except that great issue which was now to dwarf all others—in those sinister August days men peered into the future as into the unknown, into a future without

Elemental principles at stake

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MR. LLOYD GEORGE AT A "POTATO SPRAYING."
The Prime Minister (left) and Sir George Riddell (third) witnessing Mr. Waldron Rose (right), of the Food Production Department, demonstrating the spraying of potato crops with sulphate of copper.

horizons. There we were, in a few fateful days set "in the foremost files of time," and the future stretched onward veiled in the dark uncertainty that was lit only by the red gleams of war. All our little puny dissensions became suddenly irrelevant, all our fixed ideas came loose from their moorings, all our plans became suddenly suspended, nothing seemed normal, and men knew, though they could not say how, that nothing in the world as they knew it would be quite the same again. We held our breath—waiting. We held our breath so that we did not even cheer in the streets.

It has been necessary to recall some of those wider impressions and memories of those days in order to see the small things in their true perspective. How did we then greet the red dawn? In silence and in awe. There were no boisterous crowds in the streets, no war fever, no Jingo demonstrations, no paradings of high-spirited crowds bawling defiance of the enemy. Round Buckingham Palace, on the eve of war, a respectful crowd had assembled—a quiet, orderly, much-moved crowd, that had gathered there, as at the very heart and hearth of our kingdom and Empire, to give their token of loyalty and duty, and to strike as soon as possible the note of national unity. They sang "Rule, Britannia" lustily but not boastfully, they cheered the King, they sang his anthem, and quietly dispersed.

Note of national unity

Whitehall became suddenly busy, and lights shone in the Admiralty until the dawn came to extinguish them, and the new War Office, now dealing with its first war, looked big and apt for its task. But the outward signs of war were not greatly to be seen—only because the signs were hidden. One vituperative writer has spoken of "the blue funk" of the nation during those first few days. He libelled the race to which he does not belong. There was no "blue funk," and no sign of it, even to the man looking for it. For the hasty buying of provisions, which went on quite on a small scale, was due not to panic, but to the simple fact that men and women were suddenly confronted with something utterly outside either their experience or their belief, and they did not know what might happen. Gold had become suddenly scarce, and amongst the minor comedies of those days was the difficulty of changing a five-pound note. One member of Parliament, wishing to get home to the North in his Rolls-Royce car, suddenly found that he had no petrol and no money to buy it, with the banks closed over the Bank Holiday, and he then could not change the five-pound notes he had borrowed from a friend for his railway journey. Many little devices were invented for circumventing the new state of affairs, so that men would go to a post-office and buy five postal-orders of a pound each, and then change them—one by one. For there was a pitfall even in that trick, as one man discovered who, having been told of the innocent dodge, promptly handed in his five postal-orders all at once, only to receive his original five-pound note back again. Such incidents as these gave people a distorted idea of what might happen. Thus they hurried away from the seaside — especially the South-East Coast—and countermanded their lodgings, so that the first economic effect of the war was felt by the hotel-keepers and the lodging-house keepers of Margate, Ramsgate, and Broadstairs—which soon were to be full of refugees flying in fishing-smacks from Ostend, until Ramsgate had its little harbour full of boats marked "O" on their brown sails, with a yacht or two of prosperous Belgians among the craft.

THE PRIME MINISTER TRIES HIS HAND.
Mr. Lloyd George directing the nozzle of the potato sprayer which Mr. Waldron Rose carried. During the 1917 campaign for increasing the home-grown food in Britain these potato sprayers were widely employed.

Arrival of first refugees

In the upheaval and uncertainty of those early days there was a little hasty buying of foodstuffs—and many sides of bacon purchased on or about August 6th were unfit for human consumption before the hot days had passed. But this was not panic buying; there was no lack of faith then in the power of the Navy to maintain our food supplies; but Armageddon had come, and no man knew what was going to happen next, and rumours of collapse in the City and the sudden shortage of gold

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had made people here and there determined to be "prepared for the worst."

The veil of secrecy that had fallen upon all movements of Army and Navy helped to bring forth a crop of rumours. On the second day of the war "a decisive battle" had been fought in the North Sea. Some said the German Navy was at the bottom, others said that all our Dreadnoughts had been either sunk or damaged, and there was no ground whatever for the rumour except that of the uninstructed expectation that, naturally, as soon as war began, the two Fleets would come into action, for there was then no public knowledge of the mine-fields the Germans were laying to keep our Navy at arm's length. Then came stories—told under the strictest pledge of secrecy—that troop trains were rushing through the night to take out the Expeditionary Force, and by the time the official announcement was made that our gallant little Army, hastily and secretly shipped across the Channel, had entered upon its high ordeal at Mons, the Russian rumour had acquired a vitality that no denial seemed able to affect and which positively throve on incredulity. Yet there was no Russian army rushing through the night in crowded trains from the north of England to be taken hastily over to France to aid our little army there. The Battle of Tannenberg had not then been fought, and we did not then know that Russia needed all the men she could mobilise and arm for the urgent defence of her own soil.

Rumour running mad

But soon enough the nation settled down to the great fact of war, and began to take in the truth that we had started on an enterprise that would need all our fortitude and patience. Hence, perhaps, arose the mistaken cry of "Business as usual." People argued, no doubt, that it would be fine evidence of our national self-confidence if we were to go on as though nothing in particular was happening, and allow our national life to be as little disturbed as possible.

This mood was perhaps one of the most dangerous and undesirable reactions from the early days of sobriety and bewilderment. For it afterwards became clear enough that our politicians had missed the moment when they could have welded the nation right away into one single aim: the war. Hence the "Business as usual" mood, following upon a reluctant acceptance of Lord Kitchener's prediction of a three years' war (which for long was wrongly interpreted as meaning that we could go about our business quite leisurely, as "time was on our side"), succeeded to a mood in which anything could have been done by the Government with the people. Thus, the question of compulsory service came to be agitated in an atmosphere unfavourable to its immediate adoption, and the opposition to it had had time to consolidate long before it was a concrete proposal; whereas, the bold policy of National Service, if propounded or even authoritatively foreshadowed from the first day of war, would have materially and favourably affected the psychology of the nation.

BY FOUR-IN-HAND ON THE ROAD TO HEALTH.
This party of wounded soldiers, crossing Hammersmith Bridge, was one of many taken by coach from London hospitals to be entertained at Laleham. Such healthful trips relieved the tedium of convalescence.

WOUNDED SOLDIERS AT A LONGLEAT BEAUTY SPOT.
Among the many owners of "the stately homes of England" who placed their mansions at the service of the wounded were the Marquis and Marchioness of Bath, who established a Relief Hospital at Longleat.

As things were, it took the nation a long time to disabuse itself of the leisurely policy indicated by the cry of "Everything as usual," so that, even in the spring of 1915, a man of such general discernment as Lord Rosebery could be found protesting against the abandonment of the Derby on the ground that horse-races were run in the year of Waterloo!

Yet the golf-links, which later on were to grow potatoes, were already deserted, and the City trains began to tell their tale as the months went on. They were still as crowded as ever. But young men became scarcer, and young women and girls more numerous, so that sometimes a carriage on the Underground was to be seen with almost every seat occupied by typists and girl clerks who were returning home from the City, and every strap taken up by men.

Last of the dandies

From the streets and the haunts of fashion soon disappeared the "nut." The "nut" was the finest flower of youthful male fashion. He was an elegant idler, strenuous only in getting "the last ounce" out of his motor-car. He smoked incessant cigarettes. He cultivated a manner almost effeminate. He made harmonies of neckties and symphonies of socks. Golf was too strenuous for him, and most things "too much fag." His chief attitude to life was to be "fed-up" with everything that imposed any

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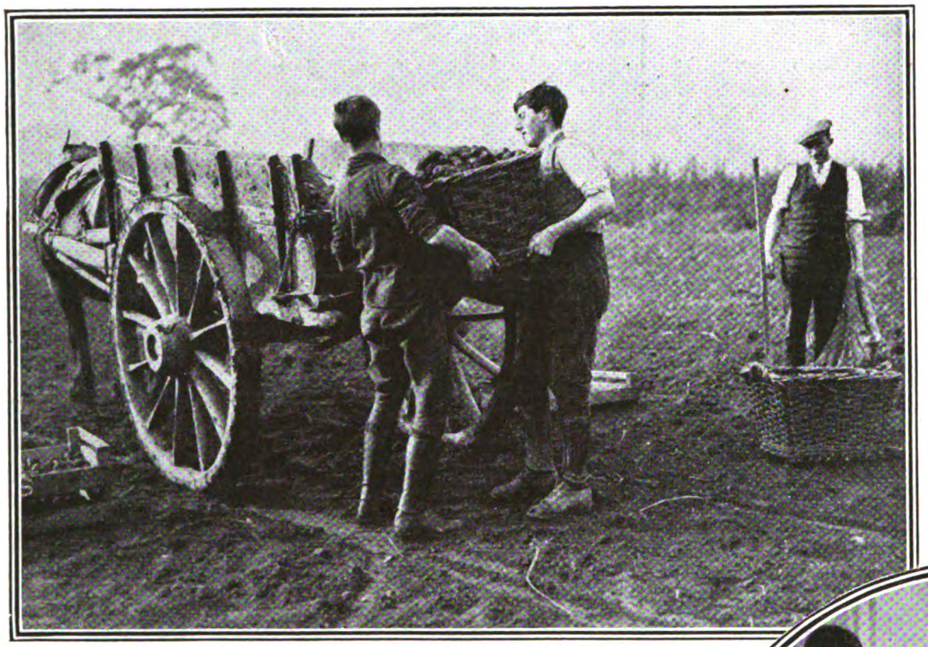

AGRICULTURAL TRAINING FOR DISCHARGED SOLDIERS.
Lifting and carting potatoes on the land of the Cheshire County College of Agriculture, where a course of general training in agriculture was provided for soldiers who had been released from military service.

strain, physical, moral, or mental. To social observers he was quite a perplexing portent, for his advent and presence, an apparently decadent type of masculinism, synchronised with the advent of a strenuous feminism, so that the easiest explanation of both seemed to be that each phenomenon explained the other. He furnished a text for many homilies, and when the "flapper" emerged into the public limelight to keep him company, there did in truth seem every justification for pessimism concerning the future of the race if "nut" and "flapper" were to be the parents of the next generation. Yet, apparently, the "nut" was merely suffering from the general malaise induced by the social and spiritual conditions of the time—conditions which had many manifestations, though a general defiance of "authority" and rebellion against fixed laws and canons in politics, art, religion and morals were the most outstanding features of them all. But the "nut" was not vicious. He was merely "bored" and "fed-up" and "at a loose end" generally, and there was no authority to set his feet on the right path, for parental authority, like that of the State, was being flouted and derided at every turn.

Coming of the young Briton

And then with the war the "nut" vanished and the Young Briton leapt to life. The call of his race was answered in his blood, and his fripperies dropped from him. He now lies under many a white cross in the fair land of France—shot as he rode his despatch-rider's motor-cycle in those early days of still moving armies, or brought to earth from Icarian flights high in the blue above the smoke and din of the battle-front—so that the despair of many a father's heart became one of the glories of his race.

His case deserves this special and particular mention, for it was possible to generalise more about him than perhaps about any other class. On the whole, Society—the sober leaders of social life—met the change with a corresponding change in its daily routine and outlook. It gave liberally of its wealth to the many funds that sprang into being, it cut down its entertainments, and began to engage in the many subsidiary activities of the war. On the whole, too, the middle classes rose to the emergency—the sons enlisted, the daughters took up V.A.D. work, and the fathers went about their business—either in response to the "Business as usual" cry, or else by turning their efforts into one of the many and ever increasing channels of supplementary work for the war. Furthermore the response made to voluntary recruiting was large enough to rebuke any generalisation concerning the apathy of the working classes. Clerks and workers rolled up to the flag in far larger numbers than could have been justly expected of a race bred for generations away from the ideal and duty of national defence.

Yet there was amongst all classes a failure to reach the high standard of devotion and concentration to the one supreme task which should have followed from the first outbreak of war—

LEARNING TO MAKE CHESHIRE CHEESE.
Cheesemaking and general dairy work naturally formed an important part of the curriculum in the Cheshire County College of Agriculture. Preparing and vatting the curd before pressing.

a devotion to the task commensurate with both its magnitude and the supreme issue for mankind that depended upon it. The truth is that the nation was without leaders. It was the day of great events and small men. Events were bigger than the men who had to meet them. There was a lamentable lack of decision in the high places of government, and this irresolution, combined with a wide tolerance for opinions in conflict with the national purpose and a reluctance to assert the principle that citizenship could not have its rights without its duties, infected the general body of the nation. The tardy recognition, by the pressure of events, of the need for compulsory military service was practically the first impulse the nation received from its leaders to brace itself for the huge and unaccomplished task, but once that principle was affirmed the nation, as might have been expected from any elementary psychologist, began to adjust its outlook more resolutely to the national peril. Thereafter, the war left its mark more deeply upon contemporary life, and then began to be seen those social changes

Compulsory military service

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which were largely due to the increasing stringency of the war.

For it must be remembered, in mitigation of that national slackness, which was so little discouraged by the responsible leaders of the nation, that up to almost the end of the second year of war the nation had had little first-hand acquaintance with the hardships of war. Perhaps the first shock to the laggard imagination was that banner which was hung across the Strand in the first autumn, with a strange device, bidding "Quiet for the wounded"—the first wounded who lay in Charing Cross Hospital, men from Mons and the Marne and the Aisne, the early forerunners of those stricken men who afterwards were to become so familiar in the streets of every town and city in the land. But it is permissible for a contemporary observer to record how strangely and quickly the nation settled down to the war and its horrors. Future generations will undoubtedly wonder what manner of heroic folk they were who lived through those awful days, when each succeeding day brought its own full tale of horror and inhumanity.

The fact is that there was a speedy accommodation of the emotional and moral sense to the horrors of war. Things daily happened that no lurid writer of fiction had ever conceived, or would have had the courage to set down if he had conceived them; yet the theatres were still packed, the restaurants still gay and busy, the trains still full of people who talked about the commonplaces of life, night clubs increased until the scandal was checked, and things went on pretty much the same while our men were being infected and neglected at Wittenburg and the frequent casualty lists were still being published in full in the newspapers not yet suffering from paper shortage. And perhaps it is a psychological truth that the human heart, saturated with horror and grief, can at length take up no more impressions of pity, but turns to a false gaiety as a deliberate relief from horror.

Saturation point of emotion

It must be remembered, however, that for two years the biggest war in history had been waged with little breach of our territorial immunity from it. Scarborough and Hartlepool had been raided before 1914 was out, but though that fact brought the war home to Scarborough and Hartlepool it had no marked effect upon the rest of the nation, though it sent up local recruiting. Zeppelins had appeared north and east, but London was not touched until that May evening in 1915 when three Zeppelins sailed over the North Foreland, in the hardihood of twilight, killed a few women and children in the East of London, and leisurely went home again unscathed. That brought the war home to London, but it still missed the effect of intimidating the nation, which, as the enemy was slow to learn, is so little inclined to panic that its fault is rather an excessive belief in its security.

London discovers the moon

Then came those "Zeppelin nights"—nights of almost Cimmerian gloom, when familiar streets became strange and pedestrians went about with electric torches so discreet and fitful in their gleams as to make them look like glow-worms, and London became as dark as it was in the days of footpads. Among one of the minor curiosities of the time was a notice to a meeting announcing that that night there was "full moon," for the "Zepps" taught the Londoner to esteem the moon and to follow her phases as though he were a dweller in the country-side where streets and illuminants are alike absent.

After the end of the second year of the war it began to tell its tale in the minute things of life. Matches became scarce, so that it almost became "bad form" for one smoker in a train to ask another for a light. The newspapers began to shrink, and then the posters disappeared, and chalked improvisations of the newsvendors became a poor substitute for the aggressive contents bill. Trains were "knocked off" and stations closed, for miles and miles of railway metals were torn up to be sent over to France for the supply lines behind the Western front. Sugar became scarce, and by and by in the teashops the waitresses would offer sugar with every discouragement to take it, and would deposit an inadequate lump if the answer to the question was "Yes"; and "Do you take sugar?"—so

VOLUNTEERS ASSEMBLED ON THE HORSE GUARDS' PARADE FOR INSPECTION BY LORD FRENCH.

In March, 1916, the Volunteer Act of 1863 was revived, and the Volunteer Forces were constituted and recognised for purposes of Home Defence, being placed, in the following December, under the administration of the Territorial Force Associations. Viscount French, in command of the Home Forces, warmly supported the Volunteer movement and held an inspection of eleven thousand of London's Volunteers in Hyde Park.

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far from being an aimless if polite question at a five o'clock tea-table—became a very pertinent inquiry indeed.

Private entertaining disappeared altogether, except in a furtive and ashamed fashion, and though the dressmakers were busy, the hoardings told us to wear our old clothes and to economise at Christmas—that third Christmas of the war that all hoped would be the last. Snobbery received a wound that might not prove mortal, but must at least check its vitality. For the even distribution of sorrow and sacrifice had very naturally engendered a common human sympathy, and people saw how little some of those social distinctions and observances upon which they had set such store really mattered. And with the "Society" volunteer rubbing shoulders with the working woman in the munition factories, and wealthy people deliberately forgoing the exclusiveness of first-class travel, it was inevitable that there should be a closer mingling of classes, most marked at the beginning of the war, then

Disappearing class distinctions

WOMEN COOKS WITH THE BRITISH ARMY.
Mess orderlies receiving dinner rations from women cooks. Early in 1917 it was decided to employ women for work where they could release soldiers, and many women cooks were enlisted for service in France.

lapsing back again after the war had become a daily feature, but reappearing again in increasing measure as the war went on and sacrifices mounted high. The tradesmen assisted the recoil from snobbery, for they reinforced their appeal that customers should carry their own parcels when practicable by refusing to give any date for delivery when the purchaser would not take his or her own parcel away.

Thus up many a suburban street struggled the professional man who formerly would as soon have thought of carrying home in broad daylight half a ham as going to church in a check suit. Tradesmen became, in fact, very "independent," and take-it-or-leave-it became the order of the day. Errand boys graduated into munition workers, and errand girls straddled on their "bikes," and waitresses appeared in clubs that had never seen a petticoat within their portals, and domestic servants made themselves scarce in more than the colloquial sense. So that Mrs. Brown, emulating her husband with the ham—and even with the loaf from the local baker's—cleaned her front doorstep courageously, and polished up the little brass plate on her front gate which announced "The Geraniums" or "Ivydene," hoping that her neighbours were not looking.

In the theatres evening dress became bad form, just as theatre suppers became simply impossible, owing to the increasing stringency of licensing hours, which also told their tale in the streets, where a drunken man became rarer than unnaturalised Germans still walking freely about. Motors were laid up, or sold to those optimists who still thought motoring would go on for ever. Whisky became more aqueous, and yet with each dilution more expensive, every other month, while club life became almost limited to the luncheon hour and a brief after-dinner gossip.

Letters became rarer, and the post less secure, and the few postmen left were oldish men who cleared the boxes and did the heavier parcel work; for the postwoman came on the scene, and the telegraph girl kept her company, for telegraph messengers had joined the ranks of industry, receiving a man's wages, and looking forward to the time when their eighteenth birthday would begin for them that process which would make men and soldiers of them.

The tramp disappeared from the country-side, and the casual ward, like the casual labourer, went out of date, never, it is to be hoped, to have resurrection; so that one might truly say, even after the first six months of war, that there were no poor in England except those who had hardly known want until the war began—the professional men, writers, architects, musicians, and those who flourish only in times of peace as the fine fruits of civilisation, but who are supernumeraries in the days of horrid war and elemental strife.

Railway travel became uncomfortable and expensive, and long-distance trains were deprived of their restaurant-cars, so that travellers provisioned themselves for the journey with packets of home-cut sandwiches and vacuum flasks. Theatrical touring companies endured added discomfort to the normal discomforts of their calling, and waited long hours at junctions for slow trains to take them to the "next town," and missed their reserved carriages, and suffered pangs of suspense concerning the safe delivery of their scenery and "effects." On the walls of the railway-stations still lingered the travel bills and pictures, but "Lovely Lucerne" was inaccessible. "Gay Boulogne," alas! was sad with military hospitals and busy with troops, and did not merely not welcome the traveller, but refused him. Norwegian fiords and Swiss Alps still beckoned from the walls the traveller who could not go near them, and as for the Rhine——! For foreign travel became reserved only for those who had urgent business to cross the seas, and if the submarine menace was not enough in the early days to deter wealthy and middle-aged people from adventuring forth, the increasing stringency of passports and travel permits acted more effectively.

Restrictions on foreign travel

Never since Britain was had so many passports been sought as those issued during the war; never has the implied protection of *Civis Britannicus Sum* been more valued and coveted, so much so that half the work of the Passport Departments and officials was to prevent a British passport being granted to a Swiss or an "American" who had anglicised a Teuton name.

Travel became increasingly difficult even in the streets of London, for the rationing of petrol to the omnibuses drove many of those vehicles off their routes, establishing queues of waiting passengers along the pavements; and the same scarcity of petrol limited the number of taxi-cabs, and so brought the hansom cab back on the streets of London. Only three or four years before the war a hansom cab had been solemnly acquired by the London Museum as an exhibit of antiquarian interest, and at auction sales that most typical of London vehicles had often fetched no more than the value of the rubber tyres with which they began to be "shod" during the nineties. Time and the war, however, fetched them out of their

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hiding-places, and the jingle of the hansom was heard on London streets again, bringing back to many memories of those pleasant days when life went very well in London town, and the trot and jingle of its hansoms on a summer night in the bright West End were the most characteristic sounds of London life.

Holidays there were none, for though the festivals came round with time, they were not marked off in Labour's calendar, and not until the Whitsuntide of the third year of war—a glorious burst of summer after a winter that had protracted itself into the season that should have been spring—was the holiday spirit really manifested or felt. And probably it was this deprivation of the excitements and relief of holiday and travel that accounted for two undesirable developments—that of the cocaine habit and of fortune-telling. The strain of war and the need of some relief and reaction from its burdens and anxieties drove many men and women to those desperate alleviations for mind, body, and soul—drugs and "psychic consolation." The drug habit increased to such an extent that the mere possession of cocaine became an offence, punishable, oddly enough, by the precise penalty attaching to the new "crime" of "treating"—

VOLUNTEERS AT WORK.

Members of London's Corps of Citizens helping to pull a heavy watercart up a hill to their camp.

one hundred pounds' fine and six months' imprisonment. Fortune-tellers were raided and prosecuted by the dozen, but their prosperity still continued unabated, for the worn and anxious heart turned to them for the solace that faith could not give but credulity grasped. And the plentifulness of money still kept the shopping streets thronged.

There were no match-sellers or boot-lace vendors in the gutter, for the war had gathered up even the fringes of humanity and ravelled them into its wonderful garment, and there were no hawkers going from door to door, and no mendicants singing in the suburban streets, and no outcasts sleeping on the Embankment or in "the Arches"—though soldiers on leave who had missed their last train to camp or depot, and who had spent all their money, sometimes wandered up and down rather than present themselves at one of the many hostels for their shelter or Y.M.C.A. recreation huts that sprang up all over the place. Yes, the streets were gay on summer days in war time, with the awnings from the drapers' shops making cool shade for those who shopped to satisfy not their need but their vanities while men were falling every hour for liberty. In

SOLDIERS ON "AGRICULTURAL FURLOUGH."

The soldiers helping the veteran labourers in spreading manure for the crops. In circle: Some of King George's ploughmen at work on the Royal farms at Windsor, during leave granted that they might help in getting as much land as possible under cultivation for the harvest of 1917.

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June of 1917 it was possible for an obscure little news paragraph to chronicle the humiliating fact that women had begun to line-up for the summer bargain sales at three o'clock in the morning, and that the crowd that surged round the doors when they were opened at nine smashed the plate-glass windows in their frantic eagerness for "bargains."

A new class had, to some extent, sprung up—a class of Government officials and service contractors—those who dipped their hands into the five, six, and seven millions a day that the war progressively cost. To many the night of August 4th had been the night of doom. At a breath commercial and financial stability or professional position had been blown away, and age became suddenly confronted with penury, with the bitter loss yet to be faced of those young lives which would have stood as a bulwark between it and the worst blows of adversity. Much was said of "equality of sacrifice" as an ideal to be striven for so far as legal obligations could impose it. But what equality of sacrifice could there be between, say, the architect of sixty years of age, whose profession became suddenly a national superfluity, and who, too old to turn to anything else, was yet not too old to have three sons destined to lie under white crosses in France, Mesopotamia, and Salonika; and the Midland bootmaker on a small scale who soon, perhaps, was taking a Government contract for a million boots, and successfully pleaded before the tribunals that his sons were essential to the conduct of the business?

The new bureaucratic class

Thus it was that a new class of *nouveaux riches* sprang up, to whom the war was not primarily even a national calamity, still less a personal one, and they spent their money lavishly, just as the munition workers spent their wages in higher living than they had been accustomed to, and to whom the war was—while it lasted—the sun of industrial prosperity. Indeed, so far had economic values altered that it was possible to read without surprise in May, 1917, of the excuse made by a boy of sixteen to the magistrate for stealing, that his wages of a pound a week "were not sufficient for him to keep up his appearances on." There were thousands of people to whom one could put the question, "How has the war affected you?" and receive the answer, if it were true and honest, "Oh, I am doing very well indeed, thank you!"

Yet there was every discouragement to individual self-gratification in the public appeals for thrift and economy, in the official deprecation of luxury, and, above all, in the newspapers, which told day after day and year after year the same story, in an apparently unending narrative, of slaughter, suffering, barbarity, heroism on all the seas and in nearly all the lands of our tortured world. Never since England had a Parliament, never since the first dawn of representative government in Saxon witenagemot, had there been so many laws interfering with the daily life of the people and governing actions, normal and ordinary in other times, with so many "don'ts!" The Defence of the Realm Act (which is dealt with in greater detail in a later chapter), frequently enlarged and amended, and supplemented by Orders-in-Council, practically abolished civil liberty—or, much more truly, suspended it—a distinction not easily grasped by those eager searchers for "reactionary tendencies" to whom the war was not a grave peril so much as an opportunity for detecting infringements of "principle" and "liberty." Amongst the many things "you must not do," under that very elastic Act, were these:

Talk about naval or military affairs in any restaurant, railway carriage, or any public place.

Repeat any unofficial account of military operations or any projects and plans.

Say anything to give the impression of being employed in any Government department when not so employed.

Say or do anything which might cast aspersions upon the armies or other forces of the allied Powers, or prejudice the relation of the country with the neutral Powers.

Repeat any unfounded report of a Zeppelin scare, or of any reverse or disaster to British arms.

Ask any sailor to what ship he belonged, or any soldier concerning the disposition of his unit.

Ask any officer to tell anything "which the public did not know."

Write to anyone living in a military area asking for information about what was being done in that area.

Use any cipher code in correspondence with any neutral country.

Send any letter abroad written wholly or in part in invisible ink.

Receive letters or telegrams for any fee, unless the police were notified.

Trespass on railways, or loiter anywhere near railway arches, bridges, or tunnels.

Send any newspaper to a neutral country except through an authorised agent.

Enter any Government factory without specific permission, or walk over any trenches constructed by the military.

Trespass on or damage any allotment-plots.

Show any films or pictures of any kind discrediting the Army, or produce any plays on the stage that were prejudicial to military discipline.

Wear any uniform of the forces, unless a member of them, even as an actor on the stage. (In the case of one play produced during the war, before this regulation was added, the naval and military uniforms were taken to the authorities to be elaborately altered and made "incorrect" though the whole object of the manager, of course, had been to boast of them as elaborately "correct.")

Make, buy, or send any picture postcard giving a picture of any ship in the Navy.

Buy any binocular glasses of the prismatic type without an official authorisation.

Fly any kite that could be used for signalling.

Send up a fire balloon or give a display of fireworks, or light a bonfire, even of garden refuse, to be still alight after 5 p.m., or the "lights down" time fixed according to the period of the year.

Buy any whisky, or other spirits, on a Saturday or Sunday, or on any other day except between noon and half-past two in the afternoon.

Buy a flask of whisky, brandy, or any spirits in a railway refreshment-room or similar place.

Pay for any intoxicating liquor for another person, except as the host of that person, at lunch, dinner, or supper.

Give or offer any intoxicating liquor to a soldier at or going to any port of embarkation, or to any soldier or sailor in hospital garb.

Melt down gold, silver, or bronze.

Buy any lead or other metal above prescribed weights.

Have in possession any document the publication of which would be forbidden.

Attempt to leave the country as the member of the crew of a neutral ship.

Give bread to any dog, poultry, horse, or other animal.

Fail or neglect to report any bomb dropped from enemy aircraft, or any part of the aircraft or its machinery, or to deliver up these things to the authorities when asked to do so.

If there were many things that could not be done, there were also many things that had to be done without. A contemporary writer was able to say, on the completion of the second year of war: "If any Englishman had been told two years ago that a day was coming soon when he could not travel to Paris or Brussels, or even north to Inverness"—for the *Ultima Thule* of Britain was south of that town for all but established residents, and the few spies who may have had the luck and hardihood to get past a barrier behind which lay many secrets—"that there would be no Boat Race, Derby, Ascot, or Goodwood, no Henley or Cowes, no cricket match or football 'final'; that there would be no dining-cars on his trains, no lights in his towns, hardly a murder and yet unparalleled bloodshed, no conductors on his trams, women porters on the Underground, no waiters in his clubs; that the law would make it a penal offence for him to buy a glass of wine for his wife or treat a long-absent brother to 'a drink' . . . that Englishman would have looked very hard indeed at the prophet."

Suspension of civil liberty

The war turned the nation into a nation of gardeners; even "the backyards of England" became green with growing vegetables, for no change was more general than that induced, especially in the spring of 1917, by the official exhortations that every householder having a patch of garden should make it yield its full capacity of food.

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One of the pleasantest sights in a journey through the suburbs of London was to see how general was the response to this behest, which had all the validity of an order in the public mind. All the vacant building sites were taken over by the local allotment and garden-produce societies and let out to applicants, and the gardening amateur became a person of note and consequence to his neighbours, for he could give advice on soils, seasons, seeds, and "best croppers" to those who remained unenlightened. In the spring days of 1917 men, "unfit" or "over age," renewed their youth with spade-work. They hurried home to change their City clothing, to emerge in the suburban streets looking as much like agricultural labourers as old clothes and stout boots could make them, carried their tools to the allotment area, and began to turn the most unpromising plots, with a sparse "top-spit" and a subsoil of London clay, into potato-patches. Lawns were dug up, and the flower-beds were put to utilitarian ends; and an amateur gardener, summoned for some mild offence, was let off on his declaration that he had torn up a hundred pounds' worth of choice "blooms" in order to grow twenty pounds' worth of potatoes. Gardening tools became so scarce that neighbourly borrowings and lendings went on. Railway sidings and waste spaces were tilled industriously, and England never looked so green as it did in the third June of the Great War.

GIRL GUIDES: A GENERAL INSPECTION.
Lady Baden-Powell, wife of Sir Robert Baden-Powell, who founded the world-wide Boy Scout movement, inspecting the South-Western Division of the Girl Guides at Balham.

And how did the Great War affect the homes of Great Britain? Many homes were broken up that would never be the same again, for their mainstay had gone never to return, and widow and children became absorbed in other families. But even in those homes where that dark shadow had not fallen, the sense of "home" departed when "the man" went forth to the unknown chance of war, and furniture was stored, so that the wife could be free to go to her parents', waiting for the first leave, yet dreading a more poignant message. After the Military Service Bill had come into operation provision was made by the authorities for the storing of furniture, so that disused chapels and warehouses, made idle by the war, were filled with household effects of many homes that would never be homes again. The mansions of the rich in town, and those stately homes of England in whose parks fallow deer ran—until they were slaughtered for food economy—were given up to soldiers as hospitals for the wounded and homes of rest for the convalescent, and for those suffering, rather than recovering, from "shell shock." And to the credit of those who had "many mansions" it may be said that they did their part, on the whole, very creditably, either limiting themselves to two or three rooms in town or country house, or abandoning their homes entirely to their new function and living in London hotels. There were great transferences of population—town-dwellers went back to the country for agricultural work when the labour shortage and the food shortage made agriculture "a work of national importance," and country people flocked to the towns and smaller urban districts to find the work and wages that were so plentiful in munition factories, clothing factories, aeroplane works, and all the other accessory industries of war. There was a constant migration to London from all parts of the kingdom, supplemented by the comings and goings of the wives of Colonial soldiers, who had come from far oversea to be (vain hope!) near their men-folk, and by the return home from every part of our wide Empire of the women and children of men who had thrown up their berths in Hong Kong, the Cape, the Malay Peninsula, or elsewhere, to come home to fight. And so there was quite a big demand for furnished flats and houses, and the estate agents, who had resigned themselves when the war broke out to facing lean and hungry years, found that the demand created by those wishing to find temporary homes was to be

WOMEN'S ARMY CORPS: THE RAW MATERIAL AND THE FINISHED ARTICLE.
In the early summer of 1917 a Women's Army Corps was raised officially to serve with the field army in various capacities, chiefly in connection with clerical and telegraphic work, but also for other branches such as carpentering and motor-driving. These photographs show some of the recruits fallen in for drill and (right) a trained company ready for France. Over a hundred trained women were passed out to the front every week.

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GERMAN PRISONERS EMPLOYED ON LAND WORK.
Pausing during hot weather work for a welcome drink. In different parts of the country prisoners of war were employed in various agricultural operations. These men worked on farms in Hainault Forest, Essex.

supplied by those who temporarily had to give up keeping house. Hence they were kept busy, even though "long lets" were few, and though in many a suburban street the "To Let" boards, facing each other from front gardens, made a gloomy avenue. Those empty houses of Suburbia, each with its own separate story to tell of why it was empty and whither the inmates had gone, with their individual fates all merged into the great tragedy that engulfed the world! Broken homes, broken lives, broken hearts, far from the actual devastation of war.

The marriage rate increased, but few new homes were "set up." For the marriages were "war weddings," with honeymoons just snatched from a few days' leave, and with bridegrooms that were to pass from new-wed happiness to the trenches, and with wives who might be widows ere they knew whether a young life would blossom from the brief union. So that few new homes were set up, though many were broken and scattered, and no new homes were built, for all building except that of national purpose and importance was stopped throughout the war. Yet even the building necessary for national work was restricted by the compulsory renting of hotels and clubs for war staffs, though many square miles of Britain were covered by munition buildings that sprang up in all sorts of strange and hitherto inaccessible places, with special railways laid down to a spot that was but a stretch of moorland ere the war came, but afterwards became a sudden little town humming with machinery.

In London mushroom buildings went up on roofs of Government offices, in the Embankment Gardens, and in the parks; and one of the oddest surprises of the town was to come suddenly upon a pile of "temporary" Government offices built upon ground once covered by a beautiful stretch of ornamental water in a public park. But of homes there was no increase, and villadom did not add a cubit to its range.

Within the homes much was altered, for mothers went out to work, with many effects on domestic economy. One outstanding effect was that, with the mothers' absence, something had to be done with the babes, and so crèches sprang up in the industrial quarters of the town—neat and pleasant places, with tiled walls and blue cots in which the babes lay, tended by volunteer nurses, and watched by lady doctors, with wide verandas where the infants could spend sunny days in the fresh air, and sand-pits for the "toddlers" near by.

Changes in the home

Co-operative kitchens sprang up, but were only a partial solution of the housewife's problem, for the housewife had become the worker, and realised by experience that she could not be both. So domestic cookery became, if not a lost art, a neglected one. The Government stepped in here to supplement the enforced deficiencies of the women workers. In the canteens of the "controlled" factories up and down the land over a million meals were daily provided for the women workers; and outside working hours the tendency was to improvise meals and to

PRISONERS OF WAR USING THE PITCHFORKS OF PEACE.
German prisoners engaged in hoeing the crops on a farm in Hainault Forest, and (above) helping in the work of gathering in the hay in the same district, the men bringing heavy pitchfork loads to the waiting cart. These prisoners were sent in batches to various farms in the neighbourhood, each party being under an armed guard during the time that they were away from their internment camp.

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purchase them ready-made; for after an ordinary day's work a munition worker had no heart or strength to go home to a domestic task, and so the ham-and-beef shop did an enormous trade in spite of the increased prices; and the fried-fish shops did a brisker trade than ever, despite the shortage in the accompanying "chips." The economy of the better-class homes was also affected. With coals so scarce in the third winter that ladies wrapped in furs chartered taxi-cabs to bring home from the coal-yard half a hundredweight of coals, and with cooks and "generals" hard to get and harder to keep, and with prices soaring until household shopping (as distinct from that pastime pursued in Oxford Street) became an interesting perplexity and annoyance, many households came to rely in greater measure upon the prepared and cooked foods which the large stores began to stock, or went out to dine at the restaurants, until it was found that the rise in the price of food had produced this paradoxical effect — that the portions were halved as a matter of patriotism, and the prices were doubled as a matter of further profit.

In one other respect the war had a marked effect, for children, liberated from stricter surveillance both at school and home, and growing up in such an atmosphere of war that some of them could at length hardly recall the time when war was not with us, became precocious, adventurous, and free. Errand-boys, who before the war used to whistle up the street and occasionally interrupt themselves by delivering a parcel, found themselves, though only a year or two older, suddenly matured and promoted to adult tasks and almost adult wages. So the cinema-houses, despite the new amusements tax, never throve better; and the stimulus received by the youthful imagination, fostered in an atmosphere of war, and then stimulated by cinematic dramas, overflowed into action, with a consequent increase of juvenile crime in all the big cities. Still, petty larcenies largely accounted for the fifty per cent. increase of "cases," and it is to be noted, as one of the minor compensations of the war, that serious crime diminished throughout the whole community. Newspapers, indeed, had no "sensations" to record except the daily sensation of an unparalleled war, so far as the Censorship permitted—for though much may have been recorded that did not happen, much more that happened had to go unrecorded—and in the third year of the war the newspapers were unable to flick up public interest in the mystery of the apparent murder of a girl in a wood. But more spies were shot within the Tower than there were murderers hanged in Britain during the war. Litigation, too, largely diminished, and it seemed as though private feuds (except in politics) had been obliterated by the great feud between peoples and principles.

Diminution of serious crime

STAGE PERFORMANCE FOR SOLDIERS BLINDED IN THE WAR.

Among the many entertainments which were devised for the blind at St. Dunstan's Hostel in Regent's Park, London, was a performance of "Daddy Long-Legs," given in March, 1917, without scenery and in everyday costume, by the company then performing in that piece at the Duke of York's Theatre.

Yet in one class of litigation—that of the Divorce Division—the increase was very marked. For the Trinity Sittings of 1917 the divorce cases set down for hearing were the highest number on record. Of the 394 cases, no fewer than 330 were marked undefended, and an indication of the direct connection between this phenomenon and the war was clearly given in the statement that "a considerable number of them have been instituted by soldiers under the 'Poor Persons' scheme for judicial relief and assistance."

Great and numerous, however, as were the changes in the normal life of all during the war, they were probably, for the most part, transient, and the greater changes to be made by the Great War, not only in the settlement of the war itself and its direct consequences, but in those entailed by the redistribution of wealth and in all the allied phenomena of a great social and economic upheaval, could for long remain matter only for speculation and intelligent anticipation, not for history.

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[British official photograph.

Working-party on the western front, engaged in consolidating ground already re-won, pause to observe the explosion of enemy shells between them and their comrades in the trenches. Whenever the line was pushed forward the men behind immediately set about making good the ways for bringing up those guns and reinforcements which were essential to the preparation for pushing yet farther forward.

In the support lines of the advancing Australians on the western front. As part of the left wing of the Fifth Army under Sir Hubert Gough, which was co-operating with the Third Army under Sir Edmund Allenby, the Australians, at the end of the first week of April, 1917, fought forward and approached one of the supreme battlefields of the Great War—Bullecourt—where, by their combined dash and tenacity, they won great glory.

IN THE LINES BEHIND AS THE FRONT LINE WAS MOVING FORWARD.

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BRITISH INFANTRY WATCHING

[British official photograph.
BRITISH GUNNERS' SHOOTING.

CHAPTER CLXXXVIII.

THE EPIC BATTLES OF BULLECOURT.

By Edward Wright.

Australians' Road of Glory—Asked to Demonstrate, Make Terrific Thrust into Riencourt—Climbing through Unbroken Wire—Victorious Defeat of Australian Division—German Counter-move at Lagnicourt—Rally of Queenslanders and New South Wales Men—Recovery of Guns and Slaughter of Fugitive Enemy—Londoners and Australians Advance on Bullecourt—A Check and a Victory—Australians Left in the Air—Swaying, Furious Conflict on Hindenburg Line—Penned-in Troops Ordered to Retire—Plucking Victory out of Defeat—British Renew Attack on Bullecourt Village—Enemy's Dense Columns Destroyed by Gun fire—Englishmen and Scotsmen Envelop Village—Australians Ambush Fugitives—Terrific British Barrages Ensure Victory—Incomparable Shooting by Gunners and Infantry—Revival of Mad Minute Method—Lowering the Pride of "Stosstruppen"—Bullecourt a Charnel-house, with Corpses Piled like Human Sandbags—Final Desperate Attempt at Recovery by Germans—Indomitable Tenacity of Imperial British Forces—Extraordinary Power of Sir Hubert Gough's Men—Extension of Gains on Bullecourt and Fontaine Sectors.

THERE is a road in France of sacred interest to the people of the Australian Commonwealth. It runs by Albert, through Bapaume, to Cambrai. Between Albert and Bapaume are Pozières and Mouquet Farm, and between Bapaume and Cambrai is a scatter of villages, lying mainly north of the great national road—Boursies, Beaumetz, Morchies, Lagnicourt, Bullecourt, and others.

Heroic as was the fighting power of the Australians on the Gallipoli Peninsula when battling against the Turk, the mettle of the men of the island continent was far more severely tested during nearly a year of fighting against the Germans on and around the Albert-Cambrai highway. The Germans themselves went out of their way publicly to confess that, in striking and resisting power, the Australian, with the Canadian, New Zealand, and South African forces, were equal to their own best troops.

No doubt the underlying intention of the enemy was to exalt the soldiers of the overseas democracies at the expense of the British home divisions. Making all allowance for this, the guarded confession of equality extorted from the enemy after his defeats at Vimy Ridge and Bullecourt practically amounted to an admission of German inferiority. The overweening and vain Prussian would never have admitted a mere equality in valour. He would have deceived himself in this case rather than go out of his way to admit the truth. Only when broken by men of a higher personal courage did he try to soothe his wounded pride by accepting his victors as his peers in battle.

[Australian official photograph.
CONSOLIDATING THE ADVANCE.
Australians filling sand-bags for the new trenches dug and the old German trenches converted to British use, in the course of the slow but steady eastward move that began with the opening of the Battle of the Somme in July, 1916.

Some of the exploits of the Australian force during the advance from Bapaume to the double Hindenburg line covering Cambrai have already been related in Chapter CLXXXII. Sir William Birdwood, after exhausting the enemy forces on the Beaumetz line, stormed into Lagnicourt on March 26th, 1917, thereby reaching, within two miles, the Quéant junction of the Siegfried and Wotan lines of the Hindenburg system.

Probably the Australians did not know the

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extraordinary value of their achievement at Lagnicourt. By their audacious stroke in the critical direction of Quéant, they imperilled the entire plan of General von Ludendorff, and opened the vast battle along the Hindenburg line fourteen days before the First and Third British Armies drove in enormous strength through the enemy's front.

After swinging forward his left wing, the commander of the Australian troops, on April 2nd, thrust forward with his right wing, and carried all the enemy's advanced line at Louverval and Doignies. At the same time he also lengthened his hold around the Quéant pivot by moving forward on the left to Noreuil and Longatte. At the end of the first week in April the Australians fought forward from Noreuil, and approached one of the supreme battle-fields of the great war—Bullecourt.

They were a part of the left wing of the Fifth Army, under Sir Hubert Gough, which was co-operating with the Third Army under Sir Edmund Allenby. There was, however, a great difference between the offensive power of the Fifth and Third Armies. For example, the Australian and British troops of the Fifth Army had so rapidly advanced from Bapaume that they had left most of their heavy artillery behind them. They set out from the neighbourhood of Bapaume on March 17th, and in nine days of marching, attacking, and resisting counter-attacks they arrived at the Hindenburg line, with only light artillery to support them.

Rapidity of preparation

In an ordinary way, months of constructive and engineering work were needed to build new roads, new railways, gun pits, and traffic stations, and to make huge dumps of munitions and supplies, in order to concentrate in force against the positions the enemy had been preparing for at least six months.

By an intense speeding up of all the vast work, the period of British preparation was considerably shortened. In the meantime, the Third Army that faced the enemy in positions established in October, 1914, had been preparing since the spring of 1916 for the blow it delivered on April 9th, 1917. The Third Army attacked the Germans with an equality in the matter of preparations.

When, however, Sir Edmund Allenby's forces victoriously advanced beyond the range of their large number of medium-calibre guns, their situation became, for a time, rather awkward. While they were dragging up, through snow and slush, their 6 in. guns, they required some remarkable movement by the Fifth Army in order to occupy the enemy and force him to weaken the front which they intended to attack. In these circumstances the Australian division, which had approached the Bullecourt section of the Hindenburg line, was ordered to make a strong demonstration.

The Australians did not demonstrate. They made an attack in force which, in personal valour and downright vehemence, surpassed all their own previous achievements, and excelled the charge of the Light Brigade and practically all the most famous exploits in British military history. Even the charge of the dismounted Australian Horse, in the last great battle for the Peak in the Gallipoli Peninsula, was not of such heroic scope as the wonderful drive of an entire infantry division across the Hindenburg system on April 11th, 1917.

The Australian infantry advanced over the snow, at five o'clock in the morning, while the guns of the Third Army were flashing like summer lightning over the north-western horizon. There was no time for the British artillery to attempt to break the wire of the Hindenburg system by means of a whirlwind bombardment. Not enough guns had yet been brought forward to carry out this preliminary work. It was left to some "tanks" to crawl over the snowfields in the darkness before dawn and attempt, under fire of the new German anti-"tank"

[*British official photograph.*

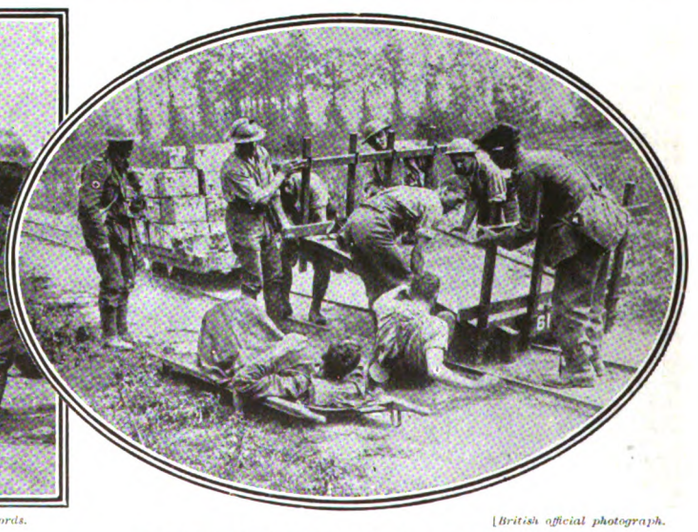
AN INTERESTING OPERATION.

Serving out dinner to men of the Newfoundland Regiment. Their honest interest in the cook's equity in the matter of "helpings" was patent proof that good digestion waited on their appetite, and health on both.

[*Canadian War Records.*

FIRST-AID FOR AN INJURED AIRMAN.

Men of an R.A.M.C. aid post attending to an aviator brought down behind the lines on the western front. After receiving first-aid the wounded man was sent to the base for necessary surgical treatment.



[*British official photograph.*

SLIGHT ACCIDENT ON A LIGHT RAILWAY.

Stretcher-bearing truck that had left the track. The patient, removed to safety by the wayside, was evidently interested in the efforts of his comrades to get the truck wheels back on to the rails

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guns, to flatten out some of the zones of entanglements that protected the great tunnel.

In and around the tunnel there were two enemy battalions in the front line, and the rest of a division in support and reserve. M.E.B.U. machine-gun forts of the latest model were skilfully placed along the hostile front, and behind the Australians there was not sufficient heavy artillery and accumulations of shell to stamp out these forts and the trenches they defended, with the main lines of earth-works and caverns built above the great tunnel.

An hour before dawn a few big British guns began to shell Bullecourt and Riencourt. Half an hour afterwards the slight preliminary bombardment of hostile trenches quickened. Still the great shell bursts only occurred

[*British official photograph.*

AN ALFRESCO MEAL.

Newfoundlanders at dinner behind the British lines on the western front where, while waiting to take their turn in the trenches, they were billeted about the buildings of an old French farmstead.

slowly in couples against the darkness of the fading night. They were merely intended to distract the enemy while the British "tanks" snailed over the snow to the enormous band of German barbed wire.

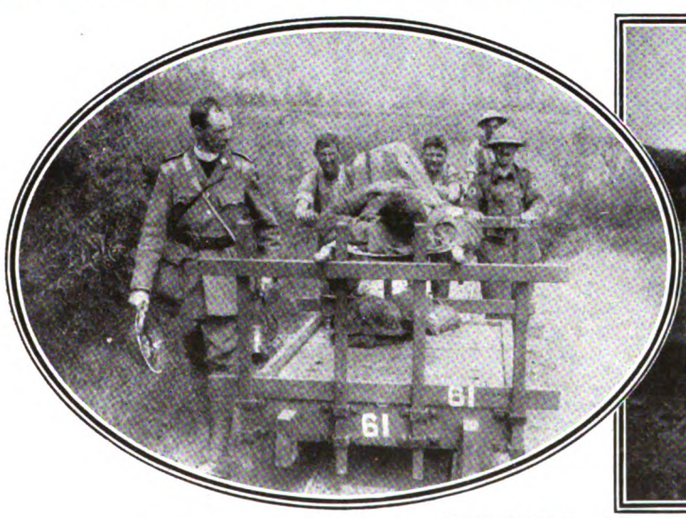
At ten minutes to five the guns ceased fire. At five o'clock, just before the grey light of dawn appeared and showed the khaki figures outlined against the white ground, the Australian infantry climbed from their newly-made trenches on the right of Bullecourt, and stormed across the great tunnel towards the main German artillery position at Riencourt. Twenty-five minutes afterwards it was light enough to see the Australian support troops going over the snow in extended order, with cavalry behind them, hoping for the chance of a charge upon the enemy batteries. The Germans were able to observe all the movements. A great line of red flares went up from their trenches, and their massed artillery poured curtains of shrapnel shell upon the figures standing out against the snow, and moving calmly to the dark belt of barbed wire running across the sides of the hills.

After clearing the wire, by dropping overcoats on it and climbing over, or finding paths left for German snipers, many of the Australians changed from a walking pace into a run. Horsemen went with them through the wire, and a "tank" joined the infantry. This was probably one of the "tanks" that were afterwards shattered by the enemy, but she did fine work in the great rush into Riencourt. Her gun fired continually at top speed, while her machine-guns produced an unending spout of flame. Now and then a party of Australian foot soldiers came and talked to her crew, indicating some machine-gun fort which was checking the rush attack.

Tank's fine work at Riencourt

The "tank," meanwhile, had become the target of both German field-guns and anti-"tank" guns. But, escaping for a time the high-explosive shells which were aimed at her, she crawled into a dimple of ground, and lashed with her single gun the fort that was holding up the advance. Her shells exploded on the mark. The Australians were able to cross the hollow and mount the crest of the hill. With them went the "tank," looking like an enormous black slug, and continually spouting flame as she slid along over the snow and topped and descended the crest.

Towards seven o'clock the Australian forces on the left closed towards Bullecourt, while the Australian right went over the hill that protected Riencourt, and reached the village. The first "tank" came back wounded, and another "tank" worked forward to assist the infantry that were working around Bullecourt. The second "tank," however, did not get very far. She was bracketed by a great black German shell thirty yards behind her, with another shell about the same distance in front of her. She zigzagged in an endeavour to avoid being hit, but the German gunners overwhelmed her by concentrated battery work. In about a minute she was pierced on her front, and her crew escaped. A third of them were, however, struck as they emerged by a shower of shells pouring upon their stricken landship.



[*British official photograph.*

TRAFFIC WAS THEN RESUMED.

The mishap to the trolley, shown on the opposite page, having been put right, the placid patient proceeded on his journey, returning reassuring replies to the enquiries of the Padre who now accompanied him.

[*Australian official photograph.*

TAKING UP FRESH PASSENGERS.

Placing wounded men on an ambulance trolley. These light railways, spun like a spider's filaments by the advancing army, provided an expeditious means of conveying casualties off the battlefield.

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[British official photograph.

NEW RAILROAD IN THE MAKING. Bird's-eye view of British soldiers engaged in making a light railway to facilitate the advance on the western front.

In spite of this little set-back, all the section of the Hindenburg line was stormed by the Australians. They entered Riencourt, but could not take the German guns. They almost enveloped Bullecourt, and attained every point they were ordered to reach. For the most part they got through the wire around the Hindenburg system without help from their own guns or from their "tanks." Only at one point had one or two "tanks" given any help. Most of them had been foiled by the fall of snow, which was quite an unexpected event in the middle of April.

Three and a half hours after the first advance the Australians still held the main tactical positions near the junction point of the Hindenburg system. All they required, in order to hold all that they had marvellously won, was a good supply of bombs, cartridges, mortars, and big mortar bombs. Here it was, however, that the enemy's overpowering strength in artillery decisively told upon the event of the battle.

As the snow melted under the springtide sun, and the white slopes began to turn as brown as the rusty wire that laced them, the hillsides and hollows were swept by a continual hailstorm of round shrapnel bullets. Ammunition carriers could not reach the distant positions in which their comrades were desperately fighting against superior numbers of German bomb-throwers. Strong German forces advanced, in artillery order, over the hill behind Riencourt, and steadily marched against the Australian flank at Bullecourt. Had it been a veritable pitched battle, with the full strength of British artillery ranging over the fighting line, the clearly visible groups of German reinforcements would have been cut off by a barrage and scattered, and the German batteries, that maintained the enormous shrapnel curtain, would have been silenced by fierce and rapid counter-battery work.

But no British barrage in full strength could yet be produced. Without strong artillery protection, the Australian forces had broken clean through the Hindenburg system, but they could not get up the necessary stream of supplies. About noon the enemy began to work forward by incessant bomb attacks, conducted with overwhelming weight of material. The Australians gradually made their last few throws, and moved back across the open fields when their bombs were finished.

Intricacies of the Great Tunnel

Enemy forces came up in unexpected ways through the great tunnel, the intricate extent of which was not known at the time to the attacking troops. The Australians were swept in rear and flank as well as bombed in front. Their new line was broken in several places, and they were forced back out of the Hindenburg line to their original positions. A thousand of their advanced troops who had pushed into Hendecourt village and taken Riencourt, both far behind Bullecourt, fell into the hands of the enemy, and were most barbarously ill-treated.

Yet, grievous as were the losses of the gallant division, it accomplished the main task set it. The troops who reached Hendecourt were a good five miles in the rear of the enemy's Cojeul River line, running by Wancourt. The troops who thrust into Riencourt were more than six miles behind the German Cojeul River system, and nearly three miles north-west of Quéant. They were also well behind the enemy's main tunnel line at Fontaine and Chérisy.

The result was that the enemy had to draw off forces from the Cojeul River and Sensée River works, in order to deal with the daring Australians. By the time he had dealt with them, the right wing of the British Third Army, under Sir Edmund Allenby, drove in victorious force against Wancourt and Héninel, crossed the Cojeul stream,

[British official photograph.

PEACEFUL CAMP ON WAR-SCARRED GROUND. Tents pitched in a mine-crater on the British front in France. The men who had here their temporary home had formed a series of steps leading down into their little valley, and made roughly-fenced pathways leading to the tents, which were well hidden from observation by the sides of the crater.

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[Australian official photograph.

HURRYING FORWARD WITH THE AUSTRALIAN ARTILLERY.

Men of the Australian forces "rushing" a gun along a light railway in support of their advancing troops. The heroism and dash of the Australians at Riencourt and Hendecourt, on April 11th, 1917, glorified one of the outstanding episodes of the struggle between Arras and Cambrai, though the retention of those two villages beyond Bullecourt was then impossible owing to enemy superiority in artillery.

and obtained elbow room in the new British salient at Arras for siting more guns against the Hindenburg system.

The Australians were defeated, but theirs was a victorious defeat. The German commander on the Bullecourt front, however, thought he had so shaken the Australian Expeditionary Force that he could press it back towards Bapaume, and thus compel an interruption of the Arras battle. He immediately brought down to Quéant the 3rd Division of the Prussian Guard, together with troops from two other Guards divisions, and squeezed these powerful reinforcements alongside the German division holding the Quéant front.

The shock troops of the Guards came out at dawn on April 15th, and cut off two Australian advanced posts, allowing the main forces to debouch into Lagnicourt village and advance towards Noreuil. Along most of the line, however, the advanced guards of Australians and British troops shattered the attacks with machine-gun fire. Only by Lagnicourt were a couple of outposts rushed, while those on either side were bent back, though still holding out. Through the gap the Guardsmen, Bavarians, and other German troops of the line poured in overwhelming mass.

Brief loss of British guns

They broke through Lagnicourt, and took about twenty-two field-guns and held them for half an hour. Happily, they were unable to use them against the rallying Australian line, as the surprised and almost naked Australian gunners had dismantled their pieces by taking away the breech-blocks.

As the Guardsmen were placing charges in the guns to smash the barrels, a magnificent counter-attack by Queenslanders and New South Wales men caught and broke the Lehr regiment (formed from the Lehr-Bataillon, or Instructional battalion, which was one of the smartest German units), and the Fusilier regiment of the Guards and other crack forces. As the fugitives raced back to their own lines, where they had not cut their wire, many of them were caught in the Hindenburg entanglements and slain by the artillery of the Australian force. Each opening in the wire was ranged almost to an inch. As the successive parties of Guardsmen, Bavarians, and other German troops were ordered through by their officers, they disappeared in bursts of black smoke shells from the British heavy artillery.

Thousands of Germans, who could not find any gap in the wire, ran wildly up and down seeking a way through. The Australian riflemen flung themselves on the grass, and maintained such an intensity of rifle-fire as had not been seen since the first battle of Ypres. Many of the men got off more than a hundred rounds rapid in the old "mad minute" manner. The despairing remnant of Germans, trapped at last, with arms raised and quivering mouths shrieking for mercy, ran to the Australians, and, to the number of four hundred, were taken prisoners. The enemy lost in total casualties at least two-thirds of a division—fifteen hundred German corpses being found in and around Lagnicourt alone when the positions were recovered.

Fine counter-attack at Lagnicourt

The counter-attack of the Australians was a pretty piece of work. The battalions advanced by alternate companies, one halting and firing while the men in the other fought onward, partly covered by their comrades' flanking fusillade. These tactics were executed along the entire front. In spectacular effect it was reminiscent of a field-day in manœuvres. As practical open field warfare it was so brilliantly successful that the final scene of slaughter was terrifying. Some of the Australians fought in their shirts, stretched on the damp ground, shooting the Germans down for an hour. An officer asked one of them whether he wasn't very cold. "For another chance like this," was the answer, "I would go without trousers all my life." In fact, he took to shorts when summer came on, to maintain the Gallipoli tradition.

Only 190 men from the Australian outposts were missing, though the German staff claimed to have taken 475 prisoners and destroyed twenty-two guns. Seventeen of the guns that had been destroyed were in action against the Germans three hours after the Prussian Guardsmen began their attack. The Australian gunners who had fled in their shirts carrying their breech-blocks with them, returned in time to put a

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shrapnel curtain over the flying enemy before he could get through the few paths in his wire.

After this great and heartening success the Australians and their British comrades worked with furious energy to increase their artillery power. A larger number of heavy guns were brought from the Bapaume area and sited around the Quéant salient. The Pioneers drove their tracks and roads across the muddy Bapaume chaos, and the Sappers prolonged the huge system of communications close to the Hindenburg line. In six weeks after the great devastating German retreat the northern army corps of Sir Hubert Gough's Fifth Army were in a position to renew their offensive on the scale of the Ancre and Somme actions.

On May 3rd, as the Third British Army was fighting on the Sensée River flank of the Quéant salient, the British and Australian forces of the Fifth Army again broke into the Bullecourt and Riencourt sector of the Hindenburg system. Upon this occasion the attacking infantry was fairly well provided with heavy artillery support, and the field batteries roared and blazed for mile upon mile behind them. The enemy called it drum-fire, but the guns roared faster than the rolling of a kettle-drum.

[*British official photograph.*

A RELIC OF THE INVASION.

A dug-out in the garden of a French villa which had been occupied as a German headquarters: fraught with painful memories to the old, but an object of endless interest to the younger generation.

The wire was excellently cut, and the line of the British barrage was as easy to follow as a line of human guides would have been. The attacking forces walked forward, with their shrapnel bursting nearly over their heads. In a quarter of an hour they were in the front line of the Hindenburg system. In another fifteen minutes they followed their barrage into the enemy's second line.

Then, from the second line, the Australians worked over a slope into a tramway cutting running towards Riencourt.

Serious check at Riencourt

Only on their right were the men of the Commonwealth checked. As happened at the Triangle in the Arras battle, the barrage went over the enemy's line of sunken forts without putting them out of action. The German machine-gunners had time to man their hidden concreted works, and after some of the attackers had rushed across the hostile trenches, this part of the British commanders' plan of action went to pieces.

There followed a long, fierce, and confused struggle between scattered Australian troops and the German supports creeping up from the tunnel. Gradually the fragments of the Australian battalions worked round the machine-gun positions, and, by intense persistence and splendid bombing work, the force recovered from its early check, and by the end of the day won, by hand-to-hand fighting, all its objectives.

Meanwhile, the London troops, who directly attacked Bullecourt village, failed completely, through no fault of their own, in working through the ruined houses and linking with the left of the Australian attackers. Early in the day they took the village, and one of their detachments, consisting of about forty men, drove clean through and got in touch with the Australians, according to the general programme of the action. But over the great tunnel it was easier to carry the surface trenches and redoubts than to hold them. Where there were ruined houses, with many cellars connecting with the enemy's underground caverns and galleries, the ordeal of holding what had been won was superhuman. The Londoners, nevertheless, would have taken and held the village had not the troops on their left been unable to get forward and shield their exposed left flank.

The German artillery put a great barrage upon the British trenches and over the neutral zone and their own lost line. Having thus interfered with the forwarding of supplies to the attacking troops, the German Commander brought his men up from the great tunnel, where large stores of supplies of ammunition and bombs were ready to hand, and filtered them into the stairways leading back to the brick ruins. The London troops were thus scattered into broken parties, and kept in incessant action until, like the Australians on April 11th, their bombs were finished, and they had to retire.

Londoners isolated at Bullecourt

This withdrawal left the Australian attack clean in the air. By midday Bullecourt village projected like a flat promontory on their left, where isolated London troops were still holding out against the reconquering Germans. In front was the ridge on which Riencourt stands, pitted with battery sites that drenched the Australians with shrapnel and high explosive. On the right was another promontory at Quéant, where the hostile heavy batteries were fighting under the protection of the Riencourt Ridge. Between the two promontories, in a small section of double trench varying with the sway of battle from five hundred to twelve hundred yards, were the encircled yet indomitable Australians. At times the German machine-gunners, operating from the great tunnel, fired from the right rear of the Australians and from their left rear, while other enemy gunners swept all the front.

The position was an impossible one, but the overseas Britons would not admit the word impossible into their vocabulary. They did not know clearly that they were fighting over a vast underground system, through which counter-attacking forces could climb among them and behind them. What held them up was the fact that already an Australian division, without preliminary bombardment, had gone much farther ahead than they had done. They did not, perhaps, fully appreciate the fact that, by going so far ahead in April, the first attacking force had exposed itself to entire destruction from enemy reserves hidden in the underground tunnel in its rear. All they considered was that what men had done, men could do. So they held their ground to the death, with intense and ever resurgent energy.

In the night, on the extreme left of the Australian position, where a small force had been attacked by machine-gun fire and isolated, some New South Wales troops bombed along this part of the Hindenburg line and reached the extreme point fixed to be taken in the original battle plan. The enemy counter-attacked heavily both night and day. His first counter-attack was memorable by reason of its comic yet deadly character. At noon on the first day of the action some three hundred shock troops advanced from the sunken roads on the right, and dived from shell-hole to shell-hole like a school of seals.

The new method of attack was well executed, but almost amusing to watch. The Australians stood breast high over

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[Canadian War Records

Lieut.-General Sir A. W. Currie, K.C.B., commanding Canadian Forces in France, June, 1917

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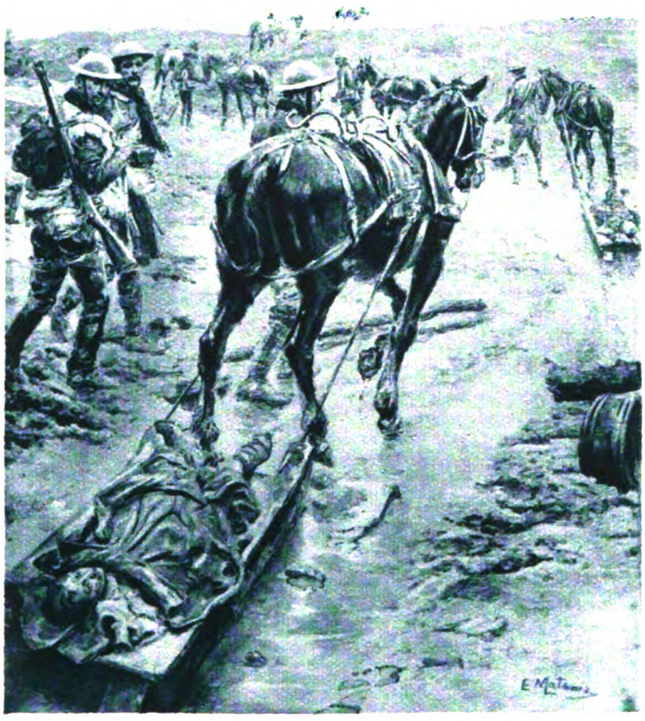
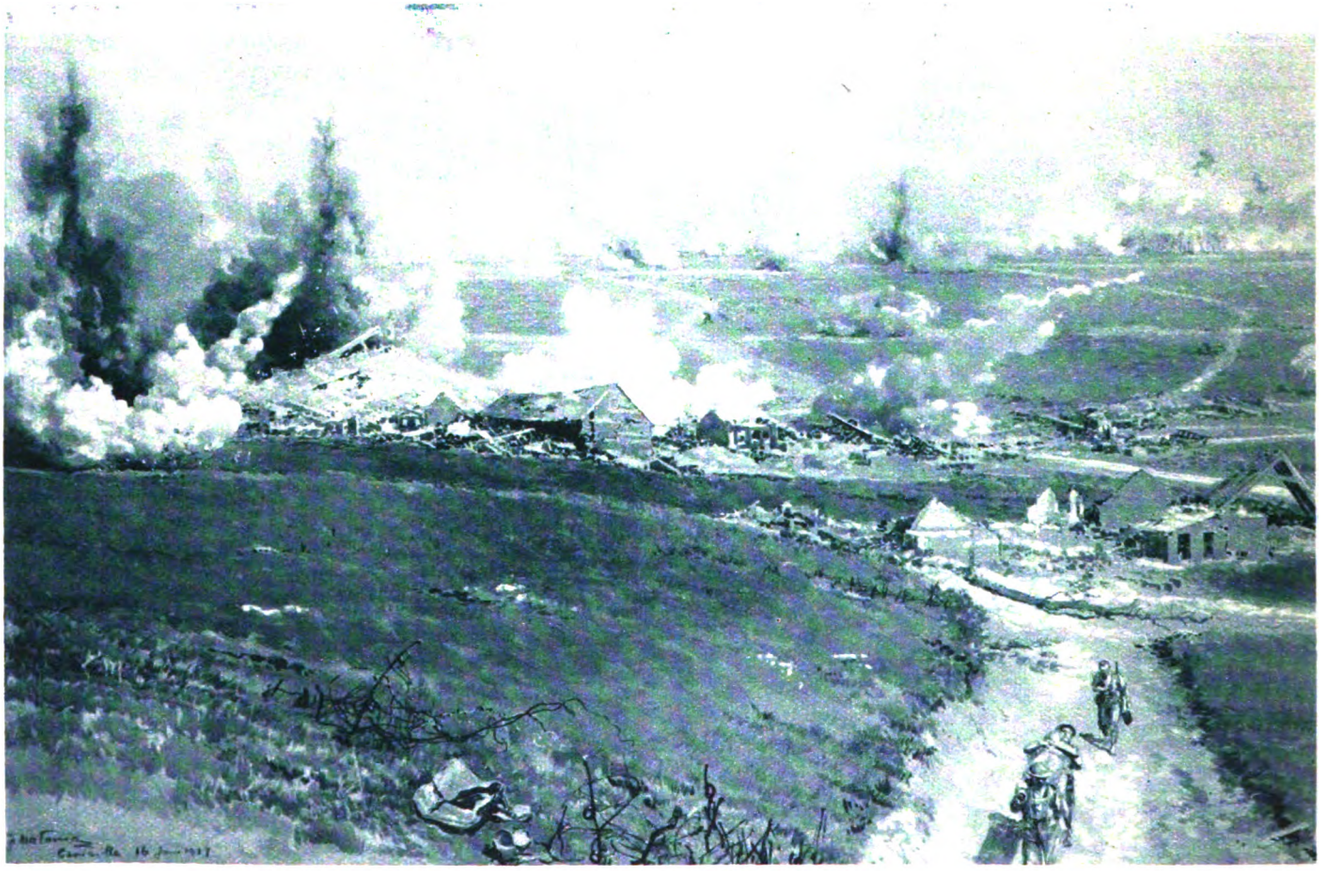


Conveying wounded by sledge-transport.

Gunners taking cover under a hot bombardment.



Village under heavy shell-fire: Sketched by Mr. F. Matania.

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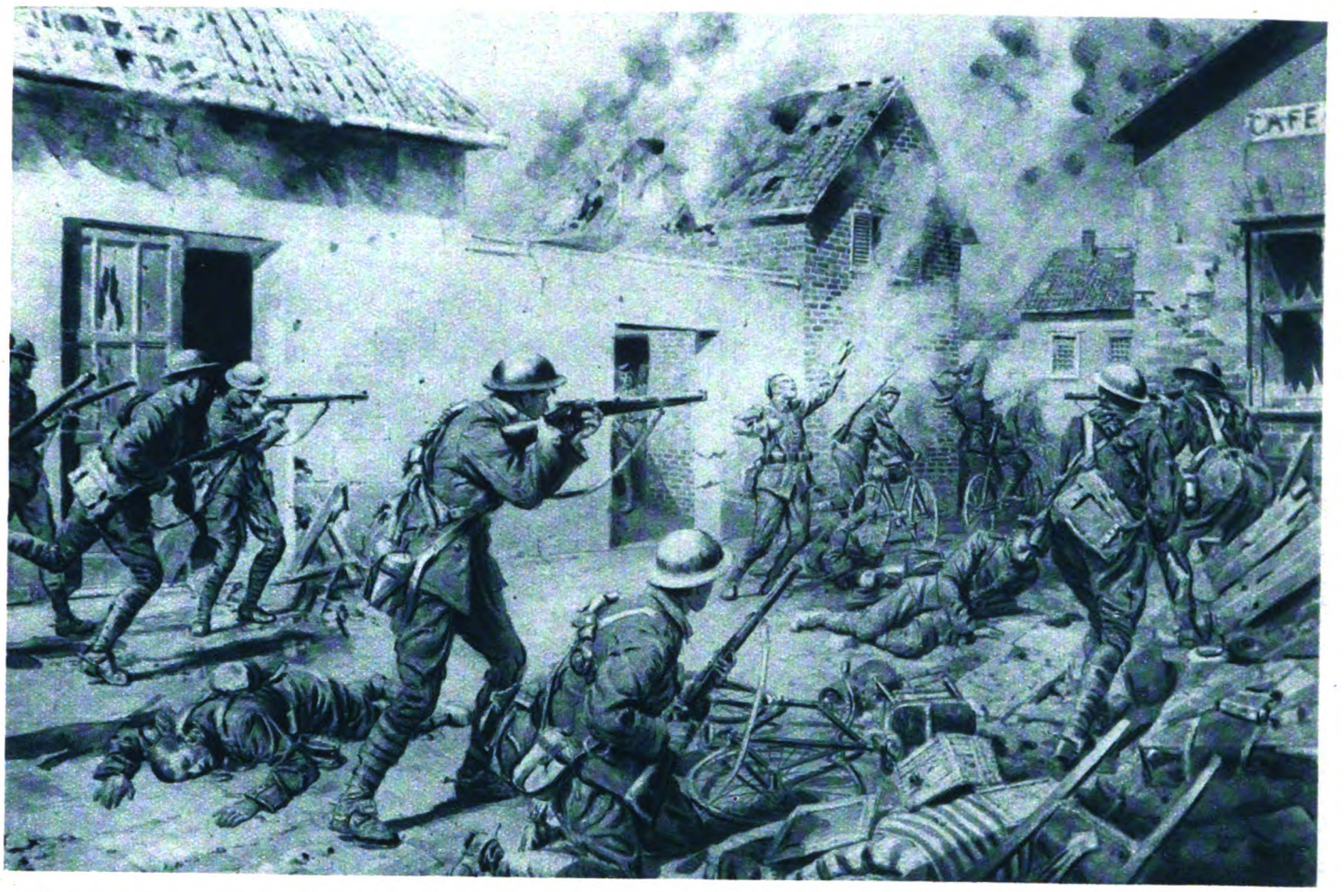

Retribution: Surprise attack by British patrol on enemy cyclists looting a French village.

French peasants awaiting motor-transport to take them back to their ruined but redeemed villages.

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First-aid and shelter for the wounded at Messines.

Burning refuse in the incinerators of the Army Sanitary Service.

Australians crossing the Douve, Messines, under machine-gun fire.

Cheshires charging unbroken wire before a trench at Messines.

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their parapet, with cigarettes in their mouths, and practised human seal shooting with decisive effect. Only a handful of resolute Germans arrived within a dozen yards of the trench, and there died. At the same time, a bombing attack was made against the left flank of the new Australian position, to divert attention from the frontal assault. A shower of Stokes aerial torpedoes blew the bombing detachment into eternity. One German was hurled thirty feet into the air, turning over and over as he spun. So the flank diversion ended.

The enemy, however, also possessed a large number of trench mortars. By means of a powerful bombardment on the Australian right, they forced this flank back completely to the left flank, seriously reducing the length of the thrust across the Hindenburg line. Thereupon, a Western Australian battalion resumed the struggle and bombed back to the limit of the trench and recovered the whole of the objective. Yet they in turn were smashed back by the concentrated fire of German trench mortars.

Failure of a German trick

Then the enemy infantry drove furiously down the trench into the bare five hundred yards of German territory in which the Australians were penned.

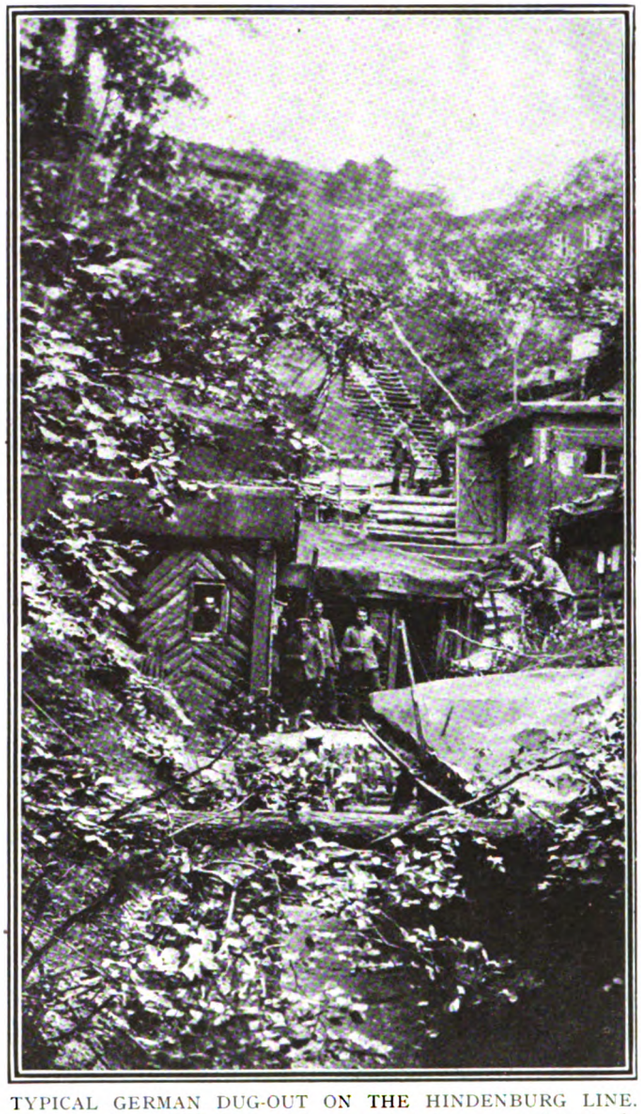
The position became tragically critical, as other German forces in the tunnel brought their machine-guns to bear from both the left rear and the right rear. When, from the Australian point of view, everything seemed past praying for, the enemy played his last trick. From one of the outlets of the tunnel system, a man appeared, speaking excellent English and wearing the uniform of an Australian officer. He gave the order to retire, and his order passed along the hard-pressed and almost breaking line.

It was a brilliant ruse which would have succeeded in ordinary circumstances. The circumstances, however, were extraordinary. By a miraculous reversion of effect, the false order given by the disguised German produced a German defeat. As the order passed along, the Australians said: "What officer of ours gave that order?" They knew none of their officers would have said such a thing. For all officers and men had determined beforehand that they never would retire, even if they were entirely encircled. They had arranged to stay until they were wholly enveloped, and then cut their way back through the enemy. Recognising at once the German trick, they were so stiffened in spirit that they fought the enemy down at all points. Although the German commander used the best forces of his Empire, including the Third Guard Division, the Second Guard Reserve, and a very large body of storm troops, most of these battalions had already been smashed by the Australians in the Lagnicourt battle. Though filled out with fresh drafts, they could not, in the five hundred yard fragment of the Hindenburg line, hold with the men who had already inflicted such heavy slaughter upon them.

The following afternoon, the gallant troops of New South Wales, who had restored the extreme position on the left attack, came forward and again bombed their way for more than six hundred yards over other ground that had been temporarily lost. Then once more the Prussian Guard and the shock troops counter-attacked in the night of May 5th. Three times the shock troops and the Guard supports tried to break through. They only penetrated one trench, and were soon thrown back from it.

Continually pressed on three sides and threatened in the rear, the superb Australians not only held to what they had won, but, in sudden fierce leaps, made after the German counter-attacks were broken, they slowly enlarged the narrow gap into which they had thrust.

There was no definite line of conflict. The opposing forces were wedged into each other, in a tangle of deep ditch fighting. The enemy tried to tire out the Australians by continually feeding up attacking forces from Quéant,



TYPICAL GERMAN DUG-OUT ON THE HINDENBURG LINE. Where the famous Hindenburg line was dented numerous ingeniously built and luxuriously fitted dug-outs were found, some of them picturesquely situated, as the one shown in the above enemy photograph.

from Riencourt, from Bullecourt, and from the east of Bullecourt. As each counter-attacking force relaxed in vigour, it was relieved by new forces. No sacrifice of life was spared in order to recover the Hindenburg line.

The German sappers had not completed their work on April 11th. The spades of the working parties were observed when the Australians went forward without artillery preparation. On May 3rd, the defences were still unfinished. The works were excavated on a massive pattern, with wide traverses capable of preventing the biggest British shell from enfilading the bays. The magnificent design was very helpful to the penned-in attacking force, when pounded by the heavy German artillery.

Use of enemy defence works

The German sappers, however, had not had time to revet the enormous ditches by means of hurdles or galvanised iron. The dug-outs also had not been cemented, though the wood-lined staircases were good, and the caverns were upheld with stout logs. Moreover, many of the neighbouring machine-gun positions still lacked connecting galleries. Yet all the works were so well on the way to completion that the German commander could quickly have made the line practically impregnable

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ACTIVITY AT AN AID-POST NEAR THE BULLECOURT BATTLEFIELD.

Stretcher-bearers bringing in wounded, while a despatch-rider goes off with the latest information. In the tense struggle around Bullecourt which preceded its capture on May 17th, 1917, all branches of the Army shared the honours with the infantry and gunners. The stretcher-bearers were acclaimed the greatest of all heroes by hundreds of thousands of men who had proved themselves to be of the finest heroic type.

had he been able to keep the Australians out of it for a few days.

This was why he sternly exhausted army corps after army corps of his finest troops in attempts to recover the little patch of ground. From his point of view there was no reason why the Australians should be allowed to continue to occupy an impossible position. "You are merely madmen from the Antipodes," said a captured Prussian soldier of the professional school. He pointed out that his opponents were defying all the principles of warfare, in clinging to a position in mid-air from which they were certain to be driven.

"Madmen from the Antipodes"

The Australians were like their British ancestors, who fought against Soult in Spain, and after being defeated by all canons of strategy, remained victorious on the hard-won battle ground. By sheer primitive hand-to-hand struggles, with the heavy artillery on both sides smashing up communications and playing upon all visible reinforcements, the struggle went on by the Riencourt road and around Bullecourt village.

On the morning of May 7th some of the English troops, who had fought around Bullecourt village, came forward, with a fine Scottish force, to co-operate again with the bull-dog fighters of the Island Continent. In close bomb-fighting the Scots blasted the enemy down the trenches, and fought into the village, dragging a bunch of prisoners out of it. They sliced off the south-east corner of Bullecourt, linked it with the part of the Hindenburg line held by the Australians, and rescued ten London men who had been taken prisoners in the battle of May 3rd.

On the same day some British artillery observers spied a German division trying to dig a trench behind Bullecourt, set their guns on to the large force, and killed many of the diggers just behind the village. As the struggle on the Bullecourt line became more clearly defined, the most horrible weapons were employed on both sides. The Germans used their flame projectors and their poison gas shells, only to be answered by liquid metal shells, far-flung barrels of flaming petrol and a new British gas shell of dreadful quality. According to prisoners, their masks gave no protection from the new British gas. One shell, exploding in a crowded dug-out, killed all the occupants, in spite of their gas helmets. In another battalion at Bullecourt, so men taken from the battalion said, there were two hundred and thirty casualties from gas shell bombardment.

By this time part of the great Hindenburg tunnel was solidly occupied by the Australian forces, and found to be sufficiently high and wide to allow the enemy quickly to move troops from point to point. It was also known that at Riencourt there was a series of mediæval catacombs, capable of sheltering six thousand German troops. All these advantages which the enemy possessed, together with the chain of great caverns he was constructing, were fairly balanced by the continually increasing power of the heavy British artillery.

The big guns maintained such a plastering barrage over the hostile rear that the Germans could not move across open country into their subterranean fortresses without very grave losses. They had also to stop working on a new switch line, which was intended to give them communication with Quéant when they were driven out of the Bullecourt salient. Indescribable—within, at least, the limits of this voluminous history—were the stupendous labours of the organisation forces behind the Imperial British attack.

Superb British organisation

The vast and rapid concentration of British heavy guns across the wide zone of territory evacuated by Ludendorff was answered by the enemy with a strenuous effort. Never had he massed more guns on a small area than on the Bullecourt sector in the first

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weeks of May. He tried to spare his Hindenburg line, shooting merely behind it and on the saps in front of it, as he did not want to foul his own nest, which he hoped to retake.

When, however, he began to see that the heroic defence of the Australians was unlikely to be broken, he endeavoured to smash up the great system he had lost. Tens of thousands of heavy shells, fired from three sides, fell upon the Australian, Scottish, and English troops, who gradually broadened the front of the wedge of territory they had conquered by means of perpetual bombing attacks, entailing the carrying forward of tons of munitions through the hostile shell curtain.

After the action in Bullecourt village on May 7th the enemy took a full day to recover. He launched his customary counter-attack on May 9th, and was caught by machine-gun fire while trying to cross the open. Severe and continuous fighting raged all around Bullecourt, and in spite of the vehement repeated counter-assaults by the enemy, progress was made by the Imperial Forces.

Unavailing German counter-attacks

The Germans began with a terrific bombardment, followed by storming operations all along the line. They were repulsed everywhere, with very great losses, and the victorious Australians, Scotsmen, and Englishmen came out against their broken foes and bombed them out of some of the most important positions. Again, on Friday evening, May 11th, the Germans were observed to be massing for another great storming operation in the neighbourhood of Bullecourt. A tempest of shrapnel unexpectedly fell upon them, and the survivors scattered into shelter.

The British Commander was quick to seize the advantage his guns had won for him. Just as twilight was deepening into night he launched his English and Scottish troops into the historic village, through which the men of London had battled with desperate valour on May 3rd, when their supporting wing was checked. The linked cellars beneath the ruined cottages, with the armoured machine-gun forts and the caverns of the great tunnel, once more enabled a considerable part of the garrison to maintain a fierce defence, and escape, when beaten, by unseen subterranean ways.

Enemy surrounded in Bullecourt

Violent hand-to-hand bomb-fighting went on all night, and continued in the morning of Sunday, May 13th.

The British troops attacked both sides of the village. The Scotsmen, in the south-eastern corner, sent out parties of bombers, who worked up the trenches on the right and reached the road running across the village of Bullecourt from east to west. Other English bombers blasted their way through the eastern end of the village towards the same road, with the effect that the Germans discovered they were being entirely surrounded.

In an endeavour to escape the flanking operations, they bolted along the trenches eastward, only to find the Australians waiting for them there. After a brief fight, some two hundred prisoners were taken by the forces of the Commonwealth. Nevertheless, after the encircling movement, remnants of the German garrison continued to hold out in the underground works in the middle of the village. There they waited, in darkness and silence, for the great German counter-attack that was to bring them again into their own lines.

The first attempt at rescue and recovery was extraordinarily disastrous to the enemy. Early in the morning the German gunners tried, by means of a heavy barrage, to break a path for their battalions massing behind the

TRYING THEIR HANDS AT A NEW WEAPON DEVISED IN THE GREAT WAR.

New Zealand troops engaged in practising a smoke attack, using portable smoke generators. For use in trenches a much larger apparatus was invented. It was a curious development that was manifested when belligerents, who for long had been perfecting a smokeless powder for rifles and artillery, had to turn their attention to devising fresh means of producing smoke-clouds that should serve to mask an advance or hinder an attack.

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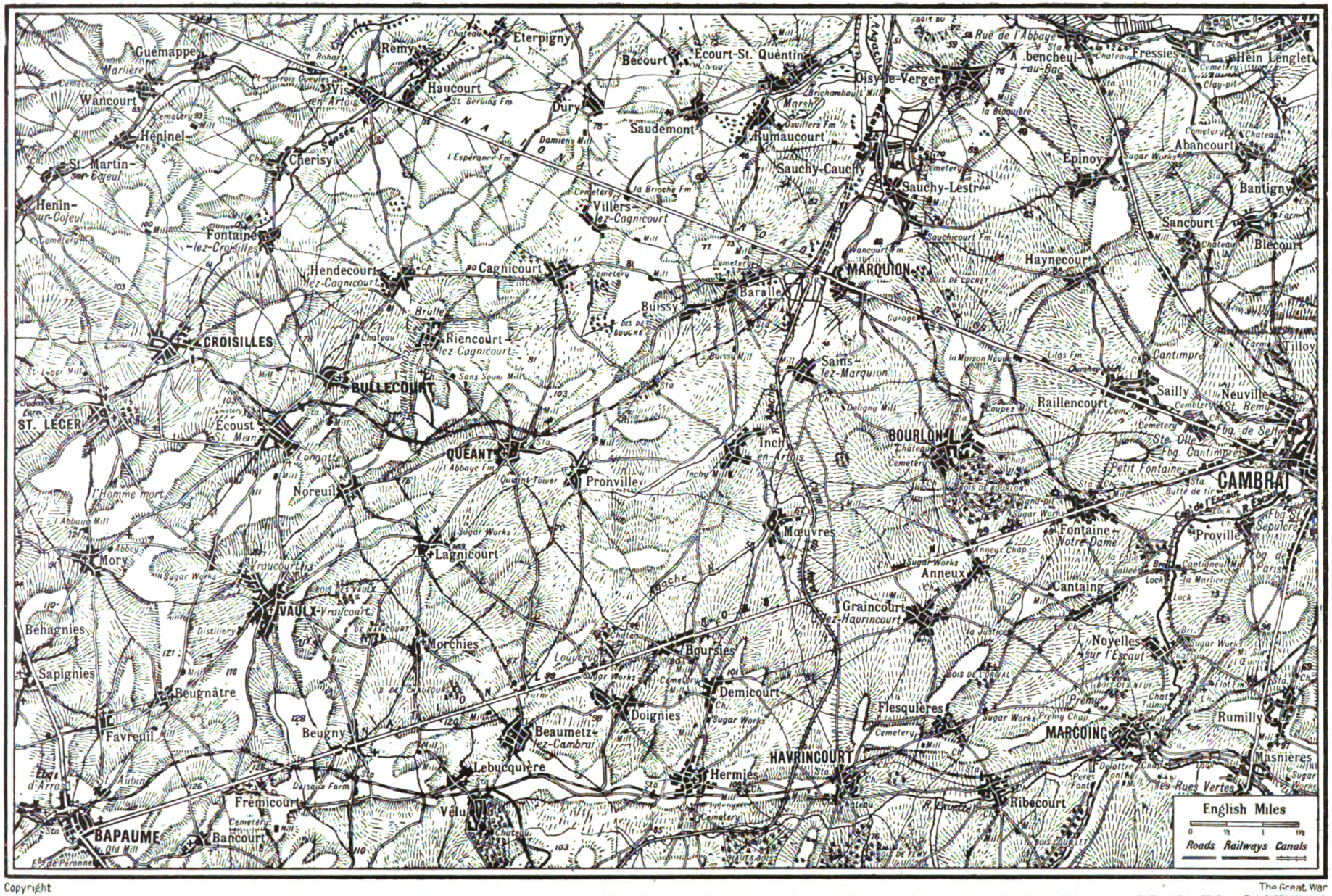

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The Great War

AREA OF THE FIGHTING FOR POSSESSION OF BULLECOURT AND THE NATIONAL ROAD NORTH OF IT FROM ARRAS TO CAMBRAI.

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village. The infantry was sent forward, shoulder to shoulder, in columns of fours, to win back Bullecourt by sheer weight of numbers. The moment their barrage lifted the British curtain fire fell on the road they had to travel. With a degree of courage that must be recognised, one well-disciplined German column went steadily forward into the hurricane of artillery fire and was torn to fragments. Only twelve Germans got within bombing distance. Three were mortally wounded, and nine were killed.

One hour afterwards the heavy German artillery again hammered at the British line in the village, and provoked another British shell curtain, through which the German columns again went forward. On this occasion twenty of the counter-attackers arrived near an English trench. Of them, nineteen were killed, and one was captured.

Success of British artillery

The dreadful success of these two British barrages decided the battle for Bullecourt. Final victory was the result of one of those highly technical dispositions which the enemy thought was impossible to such an upstart, newly-created national army as the British Empire put into the field. The liaison between artillery and infantry was practically perfect.

Though the gunners worked under most frightful difficulties, with, day and night, storms of explosives searching for their batteries, they and their forward observation officers and aerial observers ranged with marvellous quickness on all living German targets during the repeated counter-attacks. Again and again, in the first fortnight of May, the enemy's dense masses were shattered before they could close upon the Australian, Scottish, and South of England troops.

This thing it was that staggered Ludendorff and his lieutenants. Some of the shooting of the British artillery in the opening of the Somme battles had undoubtedly been poor. Many were the British artillerymen who fired their first gun between Gommecourt and Montauban. They had a certain knowledge of the theory of gunnery; they had practised their work without using shell; but, being very new recruits, from a country whose gun production first lagged behind its potential man-power, many of the men opened their real apprenticeship on the battle-field. Only as they acquired a mastery of their mighty and complicated weapons were their armies able to work forward at lighter loss than the enemy suffered.

On the other hand, it had taken much less than a year to transform these apprenticed artillerists into the master gunners of the world. Perhaps it was a quality of race—a gift of steady vision and rapid calculation inherited from the bowmen of Crecy and Agincourt, and from the gunners of Drake, Blake, and Nelson. Yet, if this were so, the larger part of the success remained traceable to the science and intensive instruction communicated by a small band of professional British gunners to the multitudes of new officers and men whom they had trained at unparalleled speed.

Ludendorff reckoned upon a raggedness in the British co-operation of guns and bayonets. Especially did he anticipate encountering only a weak British artillery at the pivot point of his Hindenburg system. Here the British heavy artillery had to advance more than twelve miles, and construct new emplacements, dug-outs, underground store chambers, light railways, and other vast works.

Yet by May 12th Ludendorff knew that he had been entirely mistaken in all his anticipations. Around Bullecourt he was opposed by ordinary British Imperial troops of the line, whose fighting qualities exceeded those of his best shock troops, crack Guardsmen, and Bavarians. All his artillery, which he had been emplacing and strengthening for at least nine months, was over-borne by British artillery, which had taken less than two months to haul forward, emplace, and provide with abundant shell.

Bullecourt was a great testing-place of the strategy of General von Ludendorff and the strategy of Sir Douglas Haig. At Bullecourt the German dictator at first accomplished all he had designed to achieve. He withdrew his First Army safely from Bapaume. Near his new line he lost some important villages which he had intended to hold as outpost fortresses. Still, he succeeded in firmly establishing himself in the immense new earthworks above his gigantic tunnel and below his new high artillery positions. Behind the ordinary "cannon fodder" manning his first line was concentrated the finest flower of his forces, and, though his fortifications were not entirely completed, the excavation of the main huge trench system and the secret tunnel ways had been carried out. Finally, in spite of the fact that he had been taken by surprise by the Australian division, in the second week of April, he was able to use his superior artillery power and tunnel devices in a successful manner, and recover and strengthen the Hindenburg line.

British versus German strategy

He therefore felt confident that the scheme of defence which he had carried out, by enormous industry, would win him sufficient time to employ his submarines in starving out the British races. When, however, the awful British barrages absolutely destroyed his massed

[*British official photograph.*

CANAL BRIDGE THAT STOOD, THOUGH THE WATERWAY WAS FILLED WITH THE DÉBRIS OF BOMBARDMENT.

Despite the terrific bombardment to which every square inch of the ground between the opposed guns was subjected, some few objects, even of military importance, escaped destruction. Among them was this bridge over the canal between Péronne and Bapaume, which was left standing, although the canal itself was filled with broken rubbish and that which had been a peaceful waterway was converted into a dried-up sunken road.

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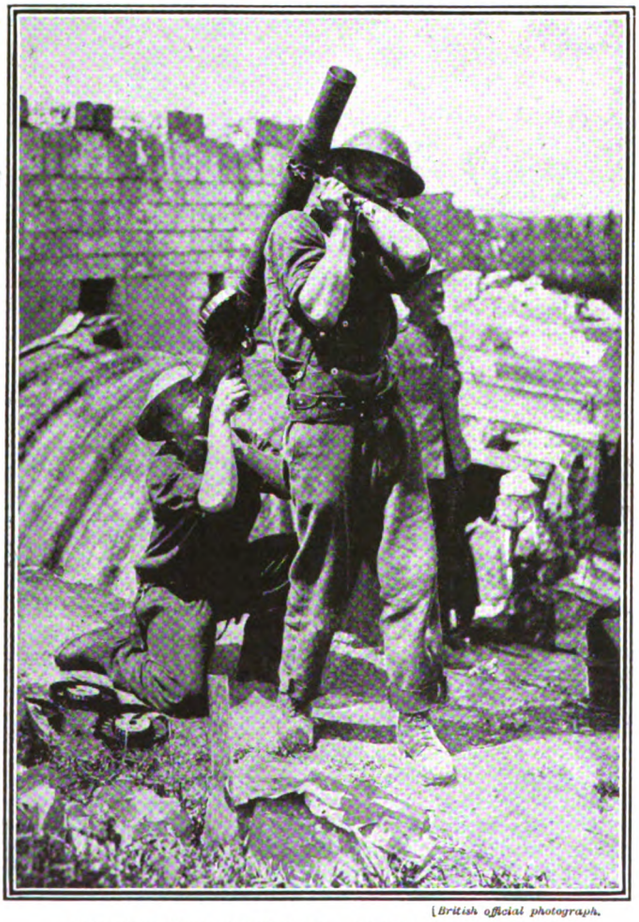
counter-attacking forces around Bullecourt, the principal element in his original plan was seen to be ineffectual.

At Arras and Vimy the British and Canadian forces had, from the German point of view, merely repeated, with accelerating skill, the form of the British successes on the Somme and Ancre. The troops of the British Empire there fought a pitched battle on old ground which they and the French armies had been organising since October, 1914. For more than a year, the British gunners had been able to register on all enemy positions on the fixed line extending from Lens to Arras.

Germans' tactical advantages

On the Bullecourt front the British and Australian gunners had slowly to discover their targets, in an unknown tract of country containing tunnels, galleries, catacombs, and thousands of other underground shelters of which they were ignorant. Not until an enemy gun fired could they learn its position. Their artillery had to provoke the enemy gunners into counter-battery work before anything of importance could be carried out. Every possible tactical advantage was enjoyed by the enemy in and around Bullecourt.

Nevertheless, he was thoroughly beaten. In other words, the technique of the British Empire forces, composed mainly of troops who did not know anything of war before August, 1914, proved superior to the technique of the German armies, which had been training in military technique, with the utmost scope and energy, since Roon and Moltke prepared in the middle of the nineteenth century for the series of victorious campaigns against Denmark, Austria, Hanover, other German States, France and Russia. It was as though the first Surrey cricket eleven was beaten again and again by some boys from an unknown Cornish village.



[*British official photograph.*

MACHINE-GUN STAND OF FLESH AND BLOOD.

Canadian machine-gunners driving away an enemy aeroplane. One powerful fellow shouldered the weapon, instinctively shutting his eyes in anticipation of the sudden shock of the explosion.

[*Australian official photograph.*

TENANTS ON A REPAIRING LEASE.

Australians at work on a captured German trench to render it available for their own occupation: Converting parados into parapet, and pulling bundles of broken barbed-wire out of the clearway.

At the suggestion of Ludendorff, the German Press began to expatiate upon the large war experience won by the small British regular army in continual little conflicts with the tribes of north-western India and the Somali clans of north-eastern Africa. This explanation did not explain. The larger part of the original British Army was out of action. The most effectual weapons, used in the enormous parallel battle, were of a kind with which only the Teutonic armies had practised before the war. The German 16.8 in. guns, the Austrian 12 in. guns, the German 11 in. pieces of siege ordnance were unknown even to the regular British Army. The British Garrison Artillery originally possessed only a few 9.2 in. guns in coast defence batteries.

Superiority of British technique

The technique of connecting the heaviest siege ordnance with aeroplane direction, was practically entirely of Germanic use. Aeroplane direction had never been practised in British colonial wars. The extraordinary advances made by the British, in the intricate technique of attack upon subterranean fortifications of incomparable strength, were a result of rapid improvisation and invention. The enemy possessed all possible original advantages because of his intensive and enormous preparations for war. He gradually failed to maintain his advantages, because he was at last outclassed in both foresight and inventive power.

With the help of Royal Marine and Naval gunners the British Master-General of Ordnance transformed raw recruits into good artillerists at a speed which was marvellous. In regard to musketry instruction, the method of rapid fire, developed by the regular army

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between the South African Campaign and the battles of Mons and Ypres, was so superbly perfected that the new armies could cause as much execution in thirty seconds as the troops at Ypres inflicted in a minute.

In this respect, however, some ground was lost during the middle period of trench warfare. For a time the bomb and the bayonet seemed to be more important than intensely rapid, well-aimed, rifle fire. Most of the small local and temporary reverses incurred along the Hindenburg line, after the victories of Vimy Ridge and Arras, were largely attributable to a certain slackness in maintaining all the British infantry in the perfected art of incomparably deadly, rapid musketry fire. This British lapse may have been partly due to the erroneous influence of some brilliant French Army Commanders, who openly professed that the rifle was scarcely of any importance in comparison with bomb, bayonet, and machine-gun. After the first great battles along the Hindenburg line, however, every British commanding officer, from lieutenant-generals commanding armies to lieutenant-colonels commanding battalions, returned to his original faith in the fire-power of the Lee-Enfield.

Importance of rifle fire

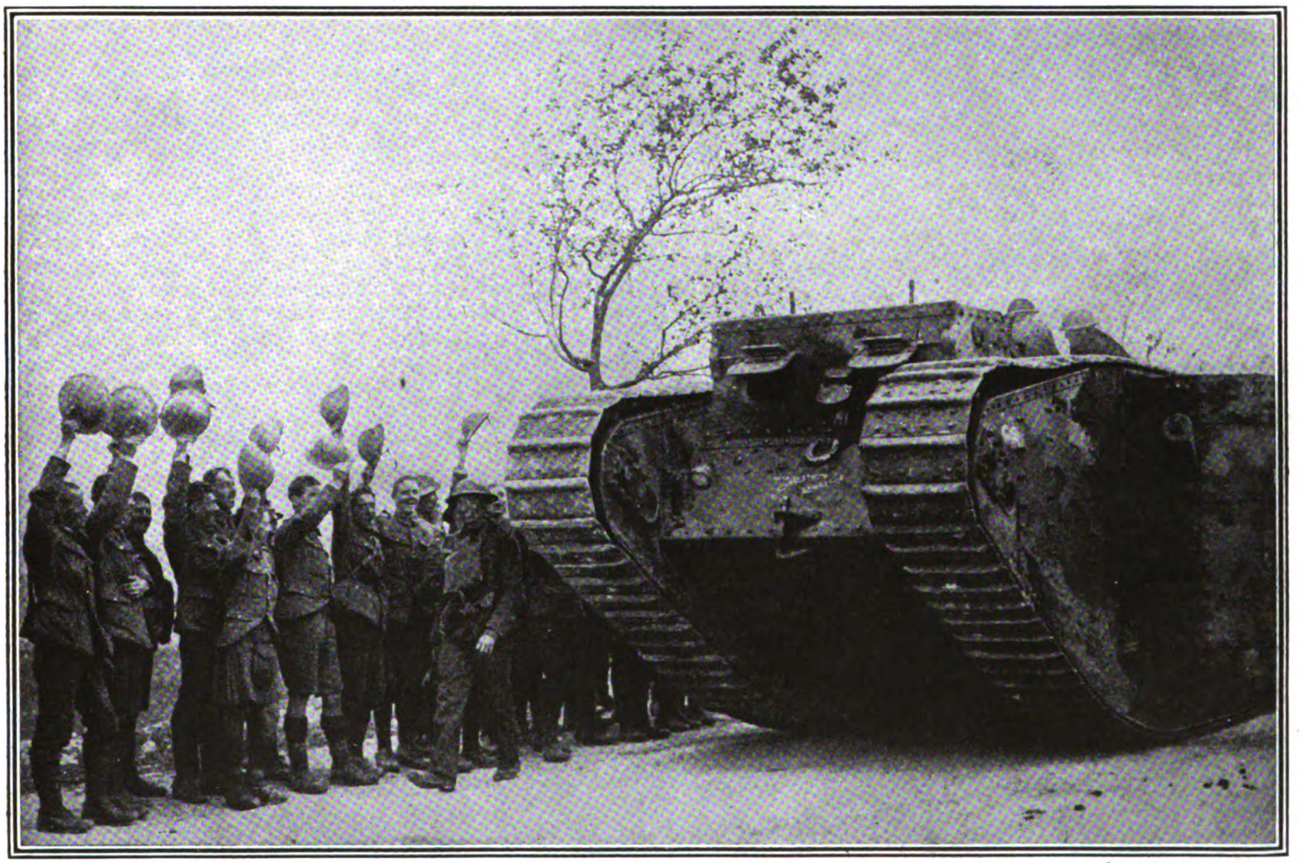
The marksmen of Australia achieved wonderful things by means of their undiminished skill in intense and aimed rifle fire. When the Germans were bunched together in thousands, the Australians did not fire "into the brown" as was the general manner of all Continental infantry. Every man got between his sights one grey figure, fired at it, covered another grey figure and fired, and so on, with remarkable speed, until his supply of a hundred rounds of cartridges in clips was quite or nearly exhausted.

Many British battalions, directly inheriting the musketry tradition of the original seven divisions, proved themselves as deadly masters of all their approaches as the men at Le Cateau had been. Yet among other new British divisions there seemed to remain ample room for improvement and return to the great tradition. Perhaps, in the well-known perfecting school of infantry training in France, commonly known as "the Bull-Ring," the hand-bomb had been too much exalted over the magazine and barrel of the rifle. This error, at the base behind the fighting-line, seems to have spread to the home training centres.

Germany's "stosstruppen"

With this exception, the military technique of the forces of two million front-line men of all the British Commonwealth armies was magnificently effective, excelling the technique of the common forces of the German armies, and at least equalling in expertness that of the special German shock troops. It is, in fact, scarcely extravagant to say that the average British infantryman proved as fine a fighting man as a member of the comparatively small German forces of picked and specially trained "stosstruppen."

These stosstruppen were killed in thousands in the actions in and around Bullecourt. For the most part they only came into action in the dark hours when their common infantry had been thoroughly defeated. They were filled with pride when they first came forward to attempt the counter-attacks intended to retrieve the entire situation. When, however, they were entirely defeated by the ordinary Australian, English, and Scottish soldier the moral result was far-reaching. Not only was the personal pride of the shock troops lowered and broken,



[*Canadian War Records.*

SOLDIERS GREETING THE RETURN OF A LANDSHIP FROM A VICTORIOUS CRUISE.

"Tanks" made their first appearance at Thiepval on September 16th, 1916, and were greeted with hilarious delight by the British troops and with terrified denunciation by the enemy. Thereafter they continued to render valuable assistance on all fronts, especially to attacking infantry. Though they soon lost their novelty, they never ceased to cause amusement by their ungainly movements when performing seemingly impossible feats.

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SCOTTISH TROOPS GOING "OVER THE TOP" TO TAKE PART IN A NIGHT RAID ON THE WESTERN FRONT.
In this very impressive picture, the artist, Mr. D. Macpherson, presents from an eye-witness's account all parts of the British front in France. The heavy barrage from the British artillery held the enemy something of the solemnity and grim splendour of one of those night raids on the enemy trenches from sending relief up to their front lines, while behind that barrage the raiding parties reached the behind barrage fire which formed an important and more or less constant feature of the fighting along German trenches, bombed their dug-outs, and generally returned with a number of prisoners.

but the men of the numerous divisions, whom they had gone forward to help, became despondent. Each ordinary German private thought to himself, in various ways: "If our picked shock troops cannot throw back the terrible 'Englishmen,' how ever can a common soldier like me hope to achieve anything?"

After the great Bullecourt battle, at the end of the second week in May, there remained on May 14th only two posts of the original German garrison holding out in the village. Groups of fugitive bombers were unearthed slowly from unlikely corners in an oppressive heat like that of August. Through nights that brought them no fresh air to cool them at their task, the British bombing parties fed as they went on with their deadly work, and snatched brief periods of rest in horribly strange places.

Clearing out Bullecourt

In the great charnel-house of ruins the dead stared at the groups of living, sleeping victors from winding alley-ways and the rubble of unroofed and broken walled cottages. All the time the heavy German guns hammered at the wreckage and flogged the corpses that were at last piled like human sand-bags around the living.

The remnants of the German infantry, sheltering in their last dug-outs, were often afraid of being annihilated by their own artillery before the British bombers discovered their hiding places. On the other hand, nothing of the exhilaration of battle sustained the attacking troops, engaged in sifting out Germans from the village cellars, and fighting for a strip of trench a few yards long. It was like digging out rats. In places, an entire morning was spent in the wearying work of excavating a single ruined covered corner, on the chance of finding a handful of Prussians cowering beneath broken roof beams and mounds of lath and plaster.

Cleaning up parties worked gradually, yet energetically, along the village uncovering and exploring a cottage at a time, under a continuous fire of enemy shrapnel, varied by shell bursts sufficiently powerful to penetrate dug-outs. Dead Prussian Guardsmen carpeted the earth round Bullecourt, and choked the new ditches linking the village with the rest of the Hindenburg system.

Heavy German losses

Each of the enemy's vain counter-attacks could be traced by successive trails of corpses. First, on the open cratered fields were masses of bodies shattered by the British barrages. Closer at hand were thinner layers of the brief survivors of the shell curtain, who were brought down by British machine-gunners. Lastly, inside the ruins were the final remnants of the

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counter-attacks, consisting of little groups of grey motionless figures, killed, almost at arm's length, by British bombers and riflemen.

There was a dramatic episode when the English troops were fighting through the village and an Australian bombing party was blasting forward to meet them. Only a small number of Germans at last separated the two spear heads. Some of the Englishmen happily observed the distinctive features of their oversea comrades, and at once shortened the throw of their bombs for fear of accidents. The Australians were fighting forward in such wild fury that they did not notice that their bombs would soon explode beyond the small stretch of trench held by the Germans.

They felt, however, that the enemy's resistance was weakening, and came upon some bodies which they knew they could not have killed. They interrupted their action to puzzle over the problem of the dead Germans. This saved the English troops. During the pause, an English soldier jumped on the parapet and shouted. The Australians answered with a ringing cheer, and both parties ran forward and shook hands over the German dead.

Bombing parties' dramatic meeting

The Third Prussian Guards Division, with a regiment of Grenadiers and a division brought down from Ypres, were shattered in the final battle of Bullecourt. Still the enemy Army Commander was not content to stand upon his new line and regard the village as permanently lost. As soon as he was certain that all his garrison had been killed, captured, or driven out from the upper part of the village by May 14th, leaving only a few pockets of men southward, more or less connected with the great tunnel, he resolved to make a final attempt to turn defeat into victory.

Early in the morning of Tuesday, May 15th, Bullecourt was again ploughed up by a smoking, flaming tempest of German projectiles, and drenched for hours with gas shells. The intense and heavy fire stamped up and down the section of the Hindenburg line won by the Australians, as well as thundering in flame and poison upon the village.

Then, at dawn, when the British batteries were fiercely shooting at the German gunners, the first German masses advanced in the open upon the right flank of the lost German line. The position was held by New South Wales troops. After passing through the British barrages of guns and machine-guns, at four o'clock in the morning, the German infantry survived in sufficient strength to penetrate the Australian centre for thirty yards. They were, however, immediately counter-attacked with bombs, bayonets, and trench mortars, and by the rallying men from New South Wales. By eleven o'clock no living German remained in the trench, but more than two hundred dead Germans were found in it. Moreover, as the enemy was held in the rear by a shell curtain, through which he had to flee, his total losses were very much greater.

Another counter-attack directed on the left flank of the British position, about the same time, did not reach the defending outposts. The British artillery entirely smashed up the German columns as they were advancing, with trench mortars firing behind them and big guns clearing a path in front of them. From the British point of view, it was one of those overwhelming artillery successes that made the infantryman adore his gunners.

Later in the morning a third attack was delivered upon the north-east corner of Bullecourt. This also was successfully repulsed, with staggering loss to the enemy, by shrapnel curtains, machine-gun barrage, and gusts of rifle fire. In the afternoon, however, the German commander won a local, but apparently definite success. He launched his fourth and strongest counter-attack upon the south and south-west of Bullecourt village, and sent his troops up in such continuous dense formations that the British gunners could not kill them quickly enough. The

[*British official photograph.*

LIGHTLY CLAD FOR WEIGHTY WORK.

British soldier—who it will be observed was wearing an enemy helmet which he had secured as a trench souvenir—wheeling up shells in a barrow for keeping the guns supplied on the western front.

Germans drove back some posts near the lower end of the village in hard fighting above ground, while the remnant of the old garrison in the ruins was reinforced from the main tunnel.

The subterranean force began to emerge on the rear of the Scottish and English troops, and swept them with unexpected bursts of fire and volleys of bombs as the British companies were struggling against the overland shock troops. At this time, all that could be seen of Bullecourt was about half a dozen stumps of trees, rising above flattened heaps of broken brick and narrow ditches, blown in by blasts of high explosives. A few sticks of timber were regarded as a refreshing cover, while a cellar only half full of wreckage seemed like a little paradise in hell.

Wild groups of dust-covered, tired, bristly-faced fighting-men talked to each other about hurrying to the church, where the line was sagging, or supporting the men at the cross-roads, and bombing back down the main street. But there were not any church, high street, cross-roads, churchyards, or other features in the blind and desolate place. The men merely named the various vanished features from memory of what they had been.

Fighting in a smoking desert

The last-made shell-hole was regarded as the best cover, because it seemed unlikely that another shell would fall immediately in the same crater. Nevertheless, the lunar wilderness incessantly fluctuated, the craters flowing over each other and hollowing out in new ways, like a waste of deep water labouring under a heavy gale. Stronger than any tempest were the concussions of air from the high explosive shells. Amid these violent and stunning ripples of the atmosphere, there drifted, more slowly, the

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choking fumes of exploding chemicals and wafts of poison gas from the quieter kind of projectiles.

The masked, grimed, powdered, fantastic figures of Englishmen and Scotsmen travelled through this modern inferno to reinforce their comrades holding out around the section of ruins, where the Germans were increasing in numbers and drawing fresh supplies from the Hindenburg tunnel.

Fighting went on all night and continued throughout Wednesday, May 16th. The British troops gradually, but continually, gained ground by their amazing tenacity and personal prowess. Sometimes, where the enemy's position was clearly defined, British fighting-men would suddenly draw back a little, to allow their artillery observation officers exactly to place a tremendous mass of shell capable of shattering dug-outs around the German galleries connecting with the tunnel.

After the high explosive projectiles there often followed a hurricane of the new British gas-shell, if the wind happened to set in a quarter that would not bring the gas back upon the attacking troops. Finally, after high explosive and gas, shrapnel would be flung steadily upon the positions which the Germans had regained, in order to force all their infantry to withdraw underground. Then, with the backing of trench-mortars, the British bombers would again work forward, win a scrap of ground, and dig themselves in like madmen. The quicker they dug, the better was their chance of surviving.

Prolonged and unremitting ordeal

They, however, had also to submit to the same ordeal, prolonged and unremitting, which slowly broke the spirit and strength of their foes. The German gunners battered in their cover with shell, ranging from 5.9 in. to the largest calibres. Horrible gases burst about them in clouds, and intense shrapnel fire tested their steel hats when they were able to stand in the trench, and penetrated their bodies when they were crawling from shell-hole to shell-hole.

Happily, there was a considerable difference between the rate of fire of the opposing batteries. The British gunners had more guns, more shell, and a much wider arc of siting positions. As has already been explained, the enemy around Riencourt occupied a narrowing salient. It was overreached by the howitzers of the British Third Army on the Sensée stream line on the German right, and hammered in front by the guns which the Fifth British Army had arranged to the depth of some miles. Wholesale was the destruction wrought by the counter-battery work of these two great cross-firing combinations of British artillery, daringly and skilfully assisted by aeroplane observation and hill fire-controlling positions.

The German artillery appeared to have been ordered to be as economical as possible in its bombardment and counter-battery work. Either the tubes of the guns were wearing badly or the British naval and railway guns were interfering with the enemy's transport of shell. The hostile gun-fire only on rare occasions equalled the intensity of the British gun-fire. The German gunners generally used whirlwind bombardments for important purposes, but did not maintain the incessant storm of shell with which the British artillerymen opened the way into the great tunnel, both in Bullecourt and in the large space between Bullecourt and Fontaine.

The consequence was that a task which would have been impossible for the men of the Fifth Army in ordinary circumstances became practicable owing to the extraordinary rate at which great masses of artillery had been brought from the Bapaume front. On Thursday, May 17th, after continual fighting for nearly three hundred and fifty hours, the village of Bullecourt was entirely conquered, with all its difficult underground tunnel connections.

When everything is considered, the achievement of the Australian, English, and Scottish troops of Sir Hubert Gough's army appears to be the most striking success of the Imperial British forces in the spring campaign of 1917. The storming of Vimy Ridge and the advance from Arras to Monchy Hill and the upper part of the Hindenburg Line had larger strategic importance than the break made between Riencourt and beyond Bullecourt.

Yet, regarded as an affair of sheer human effort in fighting, engineering, heavy gun transport and improvised organisation, the advance of the left wing of the Fifth Army over the broad wasted zone between Bapaume and Bullecourt, followed by an amazingly rapid and victorious thrust across the works of the great Hindenburg tunnel, lifted the victors in the Ancre and Somme Battles to a glorious pinnacle of military power.

Every man in the army of Sir Hubert Gough shared the honours with the infantry and the gunners. The pioneers were indeed beyond praise; the cavalry, who took machine-gun villages at the charge and on some occasions rode over the Hindenburg Line, may be esteemed the finest horsemen that ever lowered a lance; the stretcher-bearers were acclaimed the greatest of all heroes by hundreds of thousands of men who were themselves of the finest heroic mould. Even the men of the Army Service Corps did so splendidly that the fighting-men scarcely grudged the fact that the more sheltered, non-combatant corps was better paid than the men who won the battles.

On Sunday, May 20th, when the conquered position at Bullecourt was fairly consolidated, the considerable break in the Hindenburg Line was extended by an English advance north of the village. By an assault at dawn, more than a mile of tunnelled front was carried and held by very violent fighting against the enemy's counter-attacking forces. The struggle continued until the evening, by which time the Germans showed clear signs of exhaustion.

The hostile force consisted of two first-class divisions with a large number of shock troops. Yet at the end of the day they were so thoroughly beaten that the English troops again stormed forward, behind their smashing barrage, and captured the hostile support system. All through the night the contending armies clashed amid the volcanic thunder of the guns.

The enemy forces engaged on the surface of the ground were thrown back with terrible losses. Only in a small sector of the great tunnel above Bullecourt was the underground German garrison able to hold out, by means of a subterranean feed of reinforcements.

Holding the main enemy masses

With this exception, the Germans were thoroughly beaten and driven out of their fortress tunnel between Bullecourt and Arras. The nature of the ground made it too costly an affair for the British troops to continue merely a local action on the two thousand yards of tunnel west above Bullecourt. Another great offensive by the Third and Fifth Armies would have been necessary in order to capture the fragment of the Hindenburg Line and extend the British gains around Riencourt, Fontaine, and Chérisy.

Sir Douglas Haig ordered a strong British artillery demonstration, apparently indicative of another combined operation by the forces of Sir Edmund Allenby and Sir Hubert Gough. But no large infantry action followed. The British Commander-in-Chief was merely holding the main enemy masses on the old battlefield, in the design to facilitate the new campaign by the Second British Army on the distant Messines Ridge. In the first week of June the new battle opened under the direction of Sir Herbert Plumer, and the Bullecourt front relapsed into a condition of comparative calm.

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BRITISH TROOPS ADVANCING

CHAPTER CLXXXIX.

[British official photograph.
ALONG A SALONIKA RAILWAY.

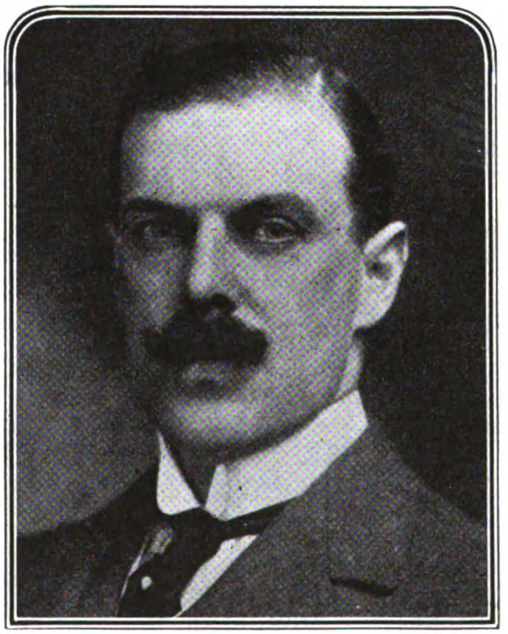
RUMANIA AND THE BALKANS FROM THE FALL OF BUKAREST TO THE DETHRONEMENT OF CONSTANTINE.

By Robert Machray.

In Face of Disaster Rumania Carries On—Bravery of Peasant Army Recognised—Changes in the Commands—How the Front was Held—Germans Baulked of the Oil—Rumanian and Russian Fighting Retreat Continues—Fierce Struggles in the Wallachian Plain and in the Moldavian Mountains—Allies Lose Ramnicu Sarat—Enemy's Slow Progress South-East of Bukarest—Sakharoff's Strategic Retirement in the Dobruja—Converging Attacks on Braila—Evacuation of the Grain Town—Its Grain Saved—Strong German Push Against the Sereth Line—Its Comparative Failure—Severe Cold Grips All Rumania—Offensive Stopped at the Sereth—Germans Held Up in Moldavia—Lull Sets In—Enemy Brutality in Rumania—Questionings in Great Britain Regarding the Salonika Expedition—Government Reply—Pause in Macedonia—Allied Front Extended from the Adriatic to the Ægean—Independence of Albania Proclaimed—Rising in Serbia Crushed by the Bulgaro-Germans—Renewal of Brisk Warfare by Sarrail—British and Other Allied Successes—German Effort Splendidly Countered—Bulgarians Defeated near Doiran—Constantine and the Entente—The Greek King Still Playing his Old Game—Intrigue and Treachery—Allies' Long Patience Exhausted at Last—High Commissioner Appointed—Entrusted with Full Powers—Radical Change in the Situation—Constantine Compelled to Abdicate and Leave Greece—Thessaly Occupied—Venizelos Returns from Salonika—Balkans in a New Phase.

RUMANIA'S most gallant struggle against very heavy odds, with its varying phases of success and failure deepening into tragedy, was narrated in Chapter CLIX. (Vol. 8, p. 247) up to and including the occupation of Bukarest by Field-Marshal Mackensen on December 6th, 1916. By that date the greater part of Wallachia had passed into the ruthless hands of Germany, and while the Rumanians, with the preponderant forces of Russia, were successfully holding the enemy on the western frontier of Moldavia, the more important portion of the Dobruja had also been lost. Since the Second Battle of Targu Jiu and the fall of Craiova in November the whole situation had developed unfortunately for Rumania and the Entente, and the outlook was distinctly dark and depressing, though not entirely destitute of the hope that something might be saved from the spreading ruin.

Germany had taken a considerable area of the country, with the best of its rich corn lands, but she had failed to achieve what had been her greatest aim—namely, the capture or destruction of the Rumanian Army. That Army had been seriously depleted by more than three months of bitter and incessant fighting against superior numbers, artillery, and science, but even the disastrous issue of the terrible Battle of the Argesul, which sealed the fate of the capital, did not result in such an impairment of its cohesion or of its spirit as would have been fatal. All along the line from the Carpathians to the Danube, north and south of Bukarest, it retreated eastward in fairly good order, the Russians helping effectively in covering and securing its withdrawal intact. It suffered losses, some of them severe enough, but in the main it made good its retirement to the line of the Sereth, behind which it was reorganised, refitted, and put in even better fighting trim than before.



[Elliott & Fry.

COLONEL J. NORTON GRIFFITHS, M.P.

Colonel Norton Griffiths, M.P. for Wednesbury, was sent out from England to see that the petroleum wells in Rumania with their plans and buildings were rendered useless for the German invaders.

Yet neither the Army nor the people of Rumania lost heart on account of the blackness of the position at the time, or ceased to be confident as regarded the future. Among the many fairy tales spread broadcast over the world by the Germans none was more specious than that which represented Bukarest as receiving Mackensen and his soldiers with enthusiasm, none more false than that which described the

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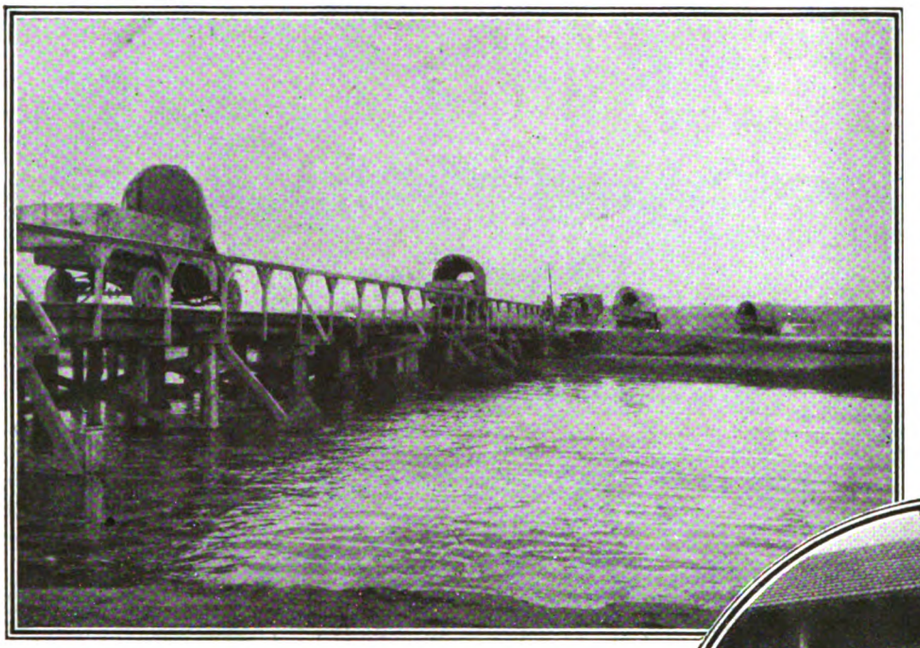

IN THE TRAIL OF THE SAPPERS.
Trestle bridge built across a river in East Macedonia by the British troops, who were placed on the right wing of the Allied Army of the Orient.

Rumanians as welcoming the invaders. The truth was that during the long reign of King Carol, who was far more of a German than a Rumanian, the country had become infested with Germans and Austrians, the majority of whom remained after war had been declared—to the serious prejudice, no doubt whatever, of the success of the Rumanian arms. As the red tide advanced and overflowed the land, these enemies, who had kept quiet at first, showed their real nature, and they were the people who showered congratulations on the victors. This was particularly the case in Bukarest, where, according to a candid correspondent of the "Arbeiter-Zeitung" of Vienna, the "Germans, Austrians, and Hungarians resident in the town, who had hitherto preserved silence, rediscovered their German hearts"—and acted as might be expected in the circumstances.

"German hearts" in Bukarest

Genuine Rumanians had no bouquets, no garlands of flowers for the brutal conquerors of their native soil. The deep and abiding feeling of the little country, which had already endured so much, and was to be called on to bear still more, was manifested when, summoned by its King, its Parliament met in Jassy, the temporary capital, in the fourth week of that same dark month of December. By that time nearly the whole of Wallachia and practically all the Dobruja had been subjugated by the Germans. In his speech from the throne, which was frequently and fervently applauded, King Ferdinand said that up till then the war had imposed great hardships and sacrifices on the country, which, however, was bearing them with courage and resolution. He stated emphatically that the Rumanians, in spite of their difficulties and sufferings, were determined to continue the contest with all their energies by the side of the Allies. In the debates which followed, the members of the Legislature unanimously declared against any idea of a separate peace, and strongly advocated a still more strenuous prosecution of the conflict. To increase the solidarity of the Government with the nation, the Cabinet was reconstituted by the inclusion of several former political opponents of M. Bratiano, the most distinguished of them being M. Take Jonescu. As the chief Rumanian statesman, Bratiano retained his place as Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, and directed the Administration.

Two outstanding features of the struggle so far had been the heroism of Rumania's peasant soldiers and the incompetence, if nothing worse, of a large proportion of their commanding officers. In recognition of the bravery and constancy of the one, and as a stimulus to further effort, agrarian reforms of a thoroughgoing description were promised in Parliament, while, as a remedy for the other, sweeping and salutary changes were effected in the commands.

NO PASSAGE WITHOUT PERMISSION.
Military police-station of the Allies at the frontier of the Neutral Zone delimited across Greece between the Greek Royalist and Venizelist troops from the Gulf of Salonika to Albania.

MACEDONIA—BUT FOR EVER FRANCE.
French cemetery by the little Greek church of Brod, on the Cherna River. There was heavy fighting in all this district in 1916 between the Bulgarians and the Serbo-French troops pressing on Monastir.

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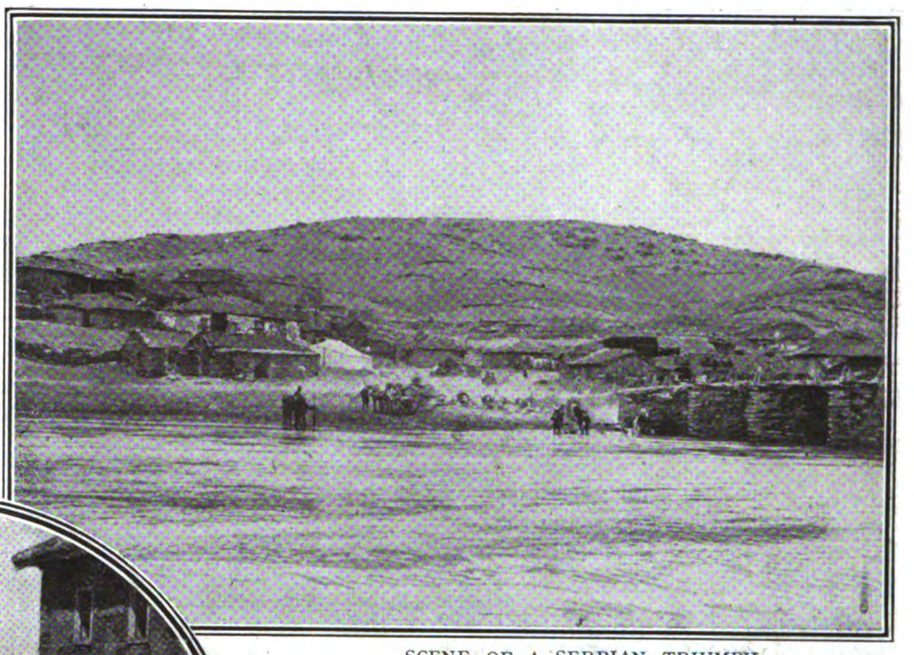
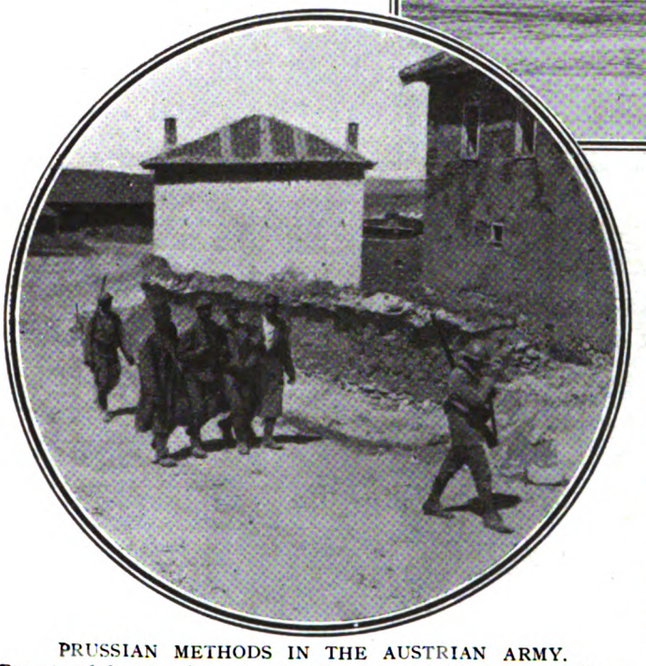
Apart from the industrial and commercial class, the population of Rumania was sharply divided into two classes—the aristocracy, composed of the landowners or boyars, who were comparatively few in number; and the tillers of the soil, who formed the bulk of the people, and whose condition was not much better than that of serfs. As a consequence of what had taken place in the field, it was seen that the status of the peasants had to be raised, and that too much had been left to officers drawn from the aristocracy. Large political concessions to the peasantry were, in fact, long overdue.



SCENE OF A SERBIAN TRIUMPH.

The village of Brod on the Cherna, taken by the Serbians October 17th, 1916, when with a sudden thrust they crossed the river and chased the Bulgarians across the hills in the direction of Monastir.



PRUSSIAN METHODS IN THE AUSTRIAN ARMY.

Recaptured deserters from the Austrian troops fighting in the Balkans being led back to certain execution. German military tyranny caused much disaffection among the soldiery of Germany's allies.

BRITISH CAMP IN MACEDONIA.

At the opening of the allied offensive the British held the line of the Struma northward to Lake Butkova, and thence westward, south of Lake Doiran, to the Vardar River near Smol.

With respect to the commands, most of the generals were removed and replaced by men who had proved their ability in the campaign. Many of the superseded officers were of high social position, but that did not save them.

If the result of the Battle of the Argesul could not have been a victory for the Rumanians, it would have been much less of a defeat, and probably indecisive with respect to Bukarest, but for the culpable indolence and sluggishness of movement of certain of the subordinate commanders, and the criminal negligence, amounting to treachery, of one of them, a naturalised German, whose original name of Sosek had been altered into Sosescu. This general was the son of a Saxon, who had established himself in the capital about fifty years before the war, and his loyalty had been questioned on several occasions, but he had contrived to retain his rank. For his conduct —or rather misconduct—in the Argesul operations he was tried by court-martial, cashiered, and given five years' penal servitude. Of the Rumanian high commanders, only two really had distinguished themselves —always excepting General Dragalina, whose strategy and gallantry won the First Battle of Targu Jiu, in which he fell gloriously. These two generals were Avarescu, the Commander-in-Chief, and Presan, who was in command of the troops that fought, not altogether without success, that part of the great Battle of the Argesul which took place south-west of Bukarest, and was specifically known as the Battle of the Neajlov. General Presan afterwards became Chief of the General Staff, and General Avarescu, who was beloved by his soldiers, was confirmed in his post as head, under the King, of the Rumanian Army.

Naturalised general cashiered

From the outset of the campaign Russia had assisted Rumania in both Moldavia and the Dobruja. By the beginning of December very large Russian forces were actively co-operating with the Rumanians along the whole battle-line. They had taken over nearly the entire Moldavian frontier, with its extremely difficult mountain warfare. They were strung along the Wallachian front, being particularly strong in the southern area, north of the Danube. Under Sakharoff they were fighting in the Dobruja. In that darkening stage of the struggle which followed Rumania's early successes in Transylvania, and

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RUMANIAN ARTILLERY RETREATING UNDER HEAVY FIRE.

German representation of a Rumanian battery caught by enemy artillery while retreating at the end of the Battle of the Argesul. This stubbornly contested fight lasted for three days, December 1st to 3rd, 1916, and ended in the complete victory of Mackensen's army and his occupation of Bukarest which he entered in state on December 6th.

when it was becoming evident that the Germans were winning, there had been some voices raised suggesting that Russia was lukewarm in support of her little neighbour, but M. Take Jonescu and others, who were well informed, denied that this was the case, and maintained that Russia had done all and more than all she had covenanted to perform. What seemed to be authoritative statements to the same effect were published in the British Press. However, after the Russian Revolution of March, 1917, when, figuratively speaking, "many graves were opened," the "Matin" of Paris printed an interview with General Iliescu, formerly Chief of the Rumanian General Staff, in which he made a grave accusation against the old Russian régime. He asserted that the initial cause of the overthrow of Rumania was the "disloyal plan of the Germanophil (Stürmer) Government of Petrograd, who played with the fate of Rumania to facilitate a premeditated act of treachery." This plan was to allow the Germans to invade Rumania as far as the Sereth, and then to make a separate peace, which was to be represented as the inevitable consequence of a Rumanian—and not of a Russian—defeat.

On December 6th, the day on which Mackensen entered Bukarest, the general situation was that the main Rumanian armies were retreating in Wallachia by the roads to Buzau and Braila respectively, that the Russians, with some Rumanian troops, were holding up the invaders in Moldavia along the line of the mountains, and that while there was a lull in the Dobruja, circumstances indicated a retirement to the north by the Russo-Rumanian forces in that region. Heavy fighting had been going on for more than a week in the Carpathians, and still continued. In Wallachia the Rumanians, with whom were mingling more and more Russians, were endeavouring to check the advance of the enemy by incessant rearguard actions, some of which had a temporary success, but it was already clear that no prolonged stand could be made until the line of the Sereth, which was fortified, was attained, and that whether the Germans would be brought definitely to a standstill there was a question that could be answered in the affirmative only if they also failed to penetrate into Moldavia from the north-western passes. An uncompromised defence of the mountains was therefore a matter of cardinal importance, though the rival forces operating in that rugged area were much smaller numerically than those fighting in the Wallachian plain, which at the moment attracted the larger share of public attention and interest, as was natural enough, inasmuch as the bulk of the Rumanian Army was still in that quarter.

In Wallachia the following was the manner in which the opposing armies were distributed. On the north the Second Rumanian Army, then commanded in person by General Avarescu, had its right in the mountains east of the Predeal Pass, from which it had effected its retirement, though mendacious German reports stated that it had been captured or destroyed; but it had been compelled to sacrifice its rearguards, who fought bravely to the last, and had been forced to blow up many of its guns. It had thereafter got into touch with the First Rumanian Army, which had been concentrated around Ploesti, and retreated from that capital of the oil-fields on December 6th in the direction of Buzau. These two armies, thus combined, were moving backward in the district north-west of Bukarest. South-west of the capital were the Third and Fourth Rumanian Armies under General Presan. Over against the first group was the Ninth German Army, under Falkenhayn, and against the second was what was styled the "Danube Army," under General von Kosch. Of the enemy forces, Falkenhayn's was predominantly German, while Kosch's was made up of Germans, Austro-Hungarians, Bulgarians, and Turks, the nationals of the two last named constituting its principal strength.

Rumanian retreat from Ploesti

The retreat of the First and Second Rumanian Armies from Ploesti and the line north and south of it took place under a thick pall of smoke, which made the sky for many

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leagues as black as if it had been night. This Egyptian darkness was occasioned by the destruction of the oil industry. To prevent the Germans from getting the valuable, and to them essential, supplies of the petroleum of Rumania, the wells had been blocked, the oil set on fire and burned, and all the plant and buildings systematically wrecked. Prominent in the work of devastation—which was a serious loss to Rumania as it involved the loss of many million pounds sterling, but which was necessary in her own interests as well as in those of her allies—was Colonel J. Norton Griffiths, M.P. for Wednesbury, whose energetic methods surprised not only the Rumanians but also Americans who happened to be there. Of him a correspondent wrote: "To see him swinging a big hammer round his head and smashing up machinery with it, just to show how the thing should be done, made one poetical mine-manager describe him as being in love with ruin. Neither weariness nor danger could daunt him. When the petrol in basins would not light quickly, he took bundles of straw, thrust them into it, and set them alight, escaping just in time." Colonel Griffiths had been sent out from England to see that this wholesale and thorough business of destruction should be carried out, in case the advance of the Germans demanded this heavy sacrifice, and he did it well, to the intense, raging disappointment of the baffled enemy, who had counted on obtaining immediately the oil in sufficiently large quantities to be of vital service to him.

Destruction of the oil-wells

By the railway which branched eastward from Ploesti, and along the high-road in the same direction, the main body of the Rumanians in the north-west retreated to the Cricovu River, where it took up a position, and succeeded in checking the Germans for a while, but the pressure was too severe to permit of a long stand, and it fell back on the town of Mizil, through which from Cislau passed the road from the Buzau Pass to Bukarest by way of Urziceni, and to the Danube via Slobozia, whence one arm went northward to Braila, the second eastward to Harsova, and the third southward to Silistria. Higher up on the same front Avarescu fought a successful delaying action in the valley of the Buzau River, near Cislau. Lower down, the Jalomita, a stream of some size after its junction with the Prahova and the Cricovu, and then swollen by heavy rains, presented a natural obstacle of importance to the onward march of the enemy, and on its banks, in front of Urziceni and elsewhere, there were several sharp encounters. But the Germans, who had brought up fresh troops, were forcing the pace, and determined to move forward with their occupation of the country, though by this time they must have lost all hope of cornering any large amount of the Rumanian Army. By this time, also, considerable bodies of Russian cavalry had made their appearance in this area, and were reinforcing the tired and overworked Rumanians, who were now being withdrawn gradually to the rear.

Fall of Mizil and Urziceni

It was not till December 12th, and only after bitter struggles, that the Germans took Mizil and Urziceni. The Rumanians resisted the enemy gamely at Cislau, but were compelled to retreat eastward from it about the same date. From Mizil the Germans pressed on towards the town of Buzau, their chief objective in this district, but suffered a distinct reverse on the 13th. South of the high-road between these places the Rumanians turned and, boldly taking the offensive, drove their foes out of a whole row of villages which had previously been lost. More than that, the Germans farther south were thrown

AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN GUNS IN POSITION COMMANDING A RUMANIAN PASS.

Another German artist's impression of the Central Powers' operations in Rumania—an Austro-Hungarian battery of mountain howitzers sited in a pass. Hindenburg's plan was that Falkenhayn should maintain heavy pressure on all the passes leading into Wallachia while holding a large force in reserve at the Vulkan Pass, which Mackensen should join after crossing the Danube, and then drive in force upon the Rumanians.

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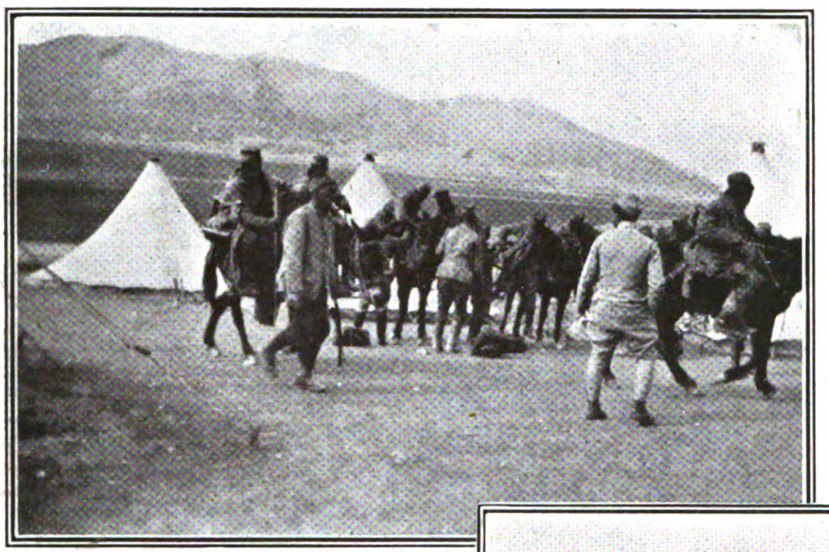


THE COURAGE OF THE SERBIANS.
Wounded Serbians on their way from the front. British doctors and nurses were full of admiration for the courage with which the Serbian soldier endured all suffering.

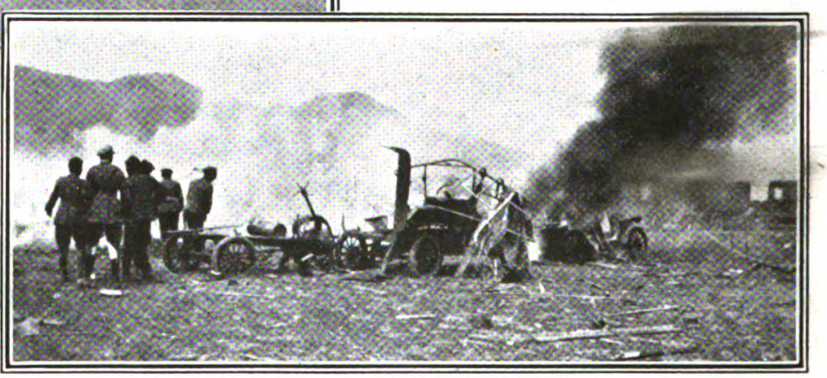
back across the Jalomita, thanks to the support given to the attack by impetuous rushes of the Cossack horsemen, backed up by some companies of Russian infantry. These successes, however, had only a temporary effect, and the enemy was in sufficient strength to resume his advance on Buzau, which fell into his hands on the 14th, marking a further stage in his invasion of Wallachia.

Buzau, as the centre on the east side of the great oil tract, had a high value from the commercial point of view, but there, as elsewhere, wells, machinery, and the petroleum itself had been destroyed, and the Germans again were baulked of this particular prey, which they so much desired. Yet they found recompense in the strategical significance of the place, as it was the meeting of several roads, one of them being the most important in that part of the land, and a railway junction, a line running from it to Braila, fifty-six miles away, and another, the continuation of the Bukarest-Ploesti line eastward, going up northerly through Ramnicu Sarat and Focsani to the Bukovina and Russia.

The capture of Buzau

Simultaneously with the advance of the Ninth German Army north-west of Bukarest, that of the Danube Army was making progress south-west of the capital. In the latter area the Third and Fourth Rumanian Armies were supported by the 40th Russian Division. Following on the retreat, after the Battle of the Argesul, of these forces, which were commanded by General Presan with great ability, the enemy swarmed across the Danube south-east of Bukarest, the Bulgarians occupying the left bank between Silistria and Cerna Voda, and taking the town of Oltenitsa, with little or no opposition. Oltenitsa had been evacuated by the Rumanians so thoroughly that the Sofia communiqué described it as having been "looted" before the Bulgarians got into possession of it. Another communiqué spoke of the capture of Calarasi and of the bridge-head on the left side of the Danube opposite Cerna Voda, but these were easy captures, the truth being that Presan was withdrawing north and east to the Lower Jalomita, and was avoiding engagements till he reached the line of that river, where he purposed making a stand if the circumstances were favourable. By December 14th all Great Wallachia, according to a Berlin message of that date, was in the hands of the Danube Army south of the railway from Bukarest to Cerna Voda. On the evening of that day Kosch forced a passage of the Jalomita, and the Bulgarians were in Fetesti. As the Russo-Rumanian troops were retiring from Buzau on the north-west, Presan withdrew his whole forces from the positions he had taken up on the Jalomita—otherwise he might have been cut off from the north—and rapidly made for Filipesti and Braila.

Thus, north-west and south-west of Bukarest, the Rumanians made good their retreat. Since the Battle of the Argesul their losses had not been serious, and they had succeeded in inflicting considerable damage on the enemy, besides slowing down his advance. Meanwhile, the Russians and the Rumanians held him



"HITS WERE MADE AND GOOD RESULTS OBSERVED."
Fire caused by bombs dropped from enemy aircraft on material belonging to the Allies operating in Serbia. All the belligerents in Macedonia displayed great aerial activity, but only aeroplanes were used after the enemy lost a Zeppelin in the Vardar Marshes early in the campaign.

up on the Moldavian frontier—a factor in the struggle of the utmost importance. As far back as November 28th the Russians had started a great relief offensive, but it came too late to save Bukarest and Wallachia. It did very materially contribute, however, to the salvation of the Rumanian Army and of Moldavia, by depriving the Germans of the initiative on that front and bringing to naught their plans. From the Bukovina and all down the Carpathians the armies of General Lechitsky and General Kaledin—names for ever memorable in connection with Brussiloff's splendid campaign in the summer of the same year—covered the mountain approaches into Moldavia, and in the beginning of December joined up with the Rumanians about the Trotus Valley south of the Gyimes Pass. Opposed to them in the north was the army of General von Kövess, who had co-operated with Mackensen in the subjugation of Serbia, and it was composed mainly of Austrians and Hungarians; while in the south they were faced by the First Austro-Hungarian Army under the leadership of General von Arz.

Russia's effective assistance

Day after day fighting of the most bitter and determined character continued, almost without intermission, in this most difficult region. Amidst deep snow and piercing blasts various mountains and heights were taken by storm, lost, recaptured, and lost again; but nowhere did the enemy get a real chance of breaking through, which was his aim, though he made out that his effort was to hold off the Russians and Rumanians. A Vienna official telegram of December 11th showed this pretended attitude, but also showed how magnificent were the efforts of the Russians. It said: "In the Carpathians the Russians, in spite of heavy losses, which during the last few weeks at a low estimate amount to 30,000 men, continue to assail

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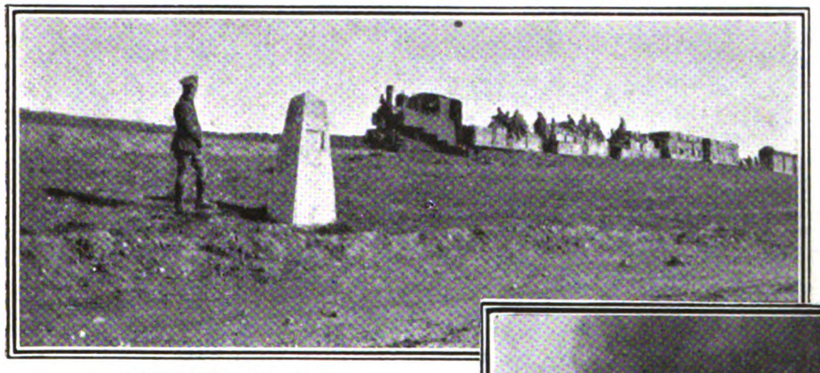
our positions without success." These figures doubtless were excessive—like so many other calculations of the enemy—but they bore eloquent testimony to what must have been his corresponding losses in that sector alone. The communiqué next week went into details: "The army of General von Kövess on both sides of the road from Vale Putna to Jacobeny (in the extreme southern corner of the Bukovina), where the enemy since the beginning of his relief offensive has, with particular stubbornness, been assaulting the troops of General von Habermann, and in the region north of the Jablonica Pass, there was fierce fighting. All the sacrifices of the Russians were unavailing." With respect to the part of this front that lay farther south, it observed: "The army of General von Arz, in the frontier sector west and north-west of Ocna (in the Trotus Valley below the Gyimes Pass), beat off again several attacks." Typical of the struggle was the fight for a height north of Sulta, in the Trotus district—one day the Austrians had it, the next saw it taken from them, and on the third day it was once more reft from the Allies, after the most sanguinary conflict in each case. On December 15th there was very little change in the Moldavian line generally, but fighting went on and on.

Operations in the Dobruja

In the Dobruja the Russians, under General Sakharoff, with Rumanians and Serbians, in late November and in the first days of December, had sought to help their forces on the other side of the Danube by a series of vigorous attacks on the Bulgarians; but these had had no appreciable influence on the issue of the great battle which gave Bukarest to the Germans. After the fall of the capital there ensued a lull on this front, the Russians remaining stationary on the line they had taken up some miles south of Harsova, and about an equal distance north of the Cerna Voda bridge. They were waiting on developments north of the Danube, as their own movements had to conform with them. By December 15th the situation in Wallachia was, unfortunately, only too plainly inimical to Rumania, and compelled a retirement in the Dobruja. On the 16th Berlin announced that the Russians had evacuated their positions, and that Bulgarian, Turkish, and German troops, moving up after them, had crossed the Harsova-Cartal-Cogealac line. The allied force retreated steadily, fighting occasional rearguard actions, to the wooded district of the Northern Dobruja. A striking episode in the Dobruja operations was the bombardment of Baltchik, in the extreme south, by the Russian Black Sea Fleet on December 13th, with a view to the destruction of the mills there which supplied the Bulgarian Army with flour. The Russian ships were shelled by the shore batteries, and attacked by seaplanes and a submarine, but, after executing their task, got away with very slight damage.



CROSSING THE LINE.

Military train passing from Greek on to Serbian territory, watched by a British soldier from one of the stones marking the frontier.

In Wallachia the main body of the Ninth German Army was, on December 15th, marching along the high-road from Buzau towards Ramnicu Sarat (otherwise Rimnic), while another portion of it, moving some miles to the east of Buzau, in the neighbourhood of the river of the same name, was attempting to cross the Calmatuiul lowlands. On the 16th the Russians inflicted a severe check on the enemy in the former district, the Cossacks driving him back for some distance, and in the latter sector repelled all assaults near Batogu, thirty miles south-west of Braila, and smothered by their fire attacks south of Filipesti—so that the Germans gained even no local advantage, and were unable to advance for several days. Along the whole front raged a stubborn battle, in which the Russians more than held their own, and for a while stemmed the tide of invasion. For the best part of a week the enemy had to admit that the situation exhibited no improvement for him, but meanwhile he was bringing up his heavy guns wherewith to batter down the not too strong entrenchments that had been hurriedly improvised by the Russians during the retreat; and, at the same time, in order to divert the flow of Russian reinforcements to Rumania, he initiated an offensive in Volhynia and Galicia.

Russians more than hold their own

Not till December 25th were the Germans really making any progress worthy of the name, but their powerful artillery was then beginning to tell. In the morning of that day they commenced a violent bombardment of the Russian positions on both sides of the Buzau-Ramnicu Sarat road, and in the region of Socariciul-Balaceanul, about nine miles south of Ramnicu. Under cover of the fire of immense quantities of both light and heavy guns they launched a fierce assault on the north of the high-road, and after ineffectual attempts captured a height lying south of Racovitseni, eight miles west of Ramnicu. By a brilliantly-executed counter-attack the Russians retook the height, but had to abandon it, as the enemy swept it with his shells. Next day the unrelaxing pressure of the German

FIRE CAUSED BY ENEMY AIRCRAFT.

Dense columns of smoke rising from an object fired by incendiary bombs dropped by enemy aviators, watched from the Serbian heights with unconcern by men of the allied armies.

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GREECE IN RELATION TO THE SALONIKA EXPEDITION.

This map shows the geographical importance of Greece as a factor in the problem confronting the Allied Army of the Orient, which lay in an arc from the Gulf of Rendina to Lake Prespa, with a possibly hostile Greek army in its rear. The Neutral Zone cut across the north of Thessaly was the frontier which both forces were pledged not to pass.

guns was too strong for the Allies, who were forced to yield ground and withdraw towards the town. In the fighting on this and the preceding day the Germans claimed to have made prisoners upwards of 5,000 men. West of Ramnicu they were not at first successful, but on the contrary were beaten back. On the 27th the battle reached a pitch of great intensity, the Germans thrusting forward with all their might and the Russians resisting with the most tenacious valour. Here and there the latter maintained themselves splendidly, but south-west of the town, on a front of about eleven miles, their trenches were demolished and rushed. Before the close of the day Ramnicu Sarat was in the hands of the enemy, and the Russians were withdrawing to the fortified line of the Sereth at Focsani, on the railway, and Maicanesti, about half-way between Focsani and Braila.

According to the official German account, published on December 28th, it was not till that day that the Ninth Army under Falkenhayn, in this very considerable battle in front of Ramnicu Sarat, gained a complete victory over the Russians "sent forward for the defence of Rumania."

This communiqué further stated: "The enemy, who was defeated on December 26th, attempted to recapture the lost territory by means of counter-attacks delivered by strong masses of troops which failed. Prussian and Bavarian Infantry detachments, pursuing the retreating Russians, swarmed into his new positions constructed during the night and penetrated beyond Ramnicu Sarat." Berlin reported that over ten thousand Russians were captured in the course of the fighting for the place. But south-east of Ramnicu Sarat, on a line from the Ramnicu River through Boldu, Filipesti, and Viziru to the Danube, south of Braila, the Germans were held at this time.

There their objective was Braila, and the Russians sought with tremendous effort to save it, or at least to give such pause to the German advance that it could be evacuated with little loss. Though on December 25th the "well-seasoned German divisions, supported by Hungarian battalions," as Berlin put it, "stormed the stubbornly defended village of Filipesti, and the strongly entrenched adjoining Russian positions on both sides of the village," the Russians retired only a short distance, and there "stubbornly defended" themselves with more success for several days. Filipesti was destroyed by the fire of the enemy's heavy guns, which had been moved up the railway from Buzau. Wherever there were no railway facilities for the heavy artillery the Germans advanced either very slowly or not at all in this part of the field.

Farther east on this front the Danube Army of Von Kosch took up the German line from Filipesti to the Danube. On December 20th it had progressed as far as Pirlita, south of Viziru, or about twenty-five miles south of Braila, but had been repulsed by the Russians, who, however, were pressed slightly back on the south-east near Stancuta. Five days later Petrograd announced that all attacks in this region had been baffled by the Russian fire. Yet on the 27th Kosch's persistent assaults prevailed. Capturing several fortified villages, he forced his way, after repeated attacks, counter-attacks, and desperate hand-to-hand encounters, into the front of the Russians, who were compelled to return to positions northward which they had previously prepared. The Germans confessed that the fighting here was bitter, which meant that their own losses were heavy, and said that their success was due to "the energy of the command and the complete devotion of the troops." But the Russians did not retire very far, and almost immediately were standing their ground with the greatest bravery and resolution. West of Viziru the

Danube Army reaches Pirlita

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Germans were thrown back with many casualties. In this last engagement British armoured motor-cars played a prominent rôle. They had last been heard of as fighting in the Dobruja, and months before that they had won renown in Armenia in the operations against the Turks. Of them a Russian communiqué of December 28th reported: "The famous British armoured cars took part in beating off the attacks of the Germans. The gallant commander of the car detachment was wounded during the battle of December 26th when repulsing the enemy. Nevertheless, on the 27th he again directed the operations of his force, and put the enemy to flight." It was a fine tribute to the admirable work of this small but efficient British contingent, and of the courage and energy of its head.

Success of British armoured cars

South of Janca, a station on the railway from Buzau to Braila, east of Filipesti, the Germans also were repelled, the Cossack horsemen thrusting boldly into them, and casting their ranks into confusion. In spite of this and similar checks the Danube Army advanced generally, if slowly, on this front, and by the last day of the year was attacking the bridge-head of Braila, some ten or twelve miles from the port itself. The Germans now were both south and west of the town. On the other side of the Danube, in the Dobruja, the Bulgarians, with German and Turkish supports, were by the same date approaching very close to the great Rumanian grain centre on the east. In conformity with the gradual, orderly, fighting retirement of the Russian forces across the Eastern Wallachian plain to the line of the Sereth, the Russo-Rumanian troops had withdrawn northward in the Dobruja, but as in Wallachia, so in the Dobruja, the enemy was made to pay a considerable price for all the territory he gained. No longer did he progress by leaps and bounds, as had been the case after the fateful Second Battle of Targu Jiu.

Having given up most of their southerly positions in the Dobruja at the beginning of the third week in December, the Russo-Rumanians, under the leadership of General Sakharoff, withdrew in good order, and by the 18th were forty miles north of the line they had held when the Battle of the Argesul was fought. As they retired they fired the villages, evacuated the population, and when the enemy entered Babadag, the only place of any importance in the district, it was to find a mass of smoking ruins. On the 20th a Bulgarian communiqué stated that Sakharoff was preparing a stand in the broken, hilly region south of the Danube. Heavy fighting continued throughout the next two days for the possession of several heights, which changed hands more than once. By a brilliant attack a Russian regiment threw back a portion of the Bulgarians, who had advanced east of Lake Babadag from Enisala, most of its units being drowned in the lake or neighbouring marshes, and the remainder, over a hundred in number, taken prisoner. But the enemy on this front was in much superior strength, and on the 25th the Russo-Rumanian left wing abandoned both Isaccea and Tultcha, respectively twenty-five and forty miles east of Braila. The right wing, however, offered strong artillery opposition near the village of Greci, some fourteen miles south-east of the grain town, in an attempt to cover the bridge-head at Macin, six miles away. On the 28th combined assaults of Bulgarian and Turkish troops succeeded in driving the Russians from the fortified hills immediately east of Macin, and then took Rachel, about seventeen miles from Braila. At Macin the Russians resisted with admirable tenacity, but in spite of their efforts the bridge-head was slowly narrowed by the fierce and persistent attacks of the enemy, and by New Year's Day had been considerably reduced in extent.

Turks and Bulgars take Rachel

Braila was now closely invested on all sides except on the north, where it lay in front of the Sereth line. Without natural defences, the town stood on a bluff on the edge of a wide plain, a melancholy fenland, tenanted solely by herds of swine and innumerable wild birds. Situated on

[*French official photograph.*

A LONELY VIGIL.

Sentry on duty at a vantage point on the Macedonian front, where he could maintain observation over wide distances.

[*British official photograph.*

MINERS CONSTRUCTING DUG-OUTS UNDER A MOUNTAIN-SIDE.

This fine photograph gives an illuminating insight into the development of trench architecture under pressure of modern artillery, which rendered useless the strongest and most elaborate fortifications of steel and concrete built upon the surface of the earth. As the war progressed it became always more apparent that only subterranean fortresses were of any use.

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the left bank of the Danube, where the river, after dividing into several arms near Harsova, resumed its normal appearance and was wide and deep, Braila was at the head of navigation for sea-going ships by the Sulina Channel into the Black Sea. A flourishing commercial entrepôt, its prosperity dated from about half a century before, when its waterway was vastly improved by the work of the European Commission set up on that behalf by the Treaty of Paris. Vessels of 4,000 tons were able to go up to it, and before the war British shipping was more in evidence at the wharves than any other, the English tongue being almost the second language of the place.

The enemy enters Braila

After the Russo-Turkish War Braila became, with its near neighbour, Galatz, the centre of the Rumanian grain trade, the granaries of the two towns ranking with the largest in the world, each holding about a quarter of a million quarters of wheat, or nearly two million bushels. Its population was not far from seventy thousand; but, apart from its commercial side, it had few claims to notice. In 1854 the Russians crossed the Danube from it into the Dobruja, but in 1878 they crossed from Galatz. Its wheat gave it its vital importance, and made it of enormous prospective value to the Germans. Here, again, they were destined to be balked.

Of the three converging attacks on the town, the one which got home first was that from the east. At Macin and Jijila, a short distance to the north, the Russians continued to offer a most stubborn resistance, but on January 3rd they were overborne, and had to abandon both of these places. Next day Berlin announced that "German and Bulgarian regiments, fighting shoulder to shoulder, had taken by storm" these "obstinately-defended villages," capturing a thousand prisoners and ten machine-guns. It was added that by this action the Dobruja had been cleared, with the exception of a narrow strip of land running in the direction of Galatz, where the Russians still held their ground. On the 5th Petrograd admitted that a retirement was being made to the other bank of the Danube, after an all-day battle. With the loss of Macin, Braila was open from the east, and as it was impossible to defend it any longer, the Russians evacuated the grain town on January 4th-5th; but before leaving it they destroyed the granaries and factories. From Macin the Bulgarians marched into the empty and desolated streets, while German and Bulgarian cavalry entered from the west. At the end of a long message, dated January 6th, Berlin pompously maintained that in the Dobruja the Third Bulgarian Army, including German, Bulgarian, and Turkish troops, under the command of General Neresoff, had swiftly and definitely completed its task. "There are no more Russian or Rumanian soldiers in the country," it declared; and concluded by stating that Galatz was under fire. But it had nothing to say regarding the fact that no booty was obtained in Braila.

From the point of view of supply—the point of view that bulked so largely with the Germans and their allies—

Balked of the hoped-for grain

Braila proved a keen disappointment. Deep as had been the rage and vexation of the enemy over the thorough destruction of the great Rumanian oil-fields, it might be doubted whether, having in mind the grave food problems which confronted the peoples of the Central Empires, the loss of by far the larger part of the grain of Rumania, if not of nearly the whole of it, was not even a more bitter blow. The protracted delaying retirement of the Russians had afforded plenty of time for getting the wheat away from Braila, or for rendering it unfit for use. Nor did the Germans get much grain in any other part of the country. As was seen in a previous chapter, one of the cogent reasons that impelled them to invade and seize the land was to gain possession of the grain of Rumania, which, with her petroleum, was her great economic asset. A Hungarian correspondent put it on record that the total quantity of wheat, barley, maize, and other foodstuffs—wrung from the peasants and shopkeepers by the usual German methods of persuasion—which was obtained in Rumania by the enemy did not exceed one-fifth of the quantity exported from Rumania to the Central Empires during each of the years 1915 and 1916. Herr von Batocki, Germany's Food Dictator, to assuage the bitterness of the defeat of the tremendous expectations that had been raised, significantly warned his countrymen that the extent of the plunder must not be overestimated. Under Government direction the newspapers of Germany published cautions to their hungry readers not to pitch their hopes too high. Besides, the Bulgarians and the Turks desperately wanted a share. The truth was that neither Germany nor Austria-Hungary got anything like what they had anticipated. On the other side of the account, however, there was the potential value of the occupied corn and oil lands; but that needed time for its realisation, and, in the case of the petroleum, the expenditure of a good deal of money.

While the various operations which resulted in the fall of Braila were going forward, strenuous fighting was taking place along the railway and the high-road between Ramnicu Sarat and Focsani; and, at the same time, heavy enemy pressure was incessantly exerted in the mountains and in the valleys leading from them on the north into Moldavia and North-Eastern Wallachia. On January 1st the Russians were withdrawing nearer Focsani, on the fortified line of the Sereth, and stood about half-way between Ramnicu Sarat and Focsani itself. Next day there was a sharp fight, but it was only with Russian rear-guards, as the main force went on with its retirement. That day's German communiqué stated that the German and Austro-Hungarian troops of the Ninth Army were approaching the Focsani and Fundeni bridge-heads—the latter on the Sereth midway between the former and Galatz. It claimed the taking of many prisoners.

Intense struggle for Focsani

Bitter and violent conflicts developed in this sector on January 3rd. South-west of Focsani the Germans, under cover of a drum-fire bombardment with asphyxiating shells, attacked a Russian regiment along the railway, but the Russian artillery was well handled and made great rents in their close formation. South-east of the Ramnicu River a Russian rifle detachment took by assault the village of Guleanca, capturing over two hundred men, five guns, and eight machine-guns. Nevertheless, the enemy was successful on the Milcovu River, gaining both Pantecesti and Meru; and on the 4th had advanced above Odobesti, eight miles north-west of Focsani.

The Milcovu, an affluent of the Sereth, was the stream which separated the old principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, and what was designated the Milcovu sector formed a prolongation of the permanent system of fortifications called the Sereth line. Its conquest by the enemy gave him an important advantage, as it covered the farther advance of Falkenhayn's centre on Focsani. South-east of that town Slobozia and Rotesti were stormed by the 152nd West Prussian Regiment, these villages lying a few miles south of the junction of the Ramnicu River and the Sereth. On January 5th and 6th the struggle for Focsani became greatly intensified, the Germans bringing up their heaviest guns and attacking fiercely in massed formation. On the 6th a concentrated fire of extreme violence was directed on Ramniceni, and under its cover the enemy advanced nearly three miles easterly. According to the official German account, General Knobelsdorf and General Oettinger's divisions, under the command of General Kuhne, stormed and captured the strongly-consolidated Russian position on the road from Tatarani to Ramniceni, in spite of its having been strengthened by wire entanglements and flanking devices, and thereafter they advanced across the marshes towards the Sereth.

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Greece makes amends for an unfortunate incident.

In addition to formal apologies by the Greek Government for the attack on allied troops in Athens on December 1st, 1916, the French British, Italian, and Russian flags were formally saluted by Greek troops in front of the Zappeion on January 30th, 1917.

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[British official photograph.

Supplies moving up to a division by light railway to avoid the Macedonian mud.

Prince Alexander of Serbia visiting a Serbian encampment while on a tour of inspection.

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Men of the Oxford and Bucks Light Infantry advancing over ground captured near Salonika.

[British official photograph.

French sentry on guard in an Athens suburb on the day of King Constantine's abdication.

[French official photograph.

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Serbian cavalry, wearing steel helmets similar to those of the French Army, taking up positions during the recapture of Monastir.

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Farther to the south-east a reinforced cavalry division under Count Schmettow took Olaneasca, Guleanca, and Maxineni. Next morning the Russians launched a great relief offensive between Focsani and Fundeni on a front of nearly sixteen miles, but they only gained ground near Obilesti, and Focsani shortly afterwards fell into German hands. North-west of the town, while the enemy was breaking into it on the south and from the east, Russian and Rumanian troops, after a desperate and most tenacious defence, were driven out of the mountain pass near Odobesti towards the Putna. Early in the morning of the 8th the Russians withdrew from Focsani, with a loss in prisoners of close upon 4,000 men, in addition to some guns and machine-guns.

Hailed throughout Germany as a great victory, the capture of Focsani, the western bastion of the fortified Sereth line, did not bring the enemy all the success he anticipated with regard to the swift rolling up of that line. The first step in the process had been taken, but practically it remained the only step. The Russians retired from Focsani to the Sereth itself and to its western tributary, the Putna, forming there a strong new line which linked up with the old Sereth line eastward. The Germans progressed to the Putna to find a difficult position, on which they had not reckoned, right in front of them. On both sides of Fundeni, between Focsani and Galatz, the Russian retreat continued to the Crangeni-Nanesti line, two or three miles south of the Sereth, and the village of Garleasca was lost in the same district. On the 10th the enemy succeeded in getting a footing on the farther bank of the Putna under cover of a fog, but he did not hold it long, for by an impetuous counter-attack, in which Russian bayonets made quick play, he was driven across the river again with considerable loss. A few days later an Austrian attack in the Putna valley was repulsed. For a week little of interest occurred on this part of the front, but eastward the Turks stormed Mihalea, north-west of Braila and west of Vadeni, and also took the last-named village, on January 13th. Vadeni, which lay two miles south of the Sereth, was recaptured by the Russians on the 17th by a well-prepared effort, and was held despite a determined Turkish onslaught.

Bulgarians' costly adventure

By this time the weather in all Rumania had become most severe, an Arctic cold, with frost and snow, making extensive military movements well-nigh impossible. Mackensen did not attempt any operations of conspicuous importance. Galatz was within range of his guns, but though it was bombarded in a desultory fashion by the Turks of the Danube Army, an attack was not pressed. From the junction of the Sereth with the Danube, except about Vadeni, the enemy now occupied the right bank of the stream for a distance of nearly fifty miles westward. Higher up at Radulesti he was checked and thrown back, as also at Ciuslea, eight miles north-east of Focsani. On the 16th the Germans were actually standing on the defensive near Fundeni, but on the 20th they stormed Nanesti, after strong artillery preparation and hard fighting, with hand-to-hand struggles in the streets and houses, and then carried the bridge-head of Fundeni itself south of the river. The Russians made good their retreat to the opposite bank and destroyed the bridges. Thereafter nothing of importance happened on this front east as far as the Black Sea. But there was one curious episode—for a moment it appeared as if it might be something much more than an episode. Screened by a thick mist, Bulgarians from Tultcha crossed the St. George's Channel of the Danube, the southern arm of the estuary, the others being the Sulina Channel in the middle, and the Kilia Channel on the north. It looked as if an invasion of Russian Bessarabia was intended, but evidently this was a mistaken impression. The Russians counter-attacked by night, and, according to their own communiqué, without a single shot being fired, annihilated the force which had crossed the channel, except about three hundred and fifty men whom they made prisoners, while their loss was only one man killed and some forty men wounded. The Bulgarians did not try to cross over again, and the affair lost all significance.

Within a short space of time it was obvious that the great combined advance of the enemy was stayed, whatever were the reasons, on a line just south of the Danube, the Sereth, and the Putna, with a net result to him, since the invasion, of the subjugation of Wallachia and the Dobruja, or about three-fourths of Rumania, by the third week of January, 1917. Though it had to be admitted by the Allies that the enemy's gain in territory was considerable, they had the satisfaction of knowing he had expected nothing less than the complete conquest of the country, and had failed to accomplish it owing to his being held up on the Moldavian front. His protracted and determined effort to break through or outflank the Russo-Rumanians from the Carpathians had met with absolute failure, notwithstanding some successes which seemed to promise well for his scheme, and many desperate, indecisive actions in the early part of that terrible winter. This front made a sharp angle from the mountains southward; at this bend the Russians and the Rumanians joined up, and though he attacked along the whole line, it was at this elbow that he made his pressure most felt in co-operation with his advance to the Sereth lower down.

Sanguinary fighting in Moldavia

Generally referred to as the "Front of the Archduke Joseph" in German despatches, the Moldavian mountain sectors saw the fiercest combats in the region that extended on both sides of the valley of the Oitoz, from the Trotus in the north to the Savala in the south. During the last week of December, 1916, and the first two weeks of January, 1917, fighting of the most sanguinary kind hardly ever intermitted. In this area the leader of the enemy's troops was General von Gerok, who had been transferred from Galicia towards the end of the year. On December 28th he took the offensive with considerable forces around Sosmezo, a Transylvanian frontier village in the Oitoz Pass, and pressing back the Russians captured some heights, but south of the place he was checked by the Russian artillery. Next day he made a slight farther advance in this difficult highland district, storming slowly his way eastward from hill to hill. Simultaneously he attacked the Rumanians in the valley of the Casin, a few miles to the south, and pushed them on for about a mile. On New Year's Eve he drove with all his might against both Russians and Rumanians from Sulta, in the Trotus sector, to the head-waters of the Putna, making gains at some points, but elsewhere being checked, and even defeated, as on the upper stream of the Susita. On January 1st the conflict continued with varying fortune; but in the Savala valley the Austrians, under General von Ruiz, captured the villages of Herestrau and Ungureni, both about ten miles within the frontier of Southern Moldavia, and also moved some distance down the valleys of the Putna and the Naruja. The following day saw the intense struggle maintained, the enemy making little out of it, as the Allies fought him foot by foot and, as a rule, held on to their positions. His one distinct success was the storming of Soveia, in the Susita valley, and nine miles inside the frontier.

Gerok reports some progress

On January 3rd Gerok was able to report some progress between the Susita and the Putna. Beating down violent counter-attacks by Russian and Rumanian contingents, he occupied, after a stiff engagement, both Barsesti and Topesti, two villages about twenty-six miles north-west of Focsani, and midway between the frontier and the plain. To the north of the Oitoz road, and on both sides of Soveia, Gerok stormed several hills, and though the Allies strongly counter-attacked he was able to retain the positions he had captured. But in the Trotus district, where he delivered

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ALLIED BATTLESHIPS IN GREEK WATERS.
Admiral du Fournet, commanding an Allied Fleet of British, French, and Italian warships, took practical control of Greek waters in September, 1916, and by threats of a blockade became master of the situation.

six separate assaults, he was repulsed with heavy loss. His progress continued, however, down the valleys of the Putna, the Naruja, and the Savala, and on the 5th the Rumanians on the Susita were forced to retire towards Racosa. Then came blinding snowstorms, with the thermometer well below zero, and the advance of the enemy, which had been far from rapid, almost ceased. In the upper valleys the Russians more than held their own.

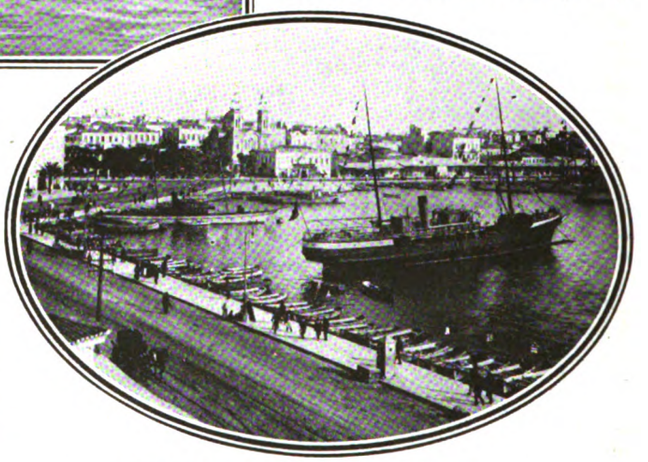
Why the invasion stopped

Near Racosa the Rumanians yielded some ground on January 9th, and two days later the Russians lost some heights in the Gitoz district. On the 12th the Rumanians turned on their foe, and forced him back over a mile in the Casin valley; continuing their offensive they retrieved further lost ground in the same district during the next two or three days.

The progress of Gerok's flanking force met everywhere with stubborn and sometimes successful opposition. Apart from isolated operations, the fighting gradually died down along this whole front, practically coming to a close in the fourth week of January. A lull, in fact, had set in over the entire Rumanian theatre.

Resting on a line from the Bukovina nearly due south to the valley of the Oitoz, and thence south-eastward across the mountains to the Putna-Sereth-Danube front, the German invasion definitely stopped. Among the reasons given for the closing of the German operations against Rumania were the steadily increasing Russian opposition, with the great strength of the allied positions and the reorganised Rumanian Army in the background, and the inclemency of the weather, which was far beyond general experience. These reasons must have had due effect, but there was another which must greatly have contributed to bring about the decision. This was that Hindenburg, in carrying out his plan for the conquest of Rumania, had been able to attain the large measure of success achieved only by the employment of his strategic reserves, and that he was now under the necessity during that winter of building them up again, if he desired—as he did desire—to have them available for service in the larger and more important theatres of the war as required. He knew, for instance, that he would have to meet a great offensive of the British and French in the spring, and therefore that he would need all the men he could get together. He had vastly shortened his line in Rumania—no inconsiderable advantage. Various German divisions were withdrawn from the Sereth and sent to their home depôts, their places being taken by Austrian and Turkish troops.

Nothing of special importance took place on the Rumanian front during the months of February, March, April, May, and June. General Gourko had taken over the chief command of the Russo-Rumanian forces, with General Avarescu as his colleague; but after the Russian Revolution Gourko was superseded. Behind the front all that part of the Rumanian Army which was not in the trenches was thoroughly fitted for its duties in every way.



GENERAL VIEW OF THE PIRÆUS.
The historic harbour of Athens, at which the British, French, and Italian contingents landed in December, 1916, to compel King Constantine's compliance with the requirements of the Allied Governments.

On the front itself there were few incidents, other than small raids and patrol encounters, during February and March, when the great cold still gripped the country; but the British armoured-car detachment in February added to its fame by attacking Bulgarian detachments south of the Sereth and inflicting relatively heavy loss upon them. After one engagement two hundred and sixty dead Bulgarians remained in front of the cars. Two Bulgarian outposts were completely demolished. Russia was too closely united to Rumania for the Russian Revolution not to have a marked effect on the Rumanian front, and on April 21st M. Gutchkoff, then Minister of War in the Russian Provisional Government, arrived in Jassy. A council of commanders was held immediately. Gutchkoff presided, and the situation was discussed. Later, he received a deputation of Russian officers and men, who assured him that they were determined to fight the invaders. But throughout April, May, and June only small encounters were recorded, and these occurred chiefly in the mountain area.

German military governors appointed

With her usual unscrupulous thoroughness Germany took good care to establish herself in the subjugated portion of Rumania. On December 4th, 1916, General Tulff von Tschep und Weidenbach was appointed military Governor-General, with Austrian and Bulgarian vice-governors under him. At the outbreak of war he had been

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commander of the Eighth Rhenish Army Corps, with headquarters at Coblenz. His instructions from the German High Command were that Rumania was to be treated exactly as Belgium and Poland had been; and, as he had taken part in the invasion of Belgium, he knew precisely what these instructions meant. His business was to get out of the occupied territory all that could be got by any methods whatsoever. Over Bukarest a military governor was appointed of the same kidney—General von Heinrich, who had been Governor of Lille. As a matter of course, heavy money contributions were levied. An edict was published forbidding the circulation of paper money, unless marked good by the Germans—for which surcharge thirty per cent. of the value was demanded. A similar contribution of fifteen per cent., amounting to two millions sterling, was exacted from Craiova. The lives of the Rumanians were made as bitter as those of the Belgians, and great gangs of people were deported from the country to work in Germany at the most menial toil. Rumanian ladies were insulted and persecuted. So Germany wrote another dark page in her own history.

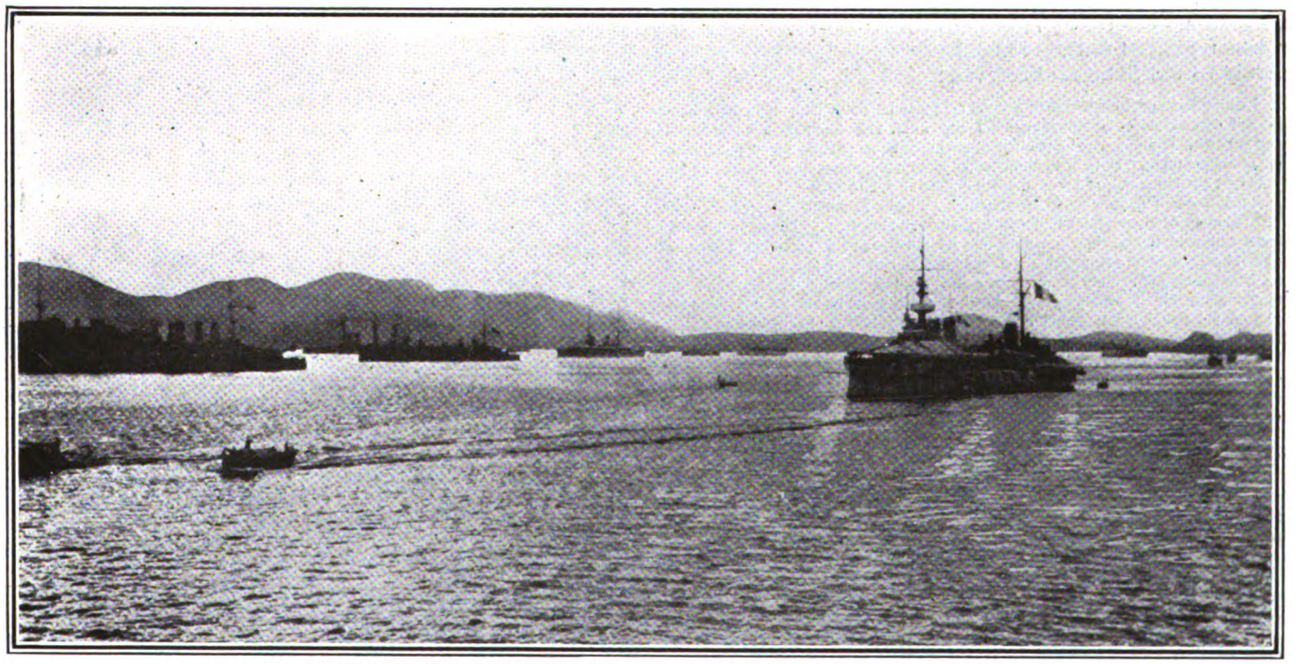
As was stated in Chapter CLXV. (Vol. 8, p. 399), which dealt with the Balkan "Allied Offensive of 1916, the Capture of Monastir, and the Greek Imbroglio," General Sarrail's efforts, though they had some distinctly excellent results, had had no appreciable effect on the fate of Rumania. The taking of Monastir was important from both the military and the political points of view, and it was altogether a good thing that the Serbians should have regained a portion, even if a comparatively small one, of their own country. These were positive advantages for the Entente, but with these progress in this area of the world-war seemed to end—did practically end for several months. Monastir was in the hands of the Allies in November, 1916, and more than half a year later it still marked the height of Sarrail's advance. The winter of 1916-1917 saw some heavy fighting, mainly in the shape of trench warfare; but the Army of the Orient, as the composite force of the Entente was compendiously named by the French, made no sharp push forward that inflicted grave injury on the enemy or led to the reconquest of territory. The natural difficulty of the terrain and the severity of the winter had much to do with the arrest of the offensive, which, moreover, appeared to be inadequately furnished with men and material in face of a brave and tenacious foe, who had been strongly reinforced, and in any case held dominating positions. Added to these factors was the uncertainty that existed till June with respect to the action of the Greek King.

Greece and Macedonia

In Great Britain, during the winter of 1916-1917, the question of the utility of the Salonika Expedition was much discussed. The original purpose had been to save Serbia, and Serbia had not been saved; the expedition was sent too late, nor was it large enough to have achieved its aim. Then the Entente decided that Salonika, having been occupied, should be retained and made into a great military and naval base. Very considerable forces were landed at the port, and these, gradually moving upward, had taken possession of a fairly extensive block of Macedonia. Enraged by the tame surrender of the east side of Greek Macedonia to the Bulgarians, and encouraged by the presence of the Allies in strength, the Venizelists, who were dead against Germany and Austria, had broken away from King Constantine and the Royalists, formed a National Government with Salonika as its seat, and received recognition and support from the Entente. The next development of the war which materially affected this area had been the appearance in the field of Rumania in opposition to the Germanic League; and, to help her in the struggle, Sarrail had taken the offensive, but without success in that particular direction. On the whole, the record of the Salonika Expedition had been one, broadly speaking, of failure, inasmuch as the objects chiefly desired had not been attained.

Record of the Salonika Expedition

From the very start there had been a sharp division of opinion among the Allies regarding the expedition. One school of thought, which included some eminent men, took the view that in the Balkans lay the key to the whole war, and declared that an energetic and powerful offensive in that region would have decisive results. The other school, which embraced most military authorities, held an expedition in that quarter to be ill-advised, as involving the Allies in a serious diversion of their effective strength from other fronts of vastly greater importance, notably



WHERE ANCIENT ATTICA OVERCAME THE PERSIAN INVADERS.

British, French, and Italian battleships lying off Salamis, to the west of the Piræus. Salamis has been the scene of many great events in its long history of 2,500 years, including the victory of the Greeks over the Persians in 480 B.C.; but it has witnessed none more vital to civilisation than the struggle in the twentieth century between the barbarism of Teutonic ideals and the principle of the liberty of nations for which the Allies contended.

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the Franco-British front, on which was concentrated the mass of the troops of Germany. Maintaining that it was only on these fronts, and more especially the Franco-British front, that the enemy could be decisively beaten, they asserted that in despatching the expedition political considerations were allowed to override those of sound strategy. The latter school by this time could point to the incommensurate results obtained by the expedition, which now was known to be an extremely expensive affair in several ways.

Opinion in the Commons

In summer the climate of Macedonia was unhealthy, and told heavily on the allied forces. All supplies had to be brought oversea, and consequently a severe strain was imposed on the navies and merchant service of the Entente—a strain which could not but increase with the development of the submarine campaign against shipping. The district itself had poor railways and was nearly destitute of roads. The terrain to be negotiated in an advance was mountainous and capable of almost insuperable defence. In a word, the difficulties that inhered in the expedition were of the most formidable description, entailing a lavish expenditure in life and treasure, which could only be justified by proportionate gains—and these had not been procured. To this the other school retorted that the expedition had not been on a sufficiently large scale.

On March 6th the subject was debated at some length in the House of Commons, several prominent members taking part in the discussion, and exhibiting in their speeches that diversity of opinion which had obtained from the beginning with respect to the expedition. Summing up, Mr. Bonar Law, Chancellor of the Exchequer and Leader of the House, said it was impossible for the Government to give any indication of their intentions with regard to the Salonika Army. Continuing, he observed:

[British official photograph.

THE ALLIES' HIGH COMMISSIONER IN GREECE.

M. Charles Jonnart, High Commissioner of the Protecting Powers of Greece, who on June 11th, 1917, demanded the abdication of King Constantine, guarantees for the safety of the Army of the Orient, and restoration of the Greek Constitution.

> I have heard the question asked: Is the force at Salonika intended to be offensive or defensive? I am sure the Germans would like very much if we would give an answer. It is precisely to that kind of question that it is impossible to give any answer. There is one set of members who have definitely taken the view that we ought not to have a Salonika Expedition. There is another section who think it is one of the vital operations of the war. I am not going into the merits of the expedition at all. But I do wish to point out that we are engaged in a war with many Allies. The policy as a whole cannot by any possibility be the policy of this Government alone. Therefore, if we took the view of those who think the expedition is a mistake, it does not follow that it would be possible for us to act in any other way. But I am very far from admitting that that view is correct. . . . We must not merely act in concert with our Allies. What has happened has laid obligations on us which it is necessary for us to fulfil, if we can. Let me point out the obvious fact.
>
> If by any chance this expedition were taken away, the first thing that would happen would be that Greece would be overrun, that the whole Balkan Peninsula, without exception, would be in the hands of our enemies, and that—what from the point of view of the British House of Commons is not less important—those who have helped us from the beginning would be at the mercy of our enemies, and we know precisely how they would be treated. . . . Nothing has exercised the Government more than the whole subject of Salonika. It has been difficult because the Allies who are interested in Greece and the Balkan Peninsula have not always taken the same view as to the right policy to adopt. . . . I think we are now carrying out a common policy, and the main object of that policy is to make sure that if our German enemies choose to advance against us there, we shall not run the risk that we would have run a few months ago of being attacked from behind.

This statement of the attitude of the British Government to the Salonika Expedition referred in the concluding sentence to the belief that the Allies' measures for preventing the Greek King from falling on the Army of the Orient from the rear were adequate. But besides that, there was another element in Greece that required protection from Constantine and his malevolent activities. Venizelos and his party had stood squarely by the Entente. Many Venizelists had already suffered death, imprisonment, or serious loss of property for their devotion to the common cause, particularly during the dark days in Athens at the commencement of December, 1916, when the Allies had been in force insufficient to defend them against the rage of the King and the fury of the Royalists. Mr. Law brought forward an argument against a withdrawal from Salonika which it was impossible to rebut—the certain and terrible fate that would be the lot of the Venizelists in such an eventuality. Thousands of Venizelists had joined the Salonika Army; they had been eager to take their share in manning the trenches on the front, and they had displayed great courage in action. In May, M. Gennadius, who had been Greek Minister in London before the establishment of the Government of Venizelos, and who after renouncing his allegiance to Constantine had become Venizelist Minister to Great Britain, publicly stated that at that time 45,000 Venizelist soldiers were fighting alongside the Allies. In May three Venizelist companies captured a hill from the Bulgarians, and held it through seven hours' heavy bombardment, at the end of which only seventeen men were not killed or seriously wounded. Such brave fighters deserved well of the Entente. Then there were the Serbians, whose claims to generous consideration were at least equally strong.

After the fall of Monastir and the immediate subsequent fighting, the struggle on the Macedonian front died away, partly, at any rate, owing to bad weather, into a patchwork affair of patrol encounters, air and other raids, artillery duels and naval bombardments, none of which was of high military importance; and this continued into the second week of February, 1917. On the 12th of that month, the weather having somewhat improved, operations became more active. The British raided Palmis and some points in the Doiran sector, capturing several prisoners and doing much damage. On that day the Germans, after heavy preparatory shelling, delivered an attack in considerable force on the Italian positions on Hill 1,050, a height east of Paralovo, six miles east of Monastir, and succeeded in gaining a foothold at various places in the first-line trenches, in spite of the valiant resistance of the Italians. During the ensuing night the Italians replied with a desperate counter-attack, which resulted in their retaking the greater part of the trenches they had previously occupied. Next day the counter-attack was maintained with ardour, and on the 15th the enemy was completely ousted, with heavy losses. In this fighting the Germans used flame-machines for the first time in the Balkans.

Franco-Italian achievement

Meanwhile, the Italians had done very good work farther west. Italian and French cavalry patrols had been in contact all the way from the Adriatic to Monastir

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for some time before, but the route had not been cleared of the enemy. It was announced from Salonika that on February 18th complete union was established between the French and the Italian troops, and that the road from Liaskovici to Korcha (Koritza) had been thoroughly freed from Austrians and hostile Albanians in Austrian pay. This achievement was of distinct importance, as it cut off communication betewen Athens and the Central Powers, except by wireless or aeroplanes. Korcha and Liaskovici lay south-west of Monastir, along the south-eastern frontier of Albania. The French had occupied Korcha some time previously, and the statement indicated that the Italians from Valona (Avlona) on the Adriatic had linked up solidly with them. With this the front of the Allies now stretched in an unbroken line from the Adriatic to the Ægean.

As far back as January the Italians had organised Southern Albania and Northern Epirus into separate provinces, called Valona and Argyrokastro respectively, with administrations of their own. According to a communiqué which was quoted in the Salonika papers, the Italians hoisted the flag of Albania on March 1st over the chief places in Northern Epirus—a proceeding which the Venizelists, who regarded that district as Greek, did not like. In the meantime Austria, still in occupation of the greater part of Albania, announced that she had granted "autonomy" to Albania under the protection of the Dual Monarchy; but influential Albanian chiefs protested that Albania was independent, and through Essad Pasha, its greatest chief, had already declared war on the enemies of the Entente. What Austria really was aiming at was to give a show of justification for making a levy of Albanians for her Army. The French at Korcha proclaimed the independence of Albania, and hundreds of Albanians were brigaded with French troops on this front.

FATHER AND SON.

Ex-King Constantine, who abdicated, and King Alexander, who took the oath to the Constitution, June 12th, 1917.

ROYAL EXILES' ARRIVAL AT MESSINA.

Accompanied by ex-Queen Sophia, the ex-Crown Prince, and his younger children, ex-King Constantine left Greece in the Royal yacht, June 14th, 1917, and landed at Messina, whence the party proceeded to Switzerland.

From time to time during the winter vague reports found their way into the Press of a rising of the Serbians in Serbia against their oppressors, who treated the poor people of the conquered land with a perfectly fiendish cruelty, many important citizens who had remained in the country being executed on the slightest pretexts, and the whole population reduced to the most abject slavery. From the fastnesses of the mountains small bands of Serbians had maintained a guerilla warfare after the occupation, and these united in a formidable movement under the leadership of Kosta Pestanatch in the district of Prokuplie, the rugged, hilly country west of Nish. Kurshumlia was captured from the Bulgarians, who were driven as far as Vranja, and the Bulgarian line of communications between Nish and Uskub was threatened. Greatly alarmed by the growing success of the rising, which was participated in by fifteen thousand Serbians, and fearing that it was connected with an allied offensive from Monastir, Bulgaria speedily concentrated large bodies of troops, among whom were German contingents, and defeated the Serbians, whose plans had been betrayed by a Bulgarian agent, who had posed as a pro-Russian and a hater of Tsar Ferdinand. By the end of February the insurrection was stamped out. Of six thousand Serbians who were taken prisoners, two thousand were summarily done to death by Germans with machine-guns. Long, deep trenches were dug, in front of which the victims were bound to stakes and shot in groups, their bodies being flung into the trenches immediately and buried. Many Serbians, however, escaped to the mountains, and continued to carry on a desperate guerilla campaign.

Wholesale murder of Serbians

March set in with bitter cold and heavy snowstorms on the whole Macedonian front, but in spite of the weather the Italians on the 3rd made a successful assault on the enemy's trenches in the vicinity of Hill 1,050, wrecked them, and repulsed a determined attack of the Prussian Guard, who attempted to regain the lost positions. In the second week of the month violent actions took place on several sectors. During the night of the 12th the British line south-west of Doiran was advanced a thousand

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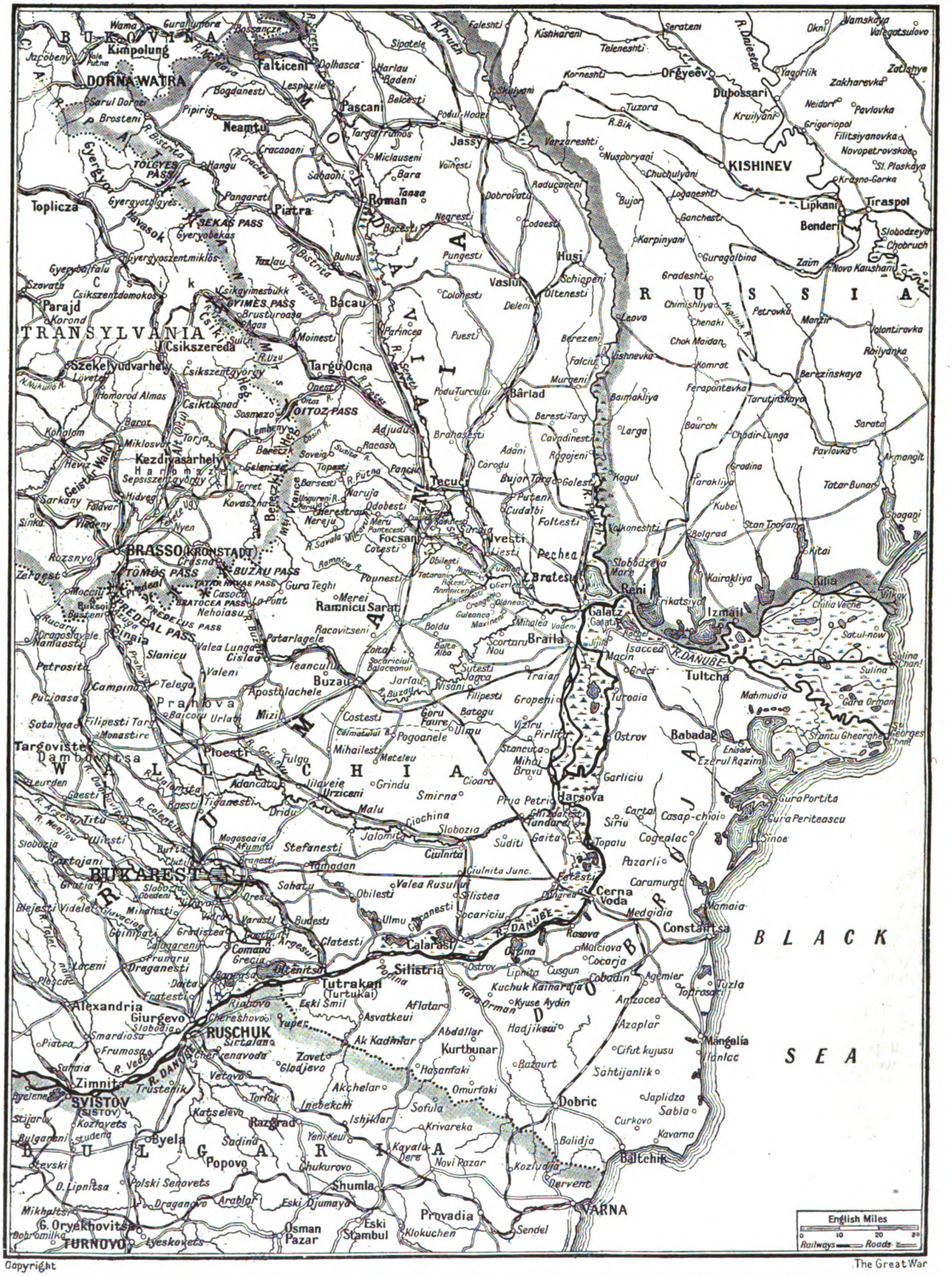
BUKOVINA
Kimpolung
DORNA WATRA
Falticeni
Pascani
Neamtu
Jassy
Roman
Piatra
Toplicza
TOLGYES PASS
SZEKAS PASS
OITOZ PASS
GYIMES PASS
BUZAU PASS
TOMOS PASS
PREDEAL PASS
TRANSYLVANIA
Csikszereda
Szekelyudvarhely
Parajd
Kezdivasarhely
Bacau
Targu-Ocna
Tecuci
Focsani
BRASSO (KRONSTADT)
Buzau
Ploesti
Ramnicu Sarat
Braila
Galatz
Reni
Ismail
Bratesti
Adjud
Vaslui
Husi
Lipkani
Tiraspol
Benderi
KISHINEV
Dubossari
Orgyeev
Falesht
Kishkareni
Teleneshti
Korneshti
Skulyani
Varzareshti
Nusporyani
Chuchulyani
Loganeshti
Ganchesti
Karpinyani
Guragalbina
Gradeshti
Bujor
Raducaneni
Dobrovatu
Codaesti
Negresti
Pungesti
Colonesti
Deleni
Oltenesti
Schiopeni
Puesti
Parincea
Podu Turcului
Barlad
Adjudu
Brahasesti
Racoasa
Panciu
Adani
Corogu
Bujor Targ
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Chilia Veche
Satul-now
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Gara Orman
Babadag
Enisala
Ezerul Razim
Garliciu
Jarsova
Phia Petri
Siria
Carta
Casap-chioi
Gura Portita
Gura Periteascu
Sinoe
Topalu
Cogealac
Pazarli
Coramurgt
Cerna Voda
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BLACK SEA
Mangalia
Ianlac
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Cobadin
Kuchuk Kainardja
Kara Orman
Kyuse Aydin
Amzacea
Azaplar
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Sahtijanlik
Dobric
Japlidza
Sabla
Curkovo
Kavarna
Balidja
Baltchik
Kozludja
Dervent
VARNA
Provadia
Sendel
Klokuchen
Eski Stambul
Osman Pazar
Eski Djumaya
Shumla
Chukurovo
Novi Pazar
Arablar
Draganovo
Polski Senovets
Lyeskovets
TURNOVO
G. Oryekhovitsa
Mikhaltsi
Bobromilka
Byela
Popovo
Razgrad
Sadina
Yeni Keui
Kayalu dere
Sofula
Krivareka
Inebekchi
Ishiklar
Akchelar
Omurfaki
Hasanfaki
Kurtbunar
Abdallar
Hadjikeui
Ak Kadinlar
Aflatar
Asvatkeui
Tutrakan (Turtukai)
Silistria
Ostrov
Lipnita
Cusgun
Calarasi
Olteni
Rasova
Cernavoda
Fetesti
Giulnita Junc.
Giulnita
Tamadan
Stefanesti
Mogosoaia
Afumati
Jalomita
Ciochina
Slobozia
Suditi
Gaita
Smirna
Urziceni
Grindu
Ciocard
Lilaveie
Adancata
Fulga
Mihaileni
Meteleu
Pogoanele
Costesti
Goru Faure
Batogu
Vizuru
Pirlita
Stancuca
Mihai Bravu
Filipesti
Traian
Gropeni
Turcaia
Ostrov
Visani
Jagca
Sutesti
Jarlau
Buzau
Apostolachele
Teancului
Cislau
Valea Lunga
Patarlagele
Racovitseni
Boldu
Balta Alba
Scortaru Nou
Zoitan
Socariciul Balaceanului
Ramnicu Sarat
Merei
Gura Teghi
Casocea
Nehoiasu
Tatar Bunar
Kubei
Stan Tropan
Balgrad
Kitai
Shagani
Kulkoneshti
Tarakliya
Gradina
Chadir-Lunga
Bourchi
Larga
Kagul
Baimakliya
Ferapontevka
Tarutinskaya
Berezinskaya
Petrovka
Manzir
Volontirovka
Railyanka
Chimishliya
Chenaki
Leovo
Chok Maidan
Komrat
Vishnevka
Falciu
Berezeni
Murgeni
Beresti-Targ
Cavadinesti
Racoasa
Sovejа
Topesti
Barsesti
Varuja
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Cotesti
Obilesti
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Rekeciu
Ramnicel
Maicanesti
Glaneasa
Crang
Guleanca
Maxineni
Mihalea
Vadeni
Ijilul
Cahul
Vulcanesti
Kagul
Kubei
Kitai
Shagani
Satul-now
Sulina
Chanl
Mahmudia
Gura Portita
Gura Periteascu
Sinoe

yards on a front of 3,500 yards without opposition, the Bulgarians being caught napping; but next day there was lively fighting, as the result of which the British retained their new line and consolidated it. In co-operation with this movement the French and other Allies attacked near Monastir, and after a continuous contest extending over a week in severe weather captured Hill 1,248, an important height due north of the city. All the way from the famous Cherna Bend fierce struggles occurred for many miles westward, the French, Russians, Italians and Serbians fighting gallantly in the most difficult conditions. A furious battle raged in the region between Lake Prespa and Lake Ochrida, and east of the former the Bulgaro-Germans were driven from the Chervena Stena ridge that ran down from the mountain at Pisoderi to within two or three miles of Monastir. It was from positions in this neighbourhood that the Bulgarians had bombarded the town, causing considerable loss of life and much damage to buildings.

On March 7th the Bulgarian gunners had a distinguished victim in Mrs. Harley, a sister of Lord French. In charge of a motor-ambulance unit with the Serbian Army, she was wounded in the head by a shell that burst near an ambulance in which she was sitting, and died shortly afterwards in hospital. Early in the war Mrs. Harley had worked in France with the Scottish Women's Hospitals organisation at Royaume, and afterwards with the Girton and Newnham Unit at Troyes. Later, this unit accompanied the French Expeditionary Force to Salonika, and she went with it. In 1916 Mrs. Harley took charge of a flying column of Serbian motor-ambulances, but in December she left the Scottish Women's Hospitals and transferred her very efficient energies to an independent motor-ambulance for the Serbian civilian population at Monastir. Her self-sacrificing services had been greatly appreciated, and her death was much deplored. The Serbian Crown Prince sent an affecting message of condolence to Lord French, in which he spoke in the highest terms of her as the "worthy sister of a great soldier."

Lord French's sister killed

To regain the slopes of the Chervena Stena the enemy put forth a mighty effort in April. Here he was in strength, having a German division, a Turkish force, and at least two Bulgarian divisions, with proportionate artillery. His assault began on the 18th, and was vigorously pressed for two days, but after some initial successes it failed. The French counter-attacked magnificently, and on the 20th drove him back completely with heavy casualties, among them being many Germans. In the Doiran sector the British, after three days' artillery preparation, began after dark on the 24th an attack on the Bulgarian positions along a three-mile front on the western side of the lake. By half-past five in the morning of the 25th more than fifteen hundred yards of the enemy's first system of trenches was carried by the British infantry, who had to advance through a barrage of mortars and 8 in. howitzers, which the steep contours of the terrain made particularly deadly. Though not equally successful at all points, the attack gained a good deal of ground, nor were the Bulgarians able to reconquer it, though they strove hard to do so by formidable assaults repeated several times during the next three nights. Then there was another lull, which extended over all Macedonia.

In the second week of May brisk fighting broke out once more in this area. On the night of May 9th the Bulgarians delivered a powerful assault on the new positions of the British in the Doiran sector, south-west of Krastali, three miles south-west of Doiran town. The enemy at first obtained a footing on Goldies Hill, which was held as an advanced post in the middle of the British line, but he was almost at once driven out by a splendid infantry counter-attack. Next day the Bulgarians were again heavily repulsed. About this time an offensive was begun by the other allied armies along the whole Balkan front as far as Monastir. French and Venizelist troops stormed forward on the west bank of the Vardar, Serbians and Russians attacked in the Moglena Mountains and on the east bank of the Cherna, while French, Russian, and Italian forces advanced from the Cherna Bend to the hills west of Monastir. In the region of Dobropolie, in the precipitous Moglena range, the Serbians, fighting with their usual ardour, made good progress, and took Hill 1,824. The French, on May 10th, captured the Skra di Legen, west of Liumnitza, and Venizelists distinguished themselves by taking a strong work near Liumnitza itself. On the Struma the British defeated two heavy Bulgarian assaults against Kiupri on the 15th, taking a hundred prisoners, and on the following day the French captured a series of works west of the Cherna on a front of eight hundred yards. The enemy now brought up reinforce-

ALLIED TROOPS IN OCCUPATION OF ATHENS.
French troops landed at the Piræus, June 12th, 1917, the day King Constantine abdicated, and were joined by British and Russian forces, their mission being to re-establish liberty under the Constitutional Monarchy.

ments, the weather turned unfavourable, and for the rest of the month there was little except cannonading on both sides.

In the beginning of June, Italy took a further step with respect to Albania. On the 3rd, General Ferrero, the commander of the Italian Army of Occupation, issued, "by order of the Government of King Victor Emmanuel III.," a proclamation guaranteeing the "unity and independence of all Albania under the ægis and protection of the Kingdom of Italy." He promised to the Albanians free institutions, and troops, law courts, and schools of their own, with security for their property and the reaping of the fruits of their labours. Reminding them of the old memories and traditions that had allied them in the past with Rome and Venice, and of the community of interests existing between them and Italy in the Adriatic, he invited them to take the oath of allegiance to the new

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[British official photograph.

A PATRIOT WHO VINDICATED THE HONOUR OF GREECE.

General Christodoulos interrogating Bulgarians taken prisoner by the Greeks fighting under his command. It was this patriotic soldier who, resenting the surrender of the Greek forts at Seres to the Bulgarians early in the war, repudiated his allegiance to King Constantine, who had betrayed Greek honour, and threw in his lot with the Venizelists.

régime. According to Italian accounts, his action was received with enthusiasm. Before the war Austria and Italy had been co-protectors of Albania, and that arrangement was now terminated. In reply to a question in the British Parliament, it was officially stated that the proclamation did not apply to Greek Epirus. On June 8th the Italians occupied Janina in that district, the reasons for this move being the strengthening of the Italian occupation of Southern Albania and the creation there of a safe base for a line of communication across the Adriatic with the allied army in Macedonia, in place of the roundabout Ægean route.

Chapter CLXV. told the story of the Greek Imbroglio down to the end of January, 1917. Under the pressure of the blockade King Constantine had apparently yielded completely to the demands of the Entente Powers, and in token of apology representative groups of his Army had saluted the flags of the Allies in Athens. But normal relations were not re-established, as some time had to elapse before it could be seen whether he would fulfil the conditions which had been imposed, and which had been accepted by him. After what had happened in the past, he had to prove his sincerity, and this could only be tested by his acts, not by his professions, of which he had been profuse when they served his purpose. The chief preoccupations of the Allies with respect to Greece were the protection of the rear of the Salonika Army from attack by Greek Royalist troops or irregulars, and the release from prison and the indemnification of the Venizelists for the misery and loss to which they had been subjected, as the result of the outrageous events of December 1st and the following days in the Greek capital and other towns in Old Greece.

King Constantine's insincerity

From the date when M. Venizelos had been dismissed from office the various Prime Ministers who had succeeded him had been, with their Governments, the puppets of the King, who had made himself autocrat in defiance of the Constitution. In the beginning of February the nominal Government, in reality Constantine, addressed a Note to the Entente Powers asking for a relaxation of the blockade on the ground that the demands of the Allies had been complied with. It stated that the imprisoned Venizelists had been released, that the Leagues of Reservists had been dissolved, and that the military withdrawals from the north (Thessaly) and the surrender of arms, which had been specified as essential, had been carried out to a large extent, and were in course of being completed. The Anglo-Hellenic League, a Venizelist organisation which kept close watch over the deeds of the King, intimated that it was not the case that all the Venizelists had been set free. The indemnification question had not been settled, but had only been referred to a commission, which was in no hurry over the business. From the same source came news that the Minister of War had granted leave to an extraordinary number of officers and soldiers, thus enabling them to remain in the area from which they should have been withdrawn. Though the Government protested that the Reservists had been disarmed, the Military Control which the Allies had instituted was aware that these irregulars still had artillery and rifles in their possession. The Greek populace complained of the want of food, but it was known that the King had immense quantities of provisions stored in Thessaly and sufficient to supply for three months an army of 100,000 men. In these circumstances there could be no relaxation of the blockade in any marked degree, and in the third week of February the Allied Ministers issued a statement to that effect, dwelling particularly on the great quantity of arms there still was in Thessaly and on the continued hostility to the Entente of the Athens Press.

Allies maintain the blockade

To influence the Allied Ministers' decision the Greek Government, on February 23rd, stated officially that 16,000 soldiers, 313 guns, 155 machine-guns, 140,000 rifles, and about 2,000,000 shells of different sizes and cartridges had been removed from the north to the Peloponnesus. The blockade, however, was not raised, but as an act of grace the Allies permitted some cargoes of grain to enter the Greek ports. The Ministers made further representations with respect to the disarming of Thessaly, as they were not satisfied that it was thorough, and on March 16th the Greek authorities announced that by that date nearly 300,000 rifles had been transferred to the Peloponnesus. Meanwhile, an order had been published in Athens forbidding the local papers to attack foreign States. In spite of some unpleasant incidents, which indicated antagonism to the Entente, the Allied Ministers once again took up their residence in Athens about March 19th, showing their confidence apparently that the situation warranted this proceeding. A sign seemingly in the same direction was the reappearance of two Venizelist journals in the capital—even in Athens Venizelism was far from being dead. But there was no real change in the mind of the King, as was soon manifest again. He was still surrounded by the same pro-German camarilla, which was secretly, and openly so far as it dared, as active in intrigue as ever before.

Venizelism continued a growing power. April showed a remarkable development of it in the Greek islands, and, at the same time, indicated a change of profound significance in the attitude of the Entente Powers towards King Constantine. In that month the rule of the King

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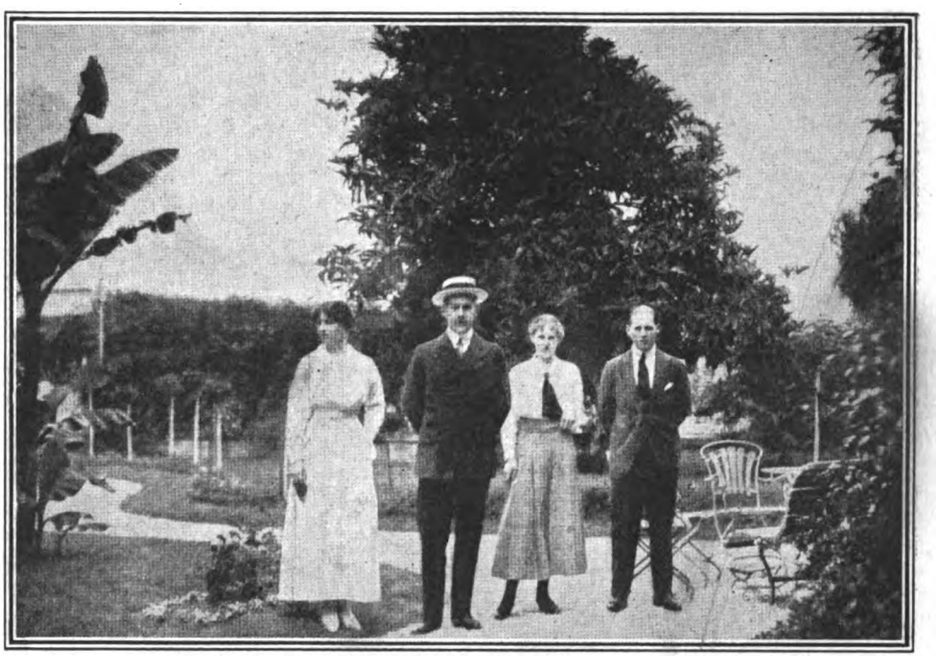
was repudiated in Zante and Cephalonia, and his representatives were expelled from Corfu. The Ionian Islands became definitely Venizelist. Cythera, which had previously been evacuated by the Venizelist forces in compliance with a request, or rather order, of the Allies, was reoccupied by the Venizelists, who also took possession of the Sporades. The notable thing was that these transferences from the Royal Government to the National Government of Venizelos were effected in each case by the naval troops of the Entente in the first instance, and signalised a complete alteration in the point of view of the Allies with regard to Constantine, who had been given a promise, conditioned by certain stipulations, that Venizelism should not be allowed to be spread in those parts of his kingdom over which he still ruled. He could hardly have been aware of it, else he would have bent once more that supple back of his, but he had been given his last chance—and the sands were already fast running out.



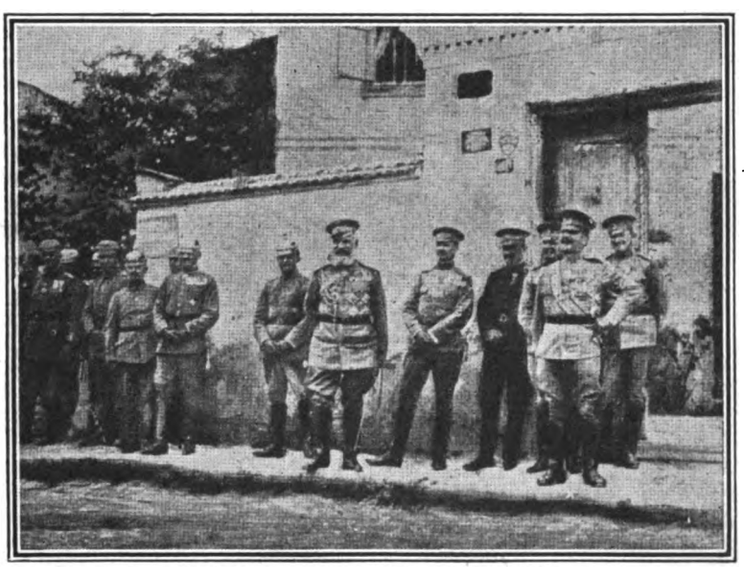
IN A GARDEN AT LUGANO.

Ex-King Constantine of Greece with his eldest son, the ex-Crown Prince George, and his daughters the Princesses Helene (left) and Irene, at Lugano, whither the Allies permitted the Royal family to retire after their compulsory departure from Greece, June 14th, 1917.

As the weeks had gone past it had become more and more evident to the Entente Ministers that the stipulations which they had made, and to which the King had agreed, were not being observed and carried out in the spirit, or even in the letter, where evasion and delay were possible. It was in reality the old story with little variation. Soldiers and arms still remained in far from negligible quantity in Thessaly, nor had the King removed from the Army those of its officers who had been convicted of being concerned in the organisation of the bands of Reservists and Comitadjis who attacked the French in the Neutral Zone and, on one occasion, immediately after a visit to the district of Saghias, President of the Reservists' League, murdered a French patrol of Senegalese. German officers, such as Von Falkenhausen, once military attaché at Athens, found their way mysteriously, either across the wild parts of the Neutral Zone, or from the coast, to the capital, where the King received them regularly at his palace. These Germans brought money from enemy sources for the purpose of maintaining the Reservists' League, as much as £10,000, it became known from disputes over the division of the cash, being handed over to Saghias in April. The Entente authorities in control of the Neutral Zone had definite proofs that the Reservists and Comitadjis who made trouble there were armed and organised from Athens under the personal direction of Constantine.

King Constantine's duplicity exposed

It was not till the second week of May, however, that the general public were put in possession of certain damning evidence of the complicity of the King's son and brother, of whose acts the King himself must have been quite well aware, in the plotting against the Allies. A letter, the genuineness and authenticity of which were beyond doubt, was published in the "Times" and the "Daily Mail" on May 9th, implicating in the most direct manner the Greek Crown Prince and Prince Andrew, his uncle. This letter had been written by Colonel John Metaxas, of the Greek General Staff, one of the most prominent of the personages who formed the pro-German camarilla, and it was addressed to a man called Esslin, a "Greek" of recent Bavarian origin, who had been left by Baron von Schenck to carry on the work of espionage in the German interest after his deportation (Chapter CXLV., Vol. 7, p. 484). From this letter it appeared that Metaxas gave German funds to Gounaris, the strongly anti-Ententist ex-Prime Minister, and that these funds were earmarked for "use in Thessaly." The document next referred to the Crown Prince as having requested that Metaxas' office (the Greek War Office) should "stop if possible for some time the affair of Thessaly," lest something should be discovered by the Allies, who already were suspicious because of the action of Saghias. Metaxas also alluded to General Dousmanis—another leading member



ENJOYING HIS BRIEF AUTHORITY.

General Totscheff, the Bulgarian "Governor-General of Macedonia," with his Staff in Uskub. Both this and the photograph above are reproduced from a German newspaper.

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of the camarilla—and said he had heard that the general was "very busy with the affair of the Neutral Zone." Then followed a bracketing of Prince Andrew and Dousmanis. Here was confirmation, past all effective denial, of the true attitude of the King.

A week or so before this letter saw the light M. Zaimis had once more become Prime Minister of Greece. The political situation had grown steadily worse. Constantine had a very special end in view—nothing less than the securing for himself, for his partisans, and for his plans of the crops in Thessaly then ripening fast. The time had arrived for the Entente to intervene—and to intervene so that there should be little possibility left of any mistake about the matter.

M. Charles Jonnart intervenes

On June 6th there arrived a French warship at Salamis. On board her was a diplomat, who, in a very short time, effected a radical change in the whole situation. He stopped at first but a few hours, and then sailed to Salonika, where he conferred with General Sarrail and with M. Venizelos on the position of affairs. In a day or two he was back in Old Greece, and events began to march with startling rapidity. He was none other than the High Commissioner of the Protecting Powers of Greece, by whom he had been given full powers—the powers of a dictator. This was M. Charles Jonnart, who had been Minister of Public Works in the Casimir-Périer Government of France in 1893, but who was chiefly known for his tenure of the Governor-Generalship of Algeria. A man of excellent judgment, he was also a man of prompt decision.

On the morning of June 11th M. Charles Jonnart had an interview with M. Zaimis, and demanded the abdication of King Constantine and the designation of his successor, to the exclusion of the Crown Prince. In the course of conversation M. Jonnart told the Greek Prime Minister that the Allies intended to purchase the crops of Thessaly, and superintend their equitable distribution throughout the whole country. He said, further, that what had taken place in Greece since 1915 obliged the Protecting Powers—France, Great Britain, and Russia—to seek more complete guarantees for the safety of the Army of the Orient, to provide for the restoration of the unity of the kingdom, and to see to the working of the Constitution in its true spirit, and he appealed to the patriotism of M. Zaimis to help in carrying out the national reconciliation pacifically. That there could be no uncertainty, however, as to the position, he added that the Allies would take measures for the control of the Isthmus of Corinth, that military forces were in readiness to assure the maintenance of order in Athens, and that, in fact, everything was well in hand. Zaimis acknowledged the disinterestedness of the Protecting Powers, and recognised that their object was the re-establishment of the unity of Greece under the Constitution, but he said that the decision must be left to the King after a meeting of the Crown Council.

Dethronement of King Constantine

Constantine's game was up, and he had at least the sense to know that the end had come. Next morning Zaimis communicated to M. Jonnart the answer of the King to the Note in which the High Commissioner had embodied his demands. This somewhat singular reply was in the form of a letter signed by Zaimis himself, and it stated that Constantine, "always solicitous solely for the interest of Greece," had decided to leave the country with the Crown Prince, and had designated Prince Alexander as his successor. The wording of this communication seemed to suggest that the King's choice of Prince Alexander, his second son, was on his own initiative, but Mr. Bonar Law, in the House of Commons, made it clear that this was not the fact. On June 12th King Alexander took the oath to the Constitution. On the same day he issued a proclamation to the Greek people in which he spoke of his grief at being separated from his "well-beloved father," his "single consolation" being to carry out Constantine's "sacred mandate." And this he said he would endeavour to realise on the lines of his father's "brilliant reign." Such language did not appeal to the Allies, who were thoroughly weary of Constantine, but it afterwards came out that it was Zaimis who had written the proclamation in these terms in the hope of conciliating Royalist sentiment. In a letter to Zaimis, which was published shortly afterwards, the new King stated categorically that he would be faithful to the Constitution, and that, convinced of the good intentions of the Protecting Powers, he would work sincerely with these Powers for the reconciliation of the different elements of the nation.

Athens remained tranquil, and only a small affair in Thessaly broke the general acceptance of M. Jonnart's coup d'état. The ex-King was shown a consideration by the Allies which he had hardly deserved. Accompanied by Queen Sophia, the Crown Prince, Prince Paul, the princesses, and his secretary, the pro-German Streit, he was allowed to leave Greece on the Royal yacht Sphacteria, which sailed from Oropos, a small port in the Gulf of Eubœa, on the morning of June 14th, and landed him at Messina, whence he was freely permitted to journey into Switzerland. Next the High Commissioner proceeded to expel from Greece Gounaris, Metaxas, Dousmanis, and the other members of the camarilla which had shown such determined hostility to the Entente. Venizelos arrived at the Piræus from Salonika on June 21st, and shortly afterwards became Prime Minister of reunited Greece.

In the meantime, General Sarrail, in accordance with the instructions of M. Jonnart, had taken possession of Thessaly. In the evening of June 10th a Franco-British column crossed the boundary of the Neutral Zone, and entered Thessaly from the north. Two days later French cavalry occupied Larissa, the most important town in the district. General Baivas, the Greek commandant, had promised there would be no opposition, but in spite of this statement some Greek soldiers under a Colonel Orivas treacherously opened fire. A fight ensued in which the French had six killed, the Greeks losing sixty. Baivas was arrested. This affair was practically the sole incident that marred the peaceful occupation of the region by the Allies. By the 15th all Thessaly, the Corinth district, and part of Phocea were in their hands. French troops had disembarked at the Piræus, the port of Athens, on the 12th, and were subsequently joined by British and Russian contingents.

A reassuring proclamation

With the situation, whether military or political, completely under control, the High Commissioner published a proclamation to the Greek nation in which he said that France, Great Britain, and Russia desired the independence, greatness, and prosperity of Greece, and were determined to put an end to the violations of the country's Constitution and of treaties, and to the intrigues which resulted in the massacre of soldiers of friendly Powers. He continued:

> Until yesterday Berlin governed at Athens, and was gradually bringing the Greek people under the Bulgaro-German yoke. We have decided to re-establish constitutional liberty and the unity of Greece, and therefore the Guaranteeing Powers demanded the abdication of King Constantine. They will not, however, interfere with the Constitutional Monarchy, and they have no other ambition in Greece than to ensure the regular working of the Constitution, to which King George, of glorious memory, was ever scrupulously faithful, but which King Constantine had ceased to respect. The hour of reconciliation has arrived. The destinies of Greece are closely interwoven with those of the Guaranteeing Powers. We have the same ideals and the same aspirations. We appeal to your wisdom and patriotism.

He then informed the Greeks that the blockade was raised, but that all reprisals by or against any party among them would be pitilessly repressed. He concluded by giving an assurance that the Powers had no intention of forcing Greece to mobilise. The proclamation made an excellent impression. It was very evident besides that not only Greece but all the Balkans were entering on a fresh phase.

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MOVING A HEAVY GUN

THROUGH HEAVY SNOW.

CHAPTER CXC.

THE STORY OF THE BRITISH WAR HORSE FROM PRAIRIE TO BATTLEFIELD.

By Basil Clarke.

Cossack's Affection for his Horse—Shared by British Soldiers—Statistics of Horses Needed for War—Where the First British Horses Were Found—Buying in the Highways and Byways—Government Buyers' Powers—" Never at Home " Horses—Civil Collecting Stations—Overseas Buying—Remount Commission at Work in Canada—Removal to America—Co-operation with American Firms—Stockyards Placed at Disposal of Commission—Selection of Animals—Testing—The " Broad Arrow " Brand—Commissioners' Names—Purchases Passed On to the Special British Depot—Description of Depot—How Horses were Fed—Darkies and " Chigoe Boys "—Rounding Up—Train Journey to Coast—The Wharf and Wharf Stables—" Shipping Day "—Animals' Last Examination at the " Cut Out "—Mechanical Counting—On Board Ship—The " Conductor " and his Crew of " Horse Boys "—'Tween Decks—Horses' Quarters—Feeding Time—German Submarines and Horse Transports—Nearing Land—Effect on Horses—The Landing in Britain—Sea Voyage Casualties—Horses Led to Remount Depots—Military Take Control of Civilian Depots—The Women's Depot—New Arrivals Put in Isolation Camps—Fear of Disease—Horses' Joy at Freedom—Recuperative Treatment—Drafted Off for War Training—France at Last—Up to the Front—The Veterinary Officer—Field Hospitals—The Painless Death—" Good-bye, Old Pal "—Care of German Horses—The Mobile Veterinary Section—Wounded Horses' Train—Base Hospitals for Horses—Special Wards for Special Wounds—The Work of the R.S.P.C.A.—The Blue Cross Fund—Unjust Attacks on the Government and the Answer—Moral Value of Care and Kindness.

FROM time to time in the course of this history it has been necessary to glance for a moment at the services and sacrifice of man's faithful friend, the horse. Although motor traction has so largely usurped the ancient functions of the horse, it requires no more than a glance at the camera records of the war to realise that machinery has by no means eliminated the animal from the scene. Mechanical traction has greatly increased military mobility, but it has still left many uses for the horse and mule, and some consideration of how the supply of animals was maintained during the war, their manifold usefulness, and the organisation for their care is required in these pages.

" His horse, his arms, his son, his wife." Such is the order of precedence of the Cossack soldier's main affections; and when they talk of revenge upon the Germans the reason of their resentment is expressed not in terms of human lives lost or of country devastated or of towns razed flat, but in terms of horses. " We will make them pay dearly," they say, " for all the horses we have lost."

This simple affection of the Cossack soldier for his horse, as noticed and expressed by a writer who had spent some time among them, would find nowhere a more ready sympathy than among the soldiers fighting for Great Britain. This was perhaps natural: British soldiers were no more than maintaining a national tradition. To the British race the horse had long been more than a mere animal. For centuries he had had a place in their sports and pastimes and pleasures as well as in their work; and by sheer merit of his own he had won a place in the British mind not only as a faithful servant, but also as a friend and companion. At the outbreak of the war British law and usage alike reflected the esteem in which the horse was held. There was no country in the world where abuse of him was more roundly punished, no country where so many voluntary agencies and agents existed to safeguard his interests and to see that he was not ill-treated. When war began, therefore, it was only natural and fitting that this British regard for the horse in peace should be reflected in the means and measures taken for his welfare in war; and it may be said truly that not one of the fighting nations took greater care of their war-horses than did the British. How their colossal army of war-horses was raised and maintained, and the

[British official photograph.

NEW ARRIVAL ON THE WESTERN FRONT.

Mare and foal in a veterinary hospital in France. The general veterinary hospitals received all kinds of cases—surgical, medical or, as here, maternity—each type being segregated with its own class.

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STURDY BEASTS THAT MOVED THE GUNS ALONG THE WESTERN FRONT. *British official photograph.*

How stiff a task was that which fell to the lot of the artillery horses may be seen by this equine group photographed during a moment of rest by the wayside. Mud-caked all up their legs, and even to the saddle, they suggest the condition of the roads over which they were employed.

great pains taken to look after the welfare of those horses, forms a striking item among the many great war achievements of the nation.

First, it will help towards a realisation of the enormous numbers of horses needed for warfare on the scale of the Great War if a few figures are given. The civil mind may find it hard to conceive that even an infantry brigade of four battalions (about four thousand men) could not get along in the field with less than some two hundred and fifty horses and mules. Cavalry, artillery, and supply services needed horses, of course, in far greater proportion than infantry, and a division of 18,000 men of all arms, infantry, artillery, transport, etc. (the unit used for purposes of supply and action in the field) needed, according to the official military standards in vogue in the year 1916, about 5,600 horses, distributed as follows:

	Men.		Horses.			
	Officers.	Other Ranks.	Riding.	Draught.	Heavy Draught.	Pack.
Headquarters	15	67	49	2	2	1
Three Infantry Brigades	372	11,793	195	336	102	108
Headquarters Divisional Artillery	4	18	20	—	—	—
Three Field Artillery Brigades	69	2,316	594	1,644	6	—
Field Artillery Howitzer Brigade	22	733	195	500	2	—
Heavy Battalion and Ammunition Column ..	6	192	29	6	109	—
Divisional Ammunition Column	15	553	56	625	28	—
Headquarters Divisional Engineers	3	10	5	1	2	—
Two Field Companies Engineers	12	422	34	106	4	8
Signal Company	5	157	33	37	2	8
Cavalry Squadron ..	6	153	153	10	2	2
Divisional Train	26	402	66	38	274	—
Three Field Ambulances	30	672	42	45	111	—
Totals ..	585	17,488	1,471	3,350	644	127

No great mental calculation is needed to conceive the immense number of horses needed for Great Britain's Army of "more than five million men," of which several million were on active service in the field.

The home contribution

How was this tremendous supply raised and maintained? The outbreak of war gave to the Remount Department of the British Army, ably controlled by General Sir W. H. Birkbeck, the task of raising the supply of Army horses from 20,000 to 140,000 before the First Expeditionary Force was equipped sufficiently to move out of the country. Most of these horses were raised in the highways and byways of Great Britain itself. They were bought either with the owner's consent or without it; in other words, they were commandeered, for no private interests could be let stand in the way, and a man who grudged the sale of his horse found it taken by force and a fair price put in his hands. In justice to the nation, it must be recorded that the number of unwilling sellers was rare in the extreme. Many people were naturally reluctant to part with old favourite animals, but they saw the nation's greater need and yielded them up.

For some time after the outbreak of war the stables and country roads of Great Britain were one great mart for the buying of Army horses. The Government had appointed as their buyers men of repute and integrity and knowledge of horses, who acted in an honorary capacity. They comprised well-known breeders and trainers of horses, well-known judges at horse shows, landed gentry, masters of foxhounds, and others who were in a position to know a good horse when they saw one and the price of it. Provided with a little black tin box containing a Government cheque-book, instructions as to what kind of horses to buy, and a written authority empowering them to commandeer any horse they thought fit, these men began a round of the stables of Great Britain with a keen eye (and a good price) for any horse that might serve their purpose.

Each buyer was made responsible for a district—generally speaking, his own locality—where he knew, roughly, what horses existed and where they were to be

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found. To help him he was equipped with a copy of the latest horse census for that district. This document, which had been compiled in spare time by Territorial adjutants, police, and others, showed the number and the owners of all horses that had existed in the district when the census was taken. It was far from accurate, of course, when used at this later date, but it was of great value, nevertheless, in showing the Government buyer who were the usual keepers of horses in the district, and where the horses were usually stabled. These addresses were at once visited, and a valuable first collection of horses was made from them.

It was noticed, however, that—perhaps owing to coincidence, and perhaps to human nature being what it is—many much-needed horses were never "at home" when the Government buyer called to see them, and before many days were passed the buyers found that they must amplify their visits to the stables by a keen look-out on the roads and fields. Many a farmer's dogcart and country woman's gig was stopped on the high-road and its horse bought, as it were, right out of the very shafts.

Roadside horse-dealing

The writer spent a day during the first week of the war with a Government horse-buyer in the roads of Essex, and saw several tragi-comedies of this kind; for at this time people had not awakened to the seriousness of war, and could not understand why national necessities should be allowed to ride so roughshod over personal predilections. There might be many protests, but the horse was bought in the shafts as it stood. If the owner promised to forward the animal immediately upon his return home, he was allowed to have the use of it to complete his drive. If not, the animal was taken forthwith and handed to soldiers who accompanied the Government buyer to take charge of his purchases. The trap—now horseless—was left at the nearest inn.

As horses were bought in this manner, or in stables, they were forwarded each day to a horse-collecting station. Each area of the many areas into which the country had been divided for mobilisation purposes had one or more of these collecting stations. Like the organisation for buying horses, they were run on civil lines—manned and equipped by civilian labour, and in some cases provided free of charge to the nation by public-spirited citizens and local authorities. Thus a collecting station might be the yard of some big farm or the stables of some big house, or it might be a market-place or other public space lent by a public authority. As examples of collecting stations, one may mention Colonel Hall Walker's training stables at Russley Park, Marlborough, Mr. Bibby's private stables at Hardwick, and the market-place of Market Harborough, lent by the public authorities of that town.

Collecting stations for horses

By strenuous efforts in the different districts of England, horses sufficient for the mobilisation were got together in twelve days' time. In addition, the first 150,000 horses sent out of the country were replaced as they went, and supplies sufficient for three months' war needs were obtained by impressment before the Government ventured

[*British official photograph.*

WATERING TIME FOR ARTILLERY HORSES ON THE FRONT IN FRANCE.

Picturesque view of an important part of the gunners' arduous work—battery horses being led through an apple orchard to the watering-place. Not one of the fighting nations took greater care of their war-horses than did the British, and more than once many men were saved in critical emergency by the wonderful state of efficiency in which the horses had been kept, enabling guns to be rushed up to the point of danger

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REMOUNT COMMISSIONERS IN AMERICA.
The Director of Remounts (centre, in profile) and members of his staff who supervised the shipment of horses.

to rely upon purchases in the open market for all the horses of which they had need.

But it was seen from the outset that, numerous as were the horses in the British Isles—and their total even in 1917 was over two million—they could not be drawn upon to the extent that was likely to prove necessary without denuding the country of its home transport and power wherewith to keep going all the home activities necessary for a successful carrying on of the war. In the same month, therefore, that horse-buying in Britain began, special commissioners were chosen to go overseas to organise the purchase of the many additional horses that would be needed for an Army greatly increased in size, and to make good the high rate of casualties among horses which is inevitable in war.

The late Major-General Sir Frederick Benson, K.C.B., was at the head of these commissioners. He went out to America, and died there after organising a splendid system of horse-buying and seeing it well at work.

Co-operation of the stockyards

He began first in Canada, making his headquarters in Drummond Buildings, St. Catherine Street, West Montreal, a little centre of activity that soon became known even in hustling Montreal as a place where business moved swiftly. Early and late, Sir Frederick and his helpers were interviewing the stockmen of Montreal, Toronto, and elsewhere, visiting their stockyards and picking out the best horses for the equipment of Britain's Army in the field. So well did they work that before the end of September shiploads of horses, carefully picked and graded and tested for disease, were being shipped from the Canadian ports to England.

When winter came the Commission moved southward to a warmer climate, and took up quarters at Newport News, in Virginia, later establishing a base also at New Orleans. A horse-buying connection which had proved very successful at the time of the Boer War was renewed, and by means of it horse-buying for the British Army was soon a stirring business throughout all the neighbouring States of America.

It was realised by the Commission that they could not hope for the success and quickness and economy of buying at which they aimed if they worked in opposition to the huge stockyards of these parts of America, who after years of organisation had spread a network system of horse-buying right over the Southern States of America. As an indication of the immensity of some of these concerns and their extraordinary facilities for buying, it may be mentioned that one firm alone, even in pre-war times, bought and sold about 130,000 horses and mules a year, the purchases of more than five hundred buyers distributed all over the country.

To have set up in business opposition to such concerns as these would have been merely to invite competition and overbidding. It would have necessitated the appointment of local buyers in great numbers. The British authorities had, moreover, the precedent of the South African War, and knew that they could depend upon the best stock-buying firms of this part of America for loyal service and a "straight deal." Instead, therefore, of establishing a rival organisation to buy horses they linked up with some of the leading stockyards and worked in co-operation with them. The stockyard firms, for their part, entered into the bargain not only with loyalty, but

A PROMISING RECRUIT.
At a mule-buying centre. These sturdy and serviceable if normally intractable animals came principally from the Southern States of America.

TRUTH FROM ITS OWN MOUTH.
Mr. John Brown, M.R.C.V.S. (right), examining the teeth of a horse offered for sale to Major F. H. Wise, of the British Remount Commission.

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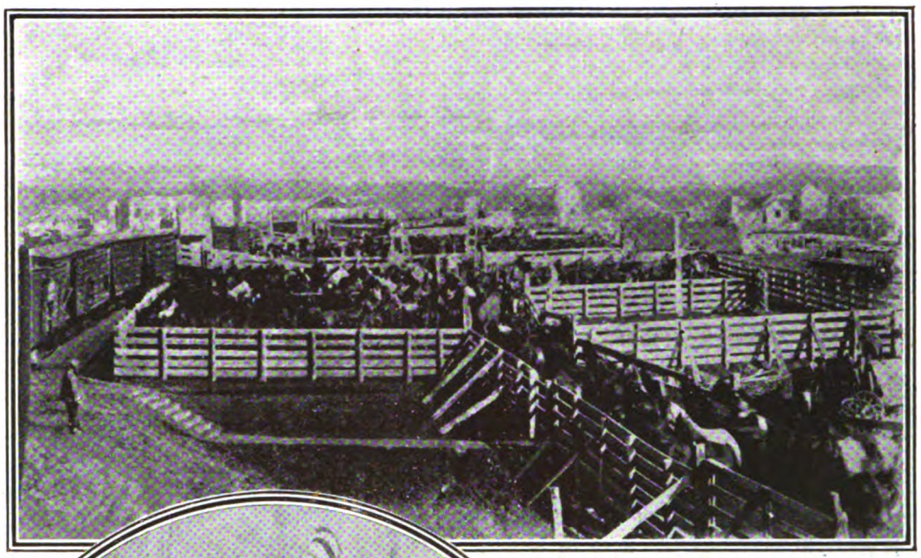
with American business enthusiasm. They placed their big organisations and their immense stockyards and pastures at the disposal of the Commission. They railed off separate pastures and erected new barns and stables, light railways, and all other things necessary for equipping collecting depots specially for British Army horses.

Some system of isolation of this sort was considered necessary owing to the special liability of American horses to a kind of influenza fever which is of a very infectious nature. Horses were placed in these special camps for several weeks and observed closely for any outbreak of this fever before they were allowed to be shipped overseas, with the risk of bringing the infection with them.

To show in closer detail the work of the British Horse Buying Commission, it may be helpful to describe and give some account of one of these big American stockyards and the function that the commissioners exercised in it. The stockyards of the Guyton and Harrington Mule Co. will serve admirably for this purpose. With sales depots and feed stables in more than a dozen cities and hundreds of horse-buyers constantly out in the field, covering every State of the Union, this company could feed and stable on their own premises alone more than 100,000 horses and mules at any one time. This firm sold Great Britain some 113,000 horses and mules during the South African War.



BIG "SHIPPING OUT" ACHIEVEMENT.
Pen showing 1,550 horses in a stockyard awaiting despatch to France. They were entrained in seventy minutes.

SELECTED REMOUNTS UNDER SUPERVISION.
At the sales each horse was mounted and run to show that it was properly broken in and otherwise fit.

Employing the same methods as at that time, they scoured the States of America for horses for the use of Great Britain in the Great War. Their buyers, each in his allotted district, went direct to the producer or breeder for his purchases and not to sales or markets. This method not only insured every animal being fresh, but also eliminated middlemen's profits.

When a car load or train load had been bought in any one locality the animals were despatched to the nearest depot of the firm. Here they were carefully examined both by the veterinary surgeons of the firm and also by the United States Government "vets." Newly-arrived stock was isolated in separate stables, in order to rest and get in good condition, and to undergo rigid daily tests and inspection for sickness. Not until it was fit and guaranteed free from disease was a horse put forward for sale to the British Commissioners.

INOCULATION AGAINST FEVER AND GLANDERS.
U.S. veterinary surgeon inoculating horses on arrival at one of the stockyards in co-operation with which the British Remount Commission worked.

For the ordinary buyers auction sales were held weekly. These were open to farmers and any other horse-buyers, American or foreign, who cared to bid. The animals went into the auction-room one by one, and were knocked down to the highest bidder.

Procedure at the auctions

The members of the British Government Remount Commission, however, were given special advantages. Certain stables were set apart that they might inspect all animals that were on offer and make a "first pick."

First of all members of the firm made a selection of such animals as they considered came up to the necessary standard in height, condition, and soundness set by the Remount Commissioners. No other animals than these were led before the commissioners, who then made an examination of their own, aided by the expert advice of British veterinary surgeons, one of whom was attached to each commissioner and buyer.

First the commissioner had each horse mounted and run to shown that it was properly broken in, had good

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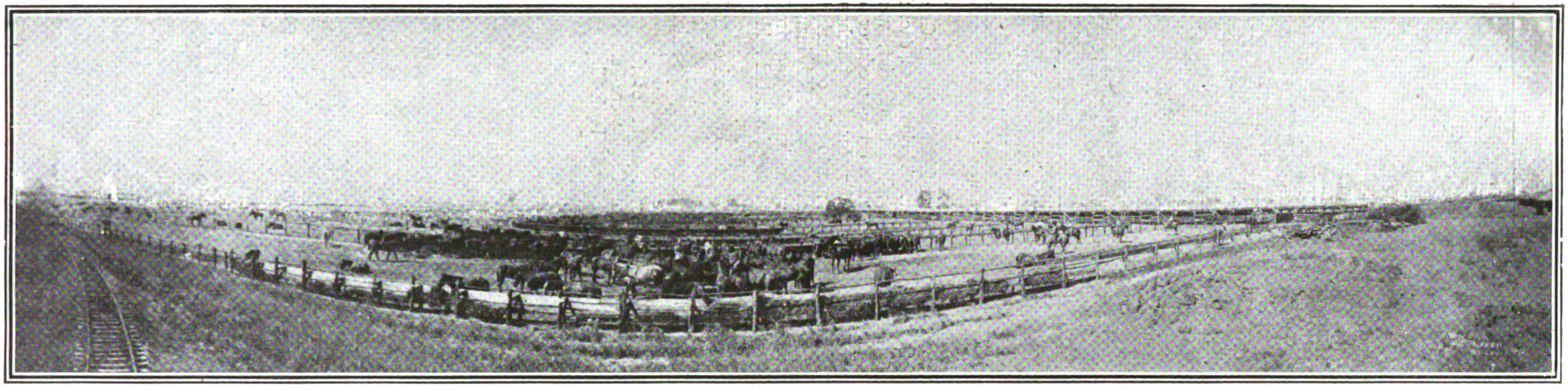

East Alton Horse Depot. Horses bought by the great American firms were brought to the company's depots and carefully examined by the veterinary surgeons of the firm and also by the U.S. Government "vets." Animals that came up to the necessary standard of height, condition, and soundness were then submitted to the British Government Remount Commissioners, who were given the first pick, and their purchases were then passed on to the nearest British Government Depot. Auction sales of the rest were held weekly, open to any buyers, American or foreign, who cared to bid.

Five hundred horses, forming portion of one shipment purchased from W. T. Hales at Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, U.S.A., for the British Remount Commission by Major F. H. Wise and Mr. E. C. Winter, F.R.C.V.S., in June, 1915. Years of organisation had spread a network system of horse-buying over the Southern States of America, and the huge stockyards were immense concerns with marvellous facilities for buyers. The average annual sale of one firm alone in pre-war times was 130,000 horses and mules, this huge figure representing the purchases of more than five hundred buyers distributed all over the country.

TWO OF THE AMERICAN DEPOTS WHERE THE VAST WORK OF PROVIDING HORSES FOR THE BRITISH ARMY WAS UNDERTAKEN.

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action and wind and strength. Next the veterinary surgeon went over it, giving it certain tests. When both commissioner and veterinary surgeon were satisfied that the animal was sound it was led away to a special stable where the British brand marks were burnt on its hindquarters. The brand contained not only the broad arrow (common to all British Government property from field-guns to pillow-slips), but also the initial of the buyer, so that responsibility for the wisdom of the purchase rested ever upon the buyer who had made it.

Some of the buyers

Next the horse went to the "roaching," or "hogging," room, where manes were trimmed and tails "squared." The United States surgeons then submitted each animal to a strict test for ophthalmia before it was taken away to the British Army feeding-grounds to await shipment. The names of a few of the men who served as buyers of horses for the British Government will give some index to the suitability of the experts chosen for this work. Besides military officers of the Remount Commission, all expert judges of horses, there were Mr. Alexander Parker, of the Hunters' Improvement Association, Sir Merrick Burrell, Mr. F. L. Fenwick, Mr. James Maher, Mr. Blennerhassett, Mr. Gordon Cunard, and Mr. Charles McNeill—names that were known wherever good horseflesh was known. The buyers, and the British veterinary surgeons attached to them, were provided with quarters at the depots and stockyards, so as to be on the spot to inspect every horse that came in.

The purchases, now branded as British and with the buyer's initial, passed on to the British depot some forty miles away, where they were kept and carefully fed and watched for a period of several weeks before shipment.

This place, which had been especially made by Major-General Moore for the British Army at the time of the Boer War and taken over by a private firm at the end of the war, was retaken for use in the European War and put in the control of Colonel E. de Gray Hassell, who organised the system by which horses and mules were shipped over to Great Britain. It comprised nearly thirty-six square miles of pasture lands, yielding the finest "blue grass." Between its many low hills lay tiny springs of blue crystal-like water, pouring off into small streams and creeks. About the estate were stables, barns, grain elevators, and hospitals for every kind of sickness a horse is liable to. Railways ran into the estate at various points, so that none of its many feeding-stations was more than three miles away from the central entraining point.

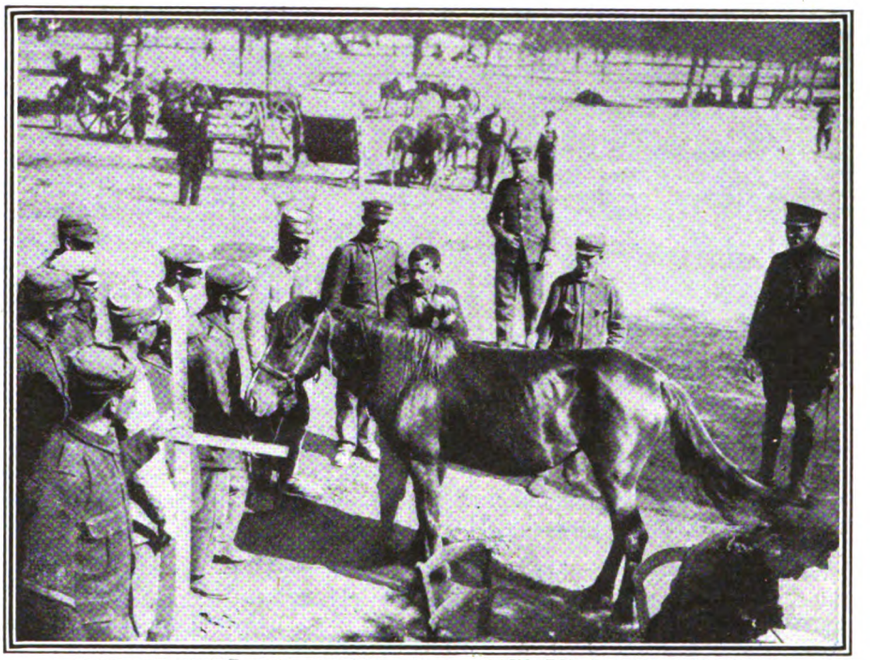
Probably at no other place in the world were there so many conveniences for the care of horses in large numbers. The natural springs and streams had in many places been dammed up by concrete to form artificial reservoirs. That no horse should have far to go for water, the streams and creeks had been supplemented by the provision of more than twelve hundred drinking-troughs, supplied by some twenty miles of two-inch piping.

For feeding the horses, immense hay storage sheds with iron roofs had been put up, capable of storing 5,000 tons of hay. There were also grain elevators, feed mills, and granaries, and, in the feeding-fields, haystacks, and feeding-troughs enough for 25,000 horses and mules.

"Feeding-time" at this depot was a thing that many visitors came to see. More than a hundred waggons, many of them pulled by four horses, scampered about the plains, and more than two hundred men were at work filling the troughs and hay-racks. The hospital accommodation included fine stables, special cookers, hot-water baths for horses, and everything that veterinary skill could suggest.

The staffs at these depots comprised darkies of the Southern States of America and "round-up men," or "chigoe boys," mounted on saddle horses. These men, the darkies especially, were keen supporters of the Allies' cause. They felt that they were an integral part of the British Army, and went about their work with keenest zest, with much merriment and shouting.

The "chigoe boys" in their caps and soft felt hats were especially picturesque. Mounted on beautiful horses, they were men of greatest skill both in riding and in handling horses. Many were expert in the use of the lasso, and a frisky young horse who refused to be "rounded up" soon found his "capers" brought to a sudden finish by a noose cunningly thrown.



PEASANT WITH HIS HORSE AT A MILITARY DEPOT, SALONIKA.
As was done in England at the beginning of the war, the Greek War Office commandeered all the horses it required for military purposes. Owners had to bring them in to depots, where they received payment for them on a generous scale from the Government buyers.

They also showed the liveliest enthusiasm in the work of policing and patrolling the feeding grounds, and any suspicious-looking person found about the stables and pastures met with the fiercest reception and handling. This work was really most important, for German agents tried every conceivable means to destroy British war-horses before they were shipped. In several cases disease germs were poured into depot water supplies; in another case small steel spikes, each of them barbed at the sides like the end of a fish hook, were mixed with oats intended for horse food. These, if swallowed by a horse, were calculated to perforate the stomach and bowels—a most barbarous thing to do to any horse. No outrage that was calculated to kill a horse or to give him disease that would spread to other horses—in fact, no outrage of any kind—was too bad for these German agents to attempt, and the watch maintained to prevent this sort of thing had to be most strict. The difficulty of proof of intent was, of course, considerable, and after one or two failures to bring home charges of outrages against persons strongly suspected the "chigoe boys" took justice into their own hands and

Outrages of German agents

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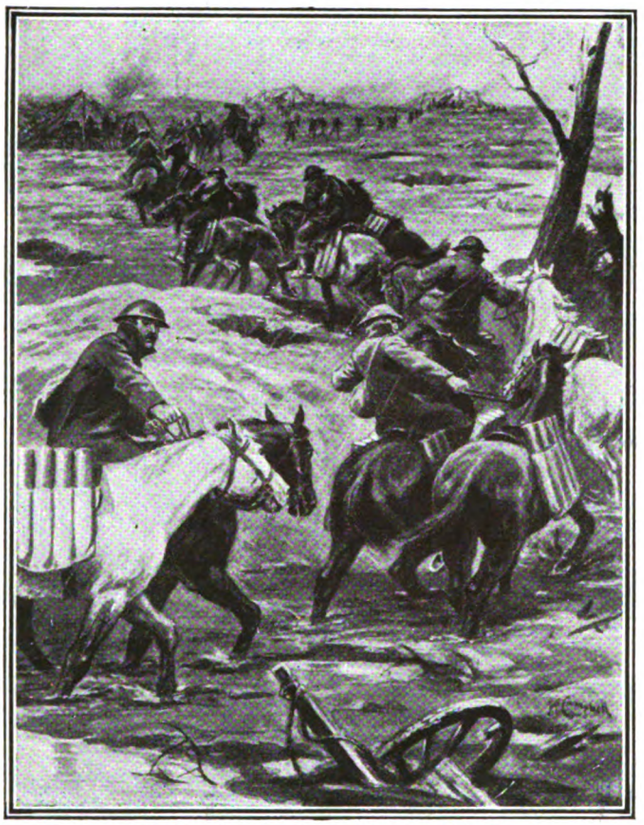

HORSES AS AMMUNITION CARRIERS.

Where the use of waggons was impracticable owing to the nature of the terrain, shells were brought up to the guns in special wicker panniers hung on each side of horses.

any unauthorised person found near the horses or their pasture was well-nigh lynched. This was rough justice, but it served very well.

When the time for sending a batch of horses down to the coast was nearly due the "chigoe boys" began a round up of the pastures and shepherded the horses needed for shipment into a central station. These contained pens leading out on to a railway siding. Each pen had three exits or "chutes," and every "chute" faced a waggon of the train. A train of thirty long cars, each car holding twenty-five horses, could be loaded in thirty minutes.

Working on very similar lines to this were other British depots in different parts of the country, all under the personal supervision of members of the British Remount Commission, officer or civilian. Each depot, after conditioning its horses, sent them along to the coast. The train journey was made easier for the animals by stops at regular intervals for feeding, watering and rest; for it was found that the long railway journeys of America, when taken without halt, made a horse in but poor condition for the trying sea voyage to Europe.

At the port of embarkation

The chief port of embarkation used by the British was designed with the same efficiency and thoroughness as the collecting and conditioning depots. The wharves, half a mile in length, were covered with fine stables built of brick. Behind, were some square miles of pasture land and feeding-grounds. So ample was the accommodation that 12,000 horses could be handled in one day without difficulty.

The buildings were originally designed as fireproof cotton warehouses, but were converted into horse and mule stables purely for the purpose of shipping horses away to England. They were used for this purpose in the Boer War. On arrival by train from the British depots, away inland, the animals were driven down plank roads to enclosures behind the wharf. British veterinary surgeons examined each of them as it passed, and should any of them prove to have been injured on the train journey it was picked out and placed in a "hospital pen" for surgical treatment. The sound horses were passed on into isolated pens and stables, where they were allowed to rest quietly for a day or two before being sent to the main feeding-grounds and stables.

So warm was the climate here that open-air feeding all the year round was possible, and animals bought from the colder Northern States soon showed a great improvement in condition. Still some sickness was inevitable, and plenty of work was forthcoming for the British veterinary surgeons who ran the horse hospitals here under the charge of Mr. A. Hunt, M.R.C.V.S.

"Shipping day" provided one of the busiest scenes. As the steamer drew alongside the wharf the whole organisation of the depot was busily astir. Members of the Commission were in the feeding-grounds behind, picking out horses suitable for shipment. Noisy "chigoe boys" were catching them or roping them and leading them into special pens. At the wharves, meanwhile, a crowd of niggers and others were erecting timber chutes, long and sloping, leading from the wharf to the steamer's deck.

Busy scenes on "shipping day"

When all was ready, one or more members of the British Commission took their places in the "cut out" station of each pen behind the wharf, and as the animals passed before them, pointed out any which, on this closer examination, seemed not quite in condition for shipment. Any such animal was headed off into the "cut out," while the fit and well passed on. Thence they passed over a wooden viaduct to the wharf half a mile away. At the entrance to the wharf was a gate, at which stood a commissioner, who, with the aid of mechanical counters, assured himself that the number of horses and mules thus delivered for shipment was correct.

On the wharf itself the horses passed through special driveways into narrow "halter-pens," where each was seized and fitted with a halter to take him on shipboard. With one man holding each horse's halter they were led up the sloping "chutes" to the steamer's main deck, from which they were distributed about the ship and made secure.

In a British Government horse ship, which the writer of this chapter was given an opportunity of visiting, the animals were loaded on two decks, each deck being under cover. There were some seven hundred animals on board, and the mules, as being the "tougher" creatures, were given the lower deck, while the horses, more delicate and liable to lose condition at sea, were given the upper deck. The air there was considerably better than down below.

The horses were packed in pens, five or six in a pen, with their heads facing an alleyway that ran round the ship. This alleyway was narrow, and to walk along it one had to push aside the heads of horses from both right and left of one's path. A vicious horse could have bitten one quite easily, for he had at his mercy anyone scrambling along the narrow passage. Yet not one of them seemed maliciously inclined. All good-temperedly moved their heads aside for one to pass.

On the voyage the animals were under the charge of a "conductor," who, if not actually a veterinary surgeon by academic qualification, had nevertheless a complete knowledge of horses and their ways and ailments. Under him were some forty horsemen—a crew of tough Americans, some black, some white, who made the round trip out and home with the boat. They were split up into gangs and squads under foremen, and each gang was responsible to the "conductor" for watering, feeding, and otherwise caring for the horses in certain stalls every day. The conductor, in turn, was responsible to the shipping

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company and the Government, and his earnings depended on his success in bringing over horses without sickness or injury. Every horse lost meant a loss to him. He saw to it that horses were well fed and watered, and were given as good a voyage as might be.

At feeding-time the "horse boys" filled portable iron troughs with "feed" and squeezed their way along the alleyways, fixing a trough on the wooden bar under each horse's head. Water had next to be carried round, and each horse watered individually. To water a horse in a rolling ship, standing in a narrow alley, with horses' heads all around one, each trying to force its mouth into your bucket, was no easy task.

Life on the ocean wave

Sometimes a horse might strain a limb on the voyage, in which event a sling was run to a roof bolt over his head, and he was given support to keep his weight off his legs. But no very complex surgical treatment was possible on shipboard, and little more could be done than to make the horse as easy as possible pending his arrival on land.

It might be thought that to horses standing athwart ship in this way, the rolling of the ship would cause great hardship. When the rolling was severe this was the case, but a slight roll was regarded as more beneficial than harmful, in that it kept the horses mildly exercised, seeing that their leg muscles had to be constantly in use to enable them to maintain their balance.

Sometimes German submarines made a bid to sink British horse transports, and after a time it was found necessary to arm these ships with a gun or more and gun crews for purely defensive purposes. More than one good Army horse had his first taste of war and gun fire as he was crossing the sea from his native land. Some of them showed nervousness, others were calm and placid, and it was noticed that the calm ones seemed to reassure the nervous ones. Is it not so with human beings, too?

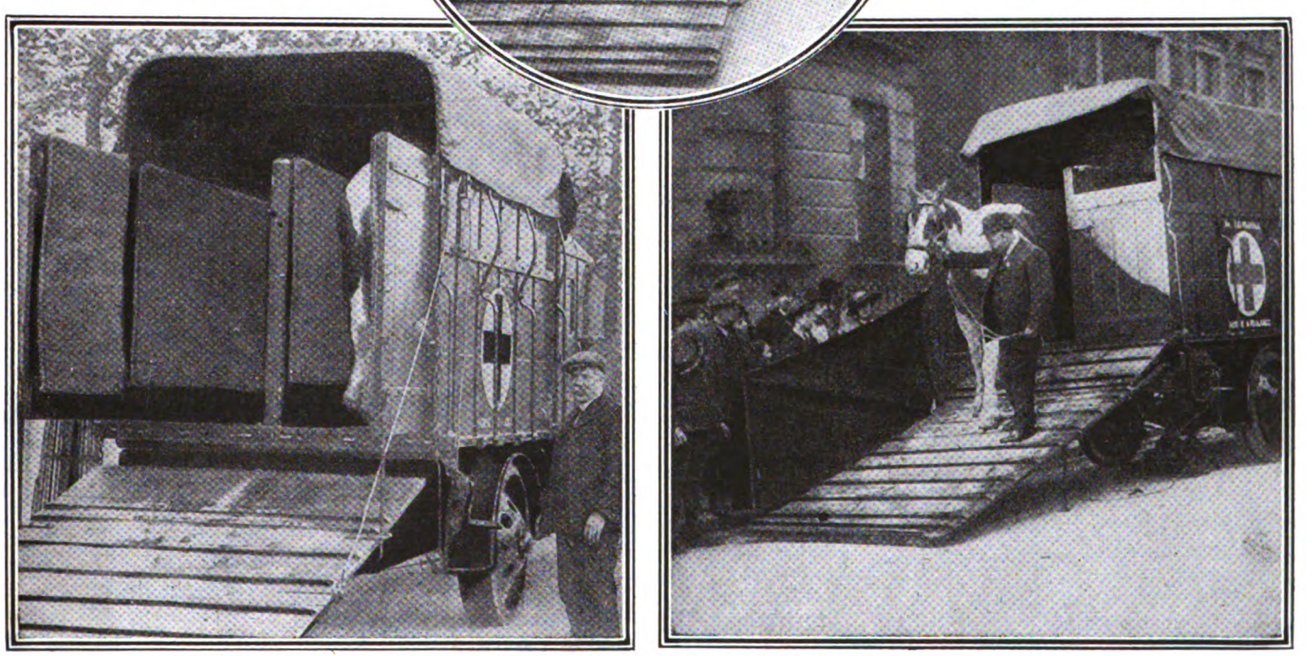
After days at sea, with all the adventures and anxieties that sea travelling during the Great War had for sailors, a curious restiveness would become manifest among the horses below decks. It might be night-time. First would begin a restless tugging at head-ropes; then perhaps a beating of hoofs, which gradually increased, like the approaching of drums. The "horse boys" and officers took no notice. They knew the signs only too well. The restlessness would increase till at last the emotions of some horse found vent in a long-drawn whinny or neigh.

Land! He had smelt the land. It might be a hundred miles away, but he had smelt it, and he gave vent to his joy in the only way he knew. He even tried to cut a little caper in his narrow stall.

Welcome scent of the land

Soon the cry would be taken up by horses on both decks all round the ship, and from the lower deck the queer, unmusical, almost pathetic trumpeting of the mules would join in the horse chorus of the upper deck. In every alleyway horses' heads would be tossing high, right to the beams overhead, and nostrils, widely dilated, taking in long sniffs of that new and welcome scent—the land. Even sick horses seemed to brighten up after that great shout from their comrades. From that moment onwards the horses would be all impatience till land was reached.

In the case of the horse transport visited by the writer, the ship glided smoothly to the dock-side, and was met by nearly two hundred soldiers working under the direction of a Staff transport officer and officers of the Remount Department. Gangways for horses, or "horse brows," as they are called, were run up from dock-side to deck. The "horse boys" of the ship, quaintly dressed in sacks, and with cloths tied round their boots to prevent slipping, led



THE LONSDALE HORSE AMBULANCE ADOPTED BY THE BLUE CROSS SOCIETY.

This ingenious ambulance was invented by a private in the Army. It is fitted with a reversible body working on a pivot, so that the horse can enter and leave it by walking forward on to a platform lowered for the purpose. These photographs show: On the left, a horse just led into the ambulance; in circle, swinging the body of the ambulance round to unload; on the right, leading the horse out.

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out the animals one by one from the alleyways with halters. They coaxed them up a sloping brow to the upper deck, and there handed them to soldiers, who piloted each horse down the "brow" to the dock-side. In many cases it was the horse rather than the soldier who did the piloting, for they were so glad to get to land once more that they scampered down the brows, pulling the soldier with them. Others, nervous creatures, had to be persuaded and helped along, and one saw at intervals half a dozen "horse boys"—white men and darkies—literally pushing a horse up the brows and shouting like savages.

The whole disembarkation was done without mishap. A veterinary officer examined each horse immediately on landing, and but for one or two animals that had developed disease on the voyage, there were no casualties.

Before leaving the subject of horse transport at sea, it may be mentioned that the rate of sea-voyage casualties was very slight indeed, averaging barely one per cent. Among the first 540,000 horses and mules landed from America the losses were no more than 6,000. Compared with the horse transport of some other nations, whose losses varied between seven and fifteen per voyage, and even more, this was a fine achievement indeed, and spoke well for the care expended on the work.

Low casualty rate at sea

On arrival in England from the ships, the horses were taken to remount depots. Every port of disembarkation had its depots within easy reach. Some of these were old military remount depots, much enlarged to meet the increased demands upon them; others were quite new, specially established for the war. Among the latter may be mentioned the civilian depots which by a stroke of the pen became military depots. Mention was made early in this chapter of civilian collecting-stations established at the beginning of the war for the collection of horses bought and commandeered in England. When the commandeering of horses in Britain ceased some of these places were closed, but the best of them were retained and used for a time as civilian remount depots, working in touch with and exactly on the same lines as the military depots. But for purposes of uniformity and control it was thought better that these depots should be made military if possible.

The idea was put to the men who manned them, and, with one accord, they voluntarily agreed to enlist right away. The masters of hounds, horse-breeders, and others in control of these depots were given commissions; the grooms, saddlers, farriers, and others who had manned them, were made privates and non-commissioned officers. Thus, apart from a change on the part of the staffs from stable-clothes to khaki, the work of the depots went on virtually as before. Only slight changes were needed. The depots were standardised on Army lines. A hundred horses now formed a "troop," and its staff of twenty-five grooms and one foreman became twenty-five privates and one N.C.O. Five troops made a "squadron," each squad with its three officers, 165 grooms and riders, shoeing-smiths, "vets.," and N.C.O.'s. But, apart from such changes in nomenclature, the taking over of the civilian depots brought about no great change.

Military control of all depots

It is worthy of record that one of the best civilian depots was run exclusively by women. After the taking over of the other depots it continued its work with the same staff, and worked on lines quite parallel to those of the depots that had now become military. Its staff had a khaki uniform of their own, and were, to all intents and purposes, a women's military unit. Many forage depots were also run by women.

The moment horses landed in England the care for them, begun in British hands over the water, was continued, and even increased. The veterinary officer, standing at the brow on the dock-side, had a quick eye for any horses that did not look up to the mark. They were promptly separated from their fellows, and sent straight to the depot infirmary. A "float" was at hand to carry off horses not able to walk. The strong horses were marched off to the depot by road. Their unshod hoofs on the hard English roads made an unusual patter. Arrived at the depot, they did not mix with other horses, but were tethered to horse-lines in an isolation camp of their own. Here they stood for two days under the closest observation for any symptoms of disease. Their temperature was taken, and the "mallein" test for glanders—a sort of inoculation either in the neck or in the eyelid—was made. At any sign of a "temperature" or other symptom of sickness, a horse was drafted off at once to the sick lines.

After two days' examination, horses apparently fit were turned loose. Their joy on feeling themselves free at last was stirring to watch. Following the example of some leader, they careered about the fields like mad things, kicking up their heels, shaking their manes, and neighing with all the spirit of youth on holiday. This, in fact, was their holiday, their last holiday before beginning the serious work of war.

As they came back to condition and robust health they were drafted to the stables in batches. The dirt and mud of the voyage were still upon them. First they were scrubbed—literally given a bath with soap-and-water; their hoofs cleaned, their manes cut off (unless they were meant for cavalry use), their tails "pulled," and their forefeet shod. Then followed a further period of feeding-up and conditioning, with nicely-graded exercises every day. For this purpose the horses were turned into a circular track enclosed by a double line of railings, in which two mounted soldiers, one riding in front, the other behind, were able to exercise forty horses at once.

It was to be noticed that in each group of forty horses the same horse invariably took the lead every day, and followed in the wake of the leading mounted soldier. What determined leadership among the horses was never discovered. It was not sex, for sometimes the leader was male, and sometimes female. Some close observers held that it was a question of "spirit" or "devil."

Training for active service

It was not until the horses had been in England for four or five weeks, and had reached a thoroughly good condition—so good that some of them were more than eighty pounds heavier than when they left America—that they were considered as fit for issue to the fighting units. Carefully graded, according to strength, size, and condition, they were drafted off to reserve units—cavalry or artillery, or transport—to begin the learning of their war duties.

Here at least another six weeks was spent, and more in the case of cavalry horses, for there are many tricks in the war-horses' trade. Much patience and care must be expended on the teaching. Oddly enough, it was found that the best teachers were other horses; the skilled horse trained the novice.

Then came at last the great day when the horse was ready for the war zone itself. Three or more months had elapsed since its landing in Great Britain, and in many cases a horse, on leaving for the front, would hardly have been recognised as the same animal, so much altered for the better was it in both appearance and real condition.

It was taken to a British port of embarkation, of which several were used, and rested there for three or four days before undergoing even the shortest journey overseas, as, for instance, to France, whither the great bulk of them went.

On landing, a horse received a similar rest at the depot of the port at which it arrived. Every British Army base had its remount depots, one or more; also a vast horse hospital for the reception of casualties in the field due to either wounds or sickness. Of these, more later.

Horses from the base depots overseas were issued to the fighting troops as and when required to replace losses in

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After the charge: A wounded chum.

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Under shell fire: A trying time for horse and man.

Sikh cavalry in pursuit of a German rearguard.

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With the Red Cross in France: An advanced dressing-station.

The Blue Cross: Care of wounded horses on the battlefield.

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The Lancers at Monchy.

A successful skirmish.

'Halt!" Advancing artillery checked by explosion of an enemy shell.

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the field. Every British unit, whether infantry, artillery, or transport, had one or more executive veterinary officers attached to it. In the case of infantry of the line the veterinary officer attached to each battalion was to be found ever in the neighbourhood of the nearest point to which horses were allowed to approach the lines. Stationed at the "horse-lines"—or at Echelon B—he kept an eye not only upon all transport and baggage trains moving backwards to rail-head or rendezvous for supplies, but also on the pack mules going forward with daily rations to points nearer the trenches. He had men of his own to correspond roughly with the stretcher-bearers attached to each regimental medical officer and his men, and he performed much the same services for the horses of the unit as the medical officer and his men performed for the men. It was not to be expected, of course, that these veterinary workers could exercise quite the same degree of supervision and surgical attention as was given to human beings, but a very efficient care of the physical welfare of all war-horses was maintained, nevertheless.

These regimental veterinary officers nearest the front of the battle and their men were equipped with field-dressings, splints, and the like for giving efficient first-aid to horses. They might run, moreover, rough little field hospitals of their own for the treatment of minor wounds and sicknesses not entailing a long curative course. They carried drugs and remedies for all the minor ailments that horseflesh is heir to, and, as a last resource, they carried one humane little weapon for putting a painless end to any poor animal so stricken with wounds as to be beyond hope of cure. This instrument was a Greener's Cattle Killer. Loaded with a powerful explosive charge, it was capable of penetrating a horse's skull instantly. Held against the horse's forehead, one tap on the cap was enough—the suffering animal lay still, his sufferings over.

Euthanasia for the suffering

Many a merciful end to a wounded horse was given by British veterinary officers in this way. According to regulations, it was for a veterinary officer alone to decide whether a horse should be killed straightaway or whether it should be kept alive for hospital treatment. But such was the concern of British soldiers for their horses that in many cases, where a horse was obviously wounded beyond repair, and the veterinary officer was not close at hand, a soldier himself performed this merciful office with his rifle. It was done *sub rosa*, of course, and men did not hesitate to assert that it was a shrapnel bullet or an enemy rifle-bullet that had struck their horse so neatly and exactly between the temples after he had been wounded in some other place. The veterinary officers knew better, of course; but they were, after all, as human as the soldiers and kept their own counsel.

Many touching scenes occurred on the battlefields, not only in France but elsewhere, where British soldiers lost horses in this way. Men who in times of shortage or danger had shared rations with their horses, or even risked their lives to save them from danger—as had many British soldiers—could not come to this tragic parting without real sorrow. One of the most human pictures of the war represented a British soldier on the battlefield holding up the head of his wounded horse and saying "Good-bye, old pal!" It was no mere flight of imagination on the part of the artist, for that scene occurred over and over again in actual fact.

While dealing with events here near the forefront of the battle, it may be fitting to mention the good feeling and care which British troops showed towards the German horses which fell into their hands in the course of battle. Not only were they kindly treated or humanely killed if they had been left suffering by the Germans (as was often the case), but they were given surgical treatment if it was practicable; and many a horse that had fought for the Germans came to be the pet of some British soldier, who regarded him as no less a "pal" because of his enemy origin.

It often seemed as though the Germans had neither the time nor the means nor yet the wish to look well after their horses. The diet they gave them was evidently not suitable, as was shown by the number of horses found dead with widely distended bellies. It used to be said out at the front, in fact, that a dead German horse could always be told from an English horse by his distended belly. British horses were fed largely on corn. The Germans gave their horses too much green food.

In close touch with every veterinary officer posted to a fighting unit was the Mobile Veterinary Section, who performed for the care of horses much the same duties as the field-ambulance units of the R.A.M.C. performed for men. They had vehicles and men and officers for the collection of horses wounded in the field, and for transporting them either to field hospitals for the treatment of minor wounds and sickness, or to base hospitals for the treatment of serious cases. These hospitals in the field were adjuncts to collecting-stations from which wounded horses could be sent by train down to a base hospital.

Mobile Veterinary Section's work

They had all sorts of up-to-date means and tackle for lifting horses and supporting them, besides surgical means for making every animal as secure and comfortable as possible for his journey down to the coast. Any cases capable of treatment at the collecting-stations were, of course, kept there and treated by the Mobile Veterinary Section themselves. Other cases were packed off in long trains to the base hospitals.

One sad memory picture which the writer brought away from the British front in France was of a long line of horse-boxes lying in a siding, each horse-box containing eight cases of horse casualties in the field. The animals were bandaged and splintered just like human beings. Some were supported by a broad band and were standing on three legs, the other being hung up in a sling. Some looked out with one eye through a casing of head bandages, but the big majority had their wounds naked, covered only with the stain of some antiseptic dressing; for it was found that horse wounds, in ordinarily clean surroundings, do better when left exposed to the open air.

The base hospitals for horses were either general hospitals or special, just as in the case of the men. There were special hospitals, for instance, for the treatment of mange and skin troubles. The general hospitals took all sorts of cases, surgical or medical, but each type of case was segregated with its own class. A big hospital visited by the writer followed strictly a group system by which all cases of a similar nature were placed in the same stables or horse-lines, and put in charge of particular officers who had special knowledge and skill in the treatment of that class of case. Officers of the Veterinary Corps did not specialise in quite the same way as the officers of the R.A.M.C., one taking surgery, one public health, one skin troubles, and so on. Members of the Veterinary Corps were supposed to have an equal skill all round, but in actual practice it was found that men showed a preference for one or other class of work, and had special skill in that class. Commanding officers tried as far as possible to find an officer's strong point, and to use it.

Base hospitals for horses

The hospitals were divided into wards quite on the lines of a human hospital, though very different, of course, in detail. The reception ward of this hospital was no more than a series of posts and ropes in a big enclosed field. The cases on arrival were taken to these reception lines, pending their distribution into separate wards suited to their case. For the little ticket appended to each horse, showing his complaint—in some cases it was no more than a chalk mark across his back—a disc was substituted. Upon it was written the date of admission to hospital, and then it was tied to the patient's tail.

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[Canadian War Records.

HOW HORSES HELPED AT VIMY.

Canadian Horse Artillery bringing up their guns and getting into position for the action which resulted in their capture of Vimy Ridge, April 9th, 1917.

[British official photograph.

BRITISH WIRING-PARTY NEAR PILKEM.

Loading a pack-horse for a wiring-party near Pilkem, which was stormed by the British on July 31st, 1917, during the Third Battle of Ypres.

From the reception lines the horses were taken, according to their complaint, to a surgical ward, or a medical ward, or an isolation ward. These wards, each of which was a great quadrangle surrounded with stables, was again subdivided. A surgical ward, which was really an amalgamation of several wards, was subdivided into the wounds, bullet wounds, foot wounds, and lameness, etc. The medical ward was subdivided again into groups or lines for catarrh, strangles, pneumonia, exhaustion, general debility, etc. In the isolation ward were segregated mange and other skin cases.

As far as possible, heavy draught horses, light horses, riding horses, ponies, and mules were placed together in their respective groups, one explanation of this being the very human one that when a big horse is put next to a little one he is apt to reach over and steal his neighbour's food. This is less liable to happen when the other horse is capable of "reprisals."

Anæsthetics for operations

To enumerate the many methods and appliances used in the treatment of wounds and diseases in British horse hospitals in France would hardly be within the scope of any work save a veterinary history of the war. One or two points that struck the writer as being of more general and human interest may, however, be recorded. Every horse undergoing painful operation at the hands of veterinary surgeons was given an anæsthetic. The writer saw, for instance, a big brown mare lying on her side on a mattress undergoing an operation for some injury to the head. A solid leather muzzle containing a wad of cotton soaked in chloroform enclosed her mouth and nostrils, and although two white-coated surgeons were busy with instruments inside the skull itself, the good creature lay quiet, snoring peacefully. The four grooms who sat by her extended limbs had no work to do. In the isolation ward, which was entered by a narrow gap through which a man but not a horse could pass, stood a row of patients suffering from skin trouble. They were all a greeny-blue in colour, like that of German uniforms, owing to liberal baths and sprays with copper sulphate. Here were special tanks for horses to bathe in, and water-sprays, hot and cold. Farther along, the catarrh cases were having their noses and mouths swabbed out with soothing lotions. In a neighbouring ward men were hurrying along with little bags of steaming linseed for application as poultices to the "strangles" cases. In the surgical wards were poor old fellows standing patiently on three feet, holding up a painful fourth limb. Beyond were horses with great open wounds in various stages of cure. Such is the healthiness of the horse that a wound will begin to granulate and heal very rapidly after it is caused. The surgeons left them, where possible, without any covering. This could not have been done save in clean and healthy surroundings; but in the matter of cleanliness the care exercised in British horse hospitals at the war was well-nigh as great as in the hospitals for men. Not a speck of dirt was to be seen; the horses themselves were scrubbed spotless before admission to the ward.

A disinfecting plant, generating a heat of 220 deg. centigrade dry-heat, was available for the disinfection of all halters and horsecloths that might be likely to lead to infection. There were even arrangements for the care of horses' teeth, and the writer saw one poor creature who had been "off its food" for months, and was now restored to good appetite and a quickly-increasing fatness simply by repaired teeth. Its teeth, it seemed, had been turning inwards and hurting it every time it ate. Therefore it would not eat. After a dental operation, it picked up amazingly, and its appetite, said its attendant, was now more like a mule's. The appetite of mules, and their catholicity in the choice of food, was proverbial among our soldiers at the front. But, after recovering from an illness, a mule's appetite became a fearful and wonderful thing. A hospital groom, pointing out such an animal to the writer, said, "He eats and he eats, he eats the wood of his stable, and he eats even the rope he is tethered by. He likes poultices, and he seems to regard newspaper and print as a special luxury. He has his 'Daily Mail' regular every morning, and eats it with his breakfast!"

Appetite of convalescent mules

Supplementing the British Army's measures in the field for the welfare of horses were those of different voluntary organisations in Great Britain, and no record of this subject would be complete without mention of the war-work of the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals and of the Blue Cross Fund. The "R.S.P.C.A.," as it was familiarly called, greatly assisted the British

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Army Veterinary Corps by erecting and equipping horse hospitals in the field. Financed by voluntary contributions of private subscribers, they were able to supply hospital equipment and means on far more generous lines than would have been possible to the Veterinary Corps themselves, working with strict regard to the exacting requirements of Government regulations and Government auditors.

To the normal comforts allowed by the Army Regulations these societies added others, with the result that British field hospitals and base hospitals were more complete and comfortable for their dumb patients than those of any other army in the field.

Then the Blue Cross Fund, founded under the ægis of Our Dumb Friends' League, of which the president was the Earl of Lonsdale, one of the best friends that the British horse ever had, supplemented the good work of the R.S.P.C.A. for British horses by supplying many special drugs, veterinary requisites, and horse comforts to the various British regiments.

They made a point of supplying a number of things that were not always included in the Army scheme of provision for horses—little extras which made all the difference between "treatment" and "kind treatment."

[*British official photograph.*

"SLIGHTLY WOUNDED."
Men of a Mobile Veterinary Section dressing the wounds of a mule outside a veterinary field hospital.

[*British official photograph.*

PERFORMING A MAJOR OPERATION.
Anæsthetics were given to horses undergoing painful operations in the horse hospitals, a solid leather muzzle containing a wad of cotton soaked in chloroform being placed over their mouths and nostrils.

More than a thousand units had to thank the Blue Cross Fund for their extra supplies of veterinary requisites—for the horserugs, chaff-cutters, portable forges, humane killers, and such things. They received sometimes letters from officers in the field, and even from privates, saying what a difference these extras made to the comfort of horses; and it was characteristic of the British regard for horses that the writers wrote as warmly and as enthusiastically as though the gift had been a personal one to themselves.

The Blue Cross had no regard for the nationality of a horse. They erected, equipped, and worked a series of hospitals for the French Army, whose arrangements for the care of horses were hardly so complete as those of the British Army. Their hospitals at Moret, St. Mames, Provines, La Grande Romaine, Favière, comprised in all some thirty huge wards, and were models of their kind; in fact, the French themselves used to say that the British Blue Cross hospitals had set a new standard to the French

FIRST-AID ON THE BATTLEFIELD. [*British official photograph.*
Wounded horses received rough first-aid on the field from their immediate masters, and then were seen by the executive veterinary officer attached to the unit, who either committed them to the care of the Mobile Veterinary Section in the locality or packed them off to a base hospital.

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Army in the humane treatment of horses. The society was the means of establishing similar treatment for horses of the Italian Army, and gave grants to supplement the funds raised for this work in Italy. The Belgian Army horses also benefited by the gifts of money and stores from the fund.

One of the Blue Cross measures in other fields of the war is deserving of special mention. Its provision of fly-nets for horses wounded in the Near East brought an incalculable relief to stricken animals. Thousands of flies swarmed in the open wounds of horses injured in battle, causing an agony of restlessness which often resulted in the horse's death from sheer exhaustion.

Fly-nets for the Near East

The careful treatment meted out to British war-horses, not only in the field, but even from the first moment of their selection and enlistment for the purposes of war, had a commercial as well as a moral value. British horses, thanks to the time and trouble taken upon their care, conditioning, and training, arrived in the field in better condition than the horses of any other army, and were, in fact, looked upon with wondering admiration not by our Allies alone, but even by the enemy. As good results of this care, the horses, in the long run, cost less, owing to fewer losses from disease, debility, and exhaustion in the field; and, secondly, they yielded a more efficient service.

[*Canadian War Records.*

BORN ON THE BATTLEFIELD.

The mother and baby. The foal was born on Vimy Ridge and was called Vimy in commemoration of its personal association with one of the most glorious events in Canadian history.

More than once, in emergencies, the British were saved by the wonderful efficiency of their horses. Mr. Beach Thomas, in one of his war despatches in the "Daily Mail," described how plans for a German attack in a new place were suddenly discovered. He went on to explain how urgent and vital it was that the British artillery should be shifted to more advantageous positions if they were to repel the attack. The ground was a quagmire, with guns up to their axles in mud. Time was pressing. They must be moved somehow. He continued:

> Our Horse Artillery bumped and lurched and tore their way forward over holes and dykes and deep mud and slush. Picked teams of splendid horses, excited as a hunter on a hunting morning, dragged their hearts out in this noble venture, and an hour before the Germans' charge was ready the guns were unlimbered and in position. . . . Who said that horses were no use in war? We have lost many noble animals, but they have done their part indeed.

Losses, of course, were very heavy. Of more than a million war-horses bought by the British Government previous to May, 1917, one in every four gave its life either through wounds or disease. One hundred and forty-three thousand died in France alone, 12,000 in Egypt, 15,000 at Salonika, and 42,000 at home. This was a very heavy toll, and various attacks were made against the Government in both the Press and the House of Commons on the score of these figures. It was probably true that at the beginning of the war a number of horses were bought that were not as good as they might have been. But in the rush to make good the Army's vital need for horses this was well-nigh inevitable. The first commissioners and buyers who went to America were faced with a similar need for urgency. They had to buy not only the best of horses, but also the horses they could get quickly. The Germans would not await battle while their enemy was picking and choosing horses. But after the first and most urgent demand for war-horses had been met—and it was met with amazing promptitude considering the circumstances—the buying became much more methodical and critical. The methods of transport were also systematised, so that losses were reduced to a minimum.

The high rate of casualties in the field was also made the ground for criticism, and the fact that more horses died from disease and exposure than died from wounds received in battle was hurled at the Government as conclusive proof of waste and lack of care. This was quite an ill-considered argument. To anyone who saw at close quarters the conditions in which war was carried on it became ground for wonder that more horses did not perish. Not only horses but men were standing, in France, for instance, up to their waists in mud for days on end in the most bitter of weather. To argue that the horses should have had protection and cover is to argue that the horses should have had better treatment than was possible even for the men.

The horse, though so strong of bone and muscle, is an animal of delicate constitution. He is as liable to coughs and colds and lung troubles as any human being, and probably more so. That far more horses did not die in Flanders and in the mud of the Somme was testimony to their original fitness.

A most conclusive and detailed answer to those who criticised the Government for their treatment of horses was given by the Under-Secretary for War, Mr. Macpherson. Replying to Colonel Sanders in the House of Commons on August 1st, 1917, he said it was true that more than a quarter of a million horses and mules had been destroyed or cast or sold in the various theatres of war in the previous three years. This wastage worked out at less than one and a half per cent. per month on the monthly strength of horses since the outbreak of the war. Commercial firms using many horses estimated that every year they had to replace twenty out of every hundred horses used. The wastage in the stables of two of the largest railway companies during 1916 was nineteen and a half per cent. and seventeen and a half per cent. respectively. The figures of wastage in the British Army were, therefore, extraordinarily small. They have never been approached in any campaign in history. The loss of horses bought in America had been five per cent., and at sea one per cent.

Relatively small horse mortality

A large number, however, developed influenza or pneumonia in spite of veterinary care. Considering the variety of adverse circumstances, including infections and attempted poisonings by enemy agents, one could only marvel that the loss had been so small. It was due chiefly to the system of keeping our horses till they were "salted" or clear from infection that we had attained the remarkably small figure of one per cent. loss on shipboard, which was a quarter of the loss at sea during the South African War. British figures were believed to compare more than favourably with the losses that had occurred, both on land and sea, among the animals bought by our Allies in the same market.

Such facts as these were conclusive, and before them all attacks upon the Government's methods petered out.

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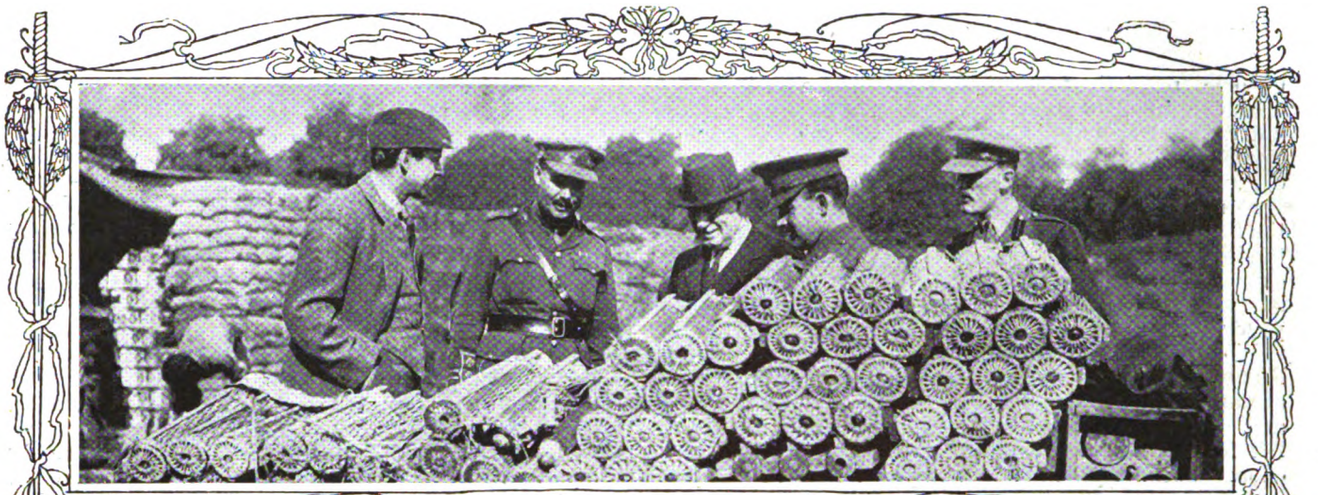

MR. ASQUITH INSPECTING GERMAN AMMUNITION.

CHAPTER CXCI.

THE GROWTH OF OFFICIALDOM: BRITAIN UNDER THE BURDEN OF BUREAUCRACY.

By Jesse Quail.

The Nation Unorganised for War—Organisation Rapidly Carried Out on Bureaucratic Lines Similar to those of Germany—Costliness of the System—Previous Tendency of Legislative and Administrative Activity in this Direction—Consequent Growth of Expenditure—Report of Committee on Extravagance in the Civil Service—National Outlay for War Purposes on Yet More Lavish Scale—Public Services Taken Over by Government—Industries Controlled—Irksome Restrictions and Regulations Imposed—Demand for "Business Heads" of Government Departments—Official Ignorance and Mistakes—Advisory Committees Appointed—A "Business Ministry"—Ministers Without Salaries—Great Increase of Number of Paid Officials—Government by Commissions—Business Advisers of Departments Ignored by Permanent Officials—Large Hotels and Club Houses Commandeered for Departmental Staffs, and New Offices Built in the Parks—Unnecessarily Large Establishments—"Anomalies, Blunders, and Possible Absurdities" Ministerially Admitted—Obstructive Departments—Overlapping and Lack of Official Co-operation—Costly Publicity Scheme of National Service Department—Triple Registrations—Muddling in Shipping and Shipbuilding Management—Delay in Carrying Out Labour Agreement—Congestion of Goods at Ports and on Rail—Export Trade "Throttled"—Contradictory and Irritating Food Control Orders—View of Labour M.P. Thereon—30,000 Officials Wanted to Distribute Bread Tickets—Unknown Cost of Officialism—Absence of Parliamentary Control of Expenditure—Nation Submits to Inconvenience and Sacrifice of Liberty in Order to Win the War.

AMONG the remarkable changes which came over the political and social life of the people of Great Britain during the war, perhaps the most striking was a rapid development of bureaucratic government and methods, accompanied by a large increase in the official class and a correspondingly enormous growth of public expenditure.

The nation had given expression in many ways to its dislike of anything savouring of German—or, rather, Prussian—bureaucracy, for the system held the German people in a condition of servility abhorrent to British love of freedom. Yet the exigencies of the war compelled the country to organise most of its public and supply services on bureaucratic lines not very dissimiliar from those of Germany. Mr. Lloyd George, in one of his speeches in June, 1915, affirmed that Great Britain was at the outset the "worst organised nation in the world" for carrying on this war. Probably it never was at any time the best organised of the belligerent States, but vast changes directed towards complete utilisation of the national activities were carried out with more or less success. The object in view was to "put the nation on its full strength," and this was done, on the whole, with less friction and inconvenience than might have been anticipated, though the changes developed, perhaps inevitably, along bureaucratic lines little less mechanical and arbitrary than those of Germany.

[British official photographs.

WHERE THE ROSE OF YORK BLOOMS.

Mr Lloyd George and Lord Reading with French soldiers on King George's Hill, an eminence overlooking the Somme Valley, so named after its recapture by the British in the July offensive, 1916.

There was a rapid multiplication of Government departments and sub-departments, with local branches throughout the Kingdom. These had under their control eventually almost the entire industrial, commercial, and civic life of the people, entailing a vast increase in the army of Government officials, many

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irksome restrictions on individual freedom, and an excessive growth of public expenditure. A very large, but not definitely ascertainable, part of the colossal sum of close upon eight millions per day, which the war ultimately cost, must be debited to this expansion of Officialdom.

In reviewing some of the methods adopted to organise the forces of the nation, it would be a mistake to attribute the bureaucratic trend and its resulting lavish expenditure entirely to the exigencies of the war. A decided impetus or bias in this direction had previously been given to public policy. For some years before the great European convulsion occurred there had been a steady and, at times, heavy increase in national outlay on Government departments, mainly due to the extension of State interference and control to many matters which had formerly been left to voluntary individual or associated initiative and effort. Social legislation had imposed new tasks upon Government which could only be discharged at great cost, involving increased taxation. In the twenty years previous to 1914 the national expenditure had more than doubled, rising from £92,000,000 to £200,000,000 per annum. Of this vast increase the larger part was due to new essays in State Socialism, which necessitated continual additions to the numbers of the official class. The outlay on Government services mounted up at almost double the rate of increase of the population. It was only £2 4s. 3d. per head in 1890, and had risen to £4 6s. per head in the year of the war. It was, therefore, only to be expected that, when the Great War came and imposed many fresh and unwonted duties on the Government, the official element would be rapidly swollen out of all proportion even to its previous development, and expenditure thereon would go up by even greater leaps and bounds.

Increase in national expenditure

In a report, issued in February, 1916, of a Government Committee on Public Expenditure, some particulars were given of lack of economy and instances of extravagance in various branches of the Civil Service. These were not necessarily due to the war, though, continuing at a time when the war services required such a vast diversion of public wealth, they were regarded by the committee as adding unnecessarily to the burden on taxpayers. Among the instances given were the continued erection of new public buildings on too costly a scale of magnificence; the receipt by certain members of the Legislature of double salaries—one as a member of Parliament, and a second as holder of an official position; and an unnecessary plethora of lunacy and other commissioners whose work had diminished in recent years. Thus, there were ten Lunacy Commissioners holding salaries rising to £1,500 a year each, whereas a board of five commissioners, assisted by several lower salaried officials, was held sufficient to discharge the duties. Again, the Light Railways Commissioners had dealt with only nine applications in twelve months, and the work did not justify the expenditure of nearly £4,000, which it cost during the year. At the Board of Agriculture there were five assistant secretaries with salaries of £1,000 to £1,200 a year, a chief agricultural adviser at £1,200, and a chief veterinary officer at £1,000 to £1,200 a year. Both salaries and number of these officials, the committee reported, might be reduced without sacrificing efficiency. Then there were twenty-one National Insurance Commissioners with salaries aggregating £24,000 a year. The working of the Act, the report stated, could be simplified and economies introduced.

Extravagance in Civil Service

Instead of savings of the kind recommended having been carried out, the expenditure on various departments of the Civil Service criticised in this report was largely increased, for the official elements of almost all departments expanded during the war at a more rapid rate than before. The fashion of expenditure had been set on the ascending curve by bureaucratic advances following upon the social and political legislation of the previous decade. As a special instance outside those mentioned in the Civil Service reports, reference may be made to the new valuation machinery instituted for land-tax purposes, which employed about 2,000 officials at an annual cost of some £600,000, though the tax collected was but a tithe of this.

The way having been so well prepared for bureaucratic expansion and encroachments, war exigencies afforded an easy pretext for the taking over by Government, and running by means of its officials, of a large number of the services which private enterprise had carried on with success. In the early days of the war, in August, 1914, the new movement began by the acquisition of the railways; most of the lines of the kingdom, save a few unimportant local branches, were officially taken over, and afterwards run mainly for the conveyance of troops and munitions. The facilities for travelling afforded the general public were gradually curtailed, and in 1917, in addition to many trains being taken off, fares were raised 50 per cent. This was very largely prohibitive of travel, and besides inflicting hardship by preventing people of small means from visiting their friends at a distance, it imposed a heavy embargo on many industries, for the success of which cheap transport is an essential.

Following the railways, Government next acquired practically the whole shipping industry of the country, including the shipbuilding yards. Then, the manufacture of munitions of war was organised on Government lines, and all works which could in any way be utilised for the purpose were taken under control throughout the country. A Minister of Munitions—Mr. Lloyd George being the first to hold the position — was appointed, with a new and numerous staff of officials. By degrees, between 4,000 and 5,000 works or factories were taken over and controlled by the new Ministry, and some two millions of workers became in a very real sense State employees. Among other trades, the coal, iron, sugar, wool, then food generally, and finally agriculture, were practically "commandeered" and controlled by State officials. Each fresh acquisition brought with it new restrictive regulations or "orders," many of them of a vexatious character, and an increase in the number of officials appointed to carry these out. That not a few such regulations were unnecessary was made apparent by the fact that they were soon countermanded and new ones substituted; in some cases contradictory orders were issued by overlapping and conflicting authorities—as in the case of the licences which had to be obtained by shippers of staple goods. Yet firms and individuals were heavily fined for non-compliance with regulations difficult to understand, some of which were speedily withdrawn, and others of which had not been made sufficiently known to the trades concerned.

State control of industry

There were very few trades or industries in the country which did not feel the arbitrary pressure of these official restraints, and certain trades, which it was desirable in the interests of the nation to maintain in a condition of efficiency, were virtually paralysed by them. The legend of "business as usual during the war," which was adopted in the early days of the struggle, soon had to be dropped, and the complaint was heard, in some branches of the iron trade, for instance, that its export trade was being "strangled with red tape."

The unreasonable character of some of the restrictive orders and the numerous mistakes that were made were at first attributed to the absence of "business heads" of the Government departments which issued them. This, too, was especially urged as the cause of much of the vast waste observable in military camps, hospitals, and other Government establishments, and also in connection with chartering, transport, and other arrangements. Lord

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Sydenham was responsible for the statement that "in the chartering of ships, in hut building, billeting, and other matters tens of millions had been squandered"; and in one of the many discussions which took place in Parliament on this subject, a member asserted that not less than £250,000 per day might be saved the taxpayers by the appointment of a business head at the War Office. The "biggest business undertaking ever known in the world's history," it was said, "was being run by soldiers, lawyers, civil servants, and politicians who knew nothing of business."

The absence of business acumen in administrative work became marked very early in the war, and it did not escape public notice that many Government officials were dealing with matters of which they had no practical experience or actual cognisance. In such circumstances blunders and muddling, sometimes of a costly character, were inevitable. The same thing had been noticeable, though on a smaller scale, during the Crimean Campaign and again in the Boer War, but apparently the nation had to repeat its experience on the grander scale imposed by a conflict of vastly greater magnitude.

New War Ministry appointed

With a view to remedying the chaotic conditions brought about by official lack of knowledge, a large number of advisory committees, partly composed of business men, were appointed. But as popular dissatisfaction with the conduct of affairs still continued, in December, 1916, Mr. Asquith and his Coalition Ministry resigned, and a new War Ministry under Mr. Lloyd George, who had organised the manufacture of munitions with much success, took its place. Business heads were appointed as directors or controllers of a number of new State departments which were created; Dr. Addison, a physician and surgeon of eminence, succeeded Mr. Lloyd George as Minister of Munitions; Sir Joseph Maclay was appointed Shipping Controller; Sir Albert Stanley, President of the Board of Trade; Lord Rhondda, President of the Local Government Board; Lord Devonport, Food Controller (until June, 1917, when he was succeeded in that office by Lord Rhondda); Sir George Cave, Home Secretary; Mr. R. E. Prothero, Minister of Agriculture; Sir Alfred Mond, First Commissioner of Works; Lord Cowdray, Chairman of the Air Board (controlling the manufacture of aircraft), and Mr. John Hodge, Minister of Labour. These were either men of reputation and experience in various branches of trade and commerce, or had special technical experience fitting them for the posts to which they were assigned. A number of Parliamentary secretaries were also appointed from among the business men in the House of Commons. Various changes were subsequently made in the above list, and Sir Eric Geddes, a successful railway manager, was appointed First Lord of the Admiralty.

Multiplication of official salaries

It should be explained that not all of the new Ministerial appointments involved new Ministerial salaries. On February 13th, 1917, Mr. Bonar Law stated in the House of Commons that the following Ministers were not drawing their salaries: Earl Crawford (Lord Privy Seal), Sir S. H. Lever (Financial Secretary of the Treasury), Viscount Cowdray (President of the Air Board), Sir Joseph Maclay (Controller of Shipping), Lord Devonport (then Food Controller), and Captain Bathurst (Parliamentary Secretary of the Food Control Department).

On the other hand, it is not clear to what figure the cost to the nation of the continued additions to the official staffs of the new departments and the increases of the old staffs really amounted, for information respecting salaries, etc., was only given piecemeal, while Parliamentary Votes in Supply were for gross or "lump" sums. Thus, on April 2nd, 1917, it was stated that in connection with the National Service Bureau, which had its headquarters at St. Ermin's Hotel, Westminster, there had been appointed twelve commissioners at £500 per annum; two deputy commissioners at £300 per annum; thirty-eight sub-commissioners at £250 per annum, two at £200, and one at £150 per annum. The Ministry of Munitions, however, had a much more numerous and costly staff than this, for in the previous year (1916) its officials numbered between 3,000 and 4,000, and new posts had been created involving an expenditure of £100,000 a year in salaries. The increase did not stop there, and the multiplication of official salaries went on apace in this and other departments.

Then, as regards the numerous committees and commissions instituted as advisory bodies in connection with various departments, although membership of these was for the most part honorary and voluntary, they required paid clerical staffs. The number of such bodies appointed, by 1917, was not far short of two hundred. In that year also eight further special commissions of employers

VOLUNTEERS FOR NATIONAL SERVICE.
When Mr. Neville Chamberlain outlined his plan to enrol volunteers between the ages of 18 and 61 for National Service the post-offices were besieged by applicants for the official "forms of offer."

and employed were appointed to deal with and settle disputes that had arisen in various groups of controlled trades, in which trade union regulations had been set aside and the "dilution" of skilled with unskilled labour introduced. Other commissions were formed in connection with the Liquor Control Board, to negotiate terms between Government and various branches of the liquor trade with a view, should Parliament give its sanction, to the purchase of the trade by the State. Besides the above, many local committees were instituted in connection with central boards. All these entailed increases in official staffs and gave new power and influence to the fast-growing Officialdom. It was, indeed, contended by some that the entire Government of the country had for the time passed from Parliament to officially-appointed commissions and committees.

It did not appear that the substitution of "business heads" for politicians in Government departments made

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CAPTAINS IN COUNCIL.
General Sir William Robertson, Chief of the Imperial General Staff, with General Cadorna, Italian Commander-in-Chief (right), and General Gilinski, of the Russian Army, leaving a conference in Paris.

any great improvement, either in the smooth and efficient working of the official machinery or in point of economy, and complaints continued rife of friction, waste, and needless restrictions of the liberties of the subject. In many cases the permanent officials proved stronger than the new men; the business members of advisory committees found their recommendations overruled or ignored by permanent officials at Whitehall or other central offices, unacquainted with the actual conditions. A number of these committees disappeared without results, others were superseded by the Ministerial controller or director, but some of them continued to carry on their work more or less successfully in the face of many drawbacks.

To accommodate the "monstrous regiments" of clerks appointed, the Government took over one by one some dozen or more of the principal hotels and club-houses of London, and also a number of the palatial private residences in the West End. The National Liberal Club, the Constitutional Club, the Victoria Hotel, De Keyser's Royal Hotel, the Hotel Cecil, St. Ermin's Hotel, and several piles of offices recently erected were thus acquired, or clerical staffs were temporarily lodged in them. Even the Somerset House staff overflowed its spacious historic pile, and new offices were taken in Kingsway for several of its departments. The large buildings so acquired by Government did not suffice, and extensive temporary structures were erected in several of the London parks and public gardens; even the ornamental water in one of them was drained, and the greater part of its area covered over with wood or iron buildings for temporarily housing official staffs. When a question was asked in the House of Commons, in July, 1917, as to the number of officials employed in these various buildings, the reply given on behalf of the Office of Works was: "It is not possible, at short notice, to give even an approximate return of the particulars asked for, and the preparation of such a return would entail undue pressure on a staff already overworked"—a reply received by the House with an outburst of incredulous laughter.

It is worthy of note that even the "Times," though it consistently supported the "Business Government" of Mr. Lloyd George, strongly protested against this growth of Officialdom. It pointed out that the new Ministry was going the way of its predecessors in encouraging "a gigantic and apparently unchecked growth of Ministerial establishments. Every fresh department or sub-department required new and costly staffs, and these great establishments," the leading journal averred, "were in many cases not only unnecessary, but a definite cause of friction and delay." They were due to the "time-honoured belief that the importance of a Government department varies with the number of clerks employed, and to sheer ignorance of the machinery which was already available."

Public protests against Officialdom

Replying early in 1917, in the House of Lords, to criticisms evoked by the blunders of some of the new departments and boards, Lord Curzon, on behalf of the Government, confessed that their creation entailed "anomalies, blunders, and possible absurdities," but these were excused on the ground that the system "had been hastily improvised under pressure." Although that excuse did not hold good in all cases, it made a large admission as to the cause of many of the failures in efficiency.

COUNCILLORS OF THE KING IN CONFERENCE.
Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Arthur Balfour leaving a conference in Paris. Frequent conferences were held in Paris and elsewhere to arrange for the closest co-operation between all the Allies in political and financial as well as in military affairs.

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A few instances of the somewhat chaotic working of the official bodies, and of how, incidentally, departments overburdened with officials obstructed one another and displayed official jealousy, may be given. In the early days of the war the Local Government Board was asked by the War Office to ascertain what skilled mechanics employed by local authorities could be spared for munition making. The Local Government Board sent inspectors round the country and obtained the names of several thousands of men who, they reported to the War Office, were available at once. For a considerable time no notice was taken of this return, and it was not acted upon. The local authorities began to complain of the delay in learning whether the officials they had offered to give up would be required for the national service. A correspondence ensued, and the War Office was pressed to make known its wishes in the matter. It subsequently transpired that the Local Government Board had been in communication with the Board of Trade, which ran the Labour Exchanges, and that this department was the obstacle to a settlement of the business.

Ineffectual National Service Scheme

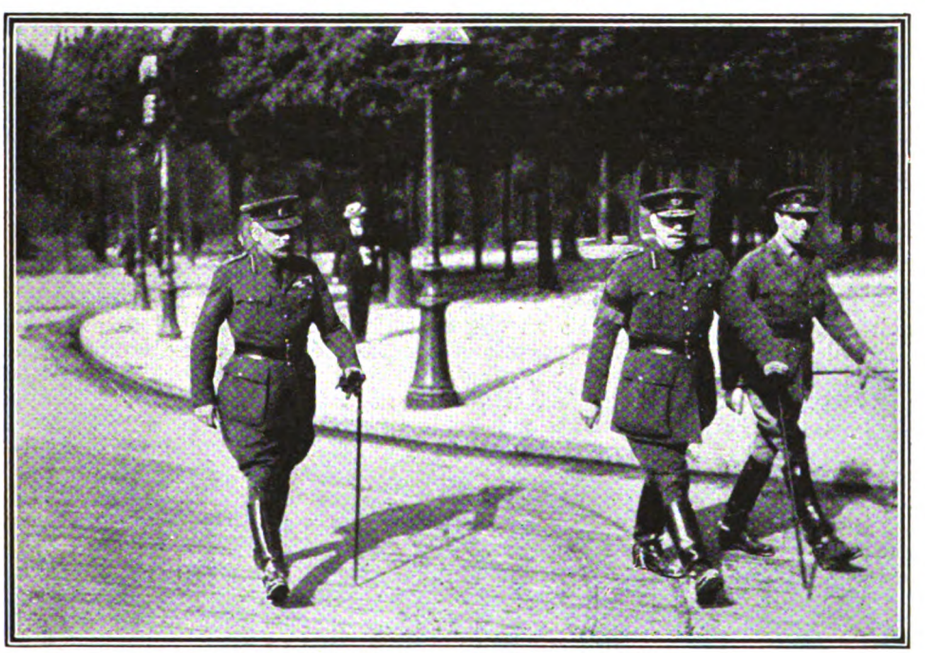
It insisted that if the skilled municipal workers whose names and qualifications had been registered by the Local Government Board wanted employment, they must apply through the Labour Exchanges. Thus, the registration at the public cost was rendered futile, and a second registration through the Labour Exchanges (also at public cost) was required. This is a luminous instance of the "red tape" methods which prevented co-operation between Government departments even under the pressure of a great war; and there were many such.

The National Service Scheme, instituted in March, 1917, under the Act of Parliament creating a Ministry of National Service, to the head of which Mr. Neville Chamberlain was appointed, proved a practical failure, probably due to the methods employed. The department, with a great staff of clerks, was installed at St. Ermin's Hotel, Westminster, and an extensive publicity scheme appealing for volunteer workers was instituted. According to a statement made in Parliament on April 14th, 1917, the cost of this scheme was £62,000. At least 500,000 registrations were asked for, but only 163,161 individuals had been registered. Of these 93,622 were men already at work in "trades of primary importance," or otherwise not available for various reasons; 26,873 only of the balance were suitable for work in trades in which there was a considerable demand for male labour; 16,000 of these had been referred to employers, of whom 2,804 had started work, and 11,826 were awaiting replies from employers. In addition, 5,765 were awaiting decision by the National Service Sub-Commissioners on protests made against their transfer from their old occupations. At the end of May, Mr. Walsh, speaking for the Government, admitted that only 13,000 National Service Volunteers had been placed under the scheme, at a cost of £123,540, or over £9 10s. per head. National Service Committees were subsequently set up, consisting of representatives of employers and workmen, in each borough in the county, with a view to enrol men for necessary trades, and later the department was amalgamated with the Labour Exchanges.

The registration under the National Service Scheme was practically the third to which a

REPRESENTATIVES OF TWO GREAT REPUBLICS.

Admiral Sims, commanding the U.S. Atlantic Squadron (left), shaking hands with General Nivelle—a photograph which strikingly symbolises the friendship of France for the Western Republic whom she helped in the early days of its history.



THE BRITISH GENERALISSIMO IN PARIS.

Field-Marshal Sir Douglas Haig, with two of his Staff, in Paris. The great soldier was always in closest communication with the French War Office, and he was an object of particular attention and admiration when on his visits to the French capital.

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great part of the industrial classes had been subjected during the war. Each time the names, addresses, and other particulars of those registered were card-indexed, involving an immense amount of clerical labour, a great part of which proved futile, and could have been employed to better purpose for the interests of the nation.

The famine in mercantile tonnage, from which the country suffered during a great part of the time it had been at war, was not due wholly to the losses inflicted by the German submarine campaign. Much of it was caused by official mismanagement of the shipping and shipbuilding which had been taken under Government control. At the outset, steamers were chartered far in excess of the amount of tonnage which Government required. A great part of the mercantile tonnage of the nation was thus held up, and freights rose to excessive figures in consequence. In the meantime, many of the steamers which the Government had commandeered were lying idle in ports and rivers, waiting orders for their employment, while piles of goods lay spoiling on the quays, waiting for tonnage. In the latter part of 1916 the Government had to alter its plans, in order to liberate for commercial purposes much of the shipping for which they had no immediate use. Sir Joseph Maclay, an experienced shipowner, was appointed controller of the department. He dispensed with the advisory committee which had up to then been in evidence, and adopted new plans for the distribution of tonnage between Government and the mercantile service, which eased the situation somewhat.

Deficiency of mercantile tonnage

The Government embargo on shipbuilding similarly prevented tonnage being built for necessary oversea traffic, although in some of the large shipyards there were shipways unoccupied, and even gangs of workmen doing nothing but receiving wages. The serious delays in providing the tonnage which the nation required for its necessary supplies, and to keep open essential channels of foreign trade, were often ascribed to the action of labour unions, although, under the Defence of the Realm Acts, Government had powers of "dilution" and transfer which, if exercised, would have removed these difficulties.

Similiar complaints were made of the congestion of goods lying at ports awaiting shipment, and of delays in transit on the railways, owing to the Government holding up freight waggons. It took, for instance, six weeks for goods put on rail at Rochdale and other Lancashire towns to reach the Liverpool and Birkenhead docks, where steamers were waiting for them. South Wales collieries were, at times, laid idle, and the colliers had to "play," because the coal already raised could not be got away from the pit-head for lack of trucks, which meddling Government officials had "side-tracked" somewhere on the line or at the ports of shipment. Useless restrictions, unreasonable delays, and obstructive regulations in regard to the licences required for shipment were said to have "throttled" important branches of our export trade, the vigorous prosecution of which would have assisted the nation during the war, and which were sure to be urgently needed after it was over.

Food Controller's regulations

Perhaps the regulations which evoked the sharpest criticism were those issued from the Department of the Food Controller. All classes felt the pressure of these, which were not only arbitrary, but in some cases due to official ignorance of prevailing conditions, and had soon to be modified or withdrawn. Placing of the supplies of food under control of Government had been advocated by the Labour Party, and it may, therefore, not be out of place to record the views of Mr. W. C. Anderson, M.P., on the way in which this control sometimes worked. Writing in May, 1917, he said:

> What has been set up is something in the nature of a bureaucracy many times removed from the life and toil of the working people. The country, in point of fact, is threatened with an increasing supply of food controllers and a decreasing supply of food. Orders apparently sent out from the department one day had been countermanded the next. Systems of distribution, abandoned after a time, have been persisted in for months, though failure was written legibly all over them. Commissioners have been appointed, committees have afterwards had to be set up to investigate the work and methods of the commissions. Committees have sprung up in bewildering welter. It is the view of officialism that if we leave one extreme we must go to another. If we quit the present chaos we must swing to another chaos equally vast and complicated.

The alternative referred to here was that with which the nation was threatened during 1917, when arrangements for compulsory rationing of the people and the issue of bread tickets were made. To give effect to this scheme, it was then announced, an entirely new army corps of 30,000 officials would be required; but the success which attended the voluntary bread-saving arrangements which were adopted caused its postponement. When Lord Rhondda succeeded Lord Devonport as Food Controller, in June, 1917, he instituted a new "Costings Department," consisting of highly-skilled accountants, and had local committees formed under municipal authorities throughout the kingdom for rationing the people, with a view to a stricter control of food prices.

As to the actual cost of the system of Officialdom which grew to such alarming proportions, only scraps of information on the subject were given to Parliament, and on certain phases of it the facts were altogether withheld. Thus, after the railways were taken over by the Government in 1914, only "skeleton" accounts of the meagrest character were issued in place of the very full and detailed half-yearly or yearly statements previously published. As the Government guaranteed a continuation of the shareholders' dividends at the rate of the last year of the companies' control, and as their public services and traffic were very materially curtailed, there was reason to apprehend that the nation may have been carrying on the lines at a loss. Only the country's total expenditure in connection with the war—which rose in 1917 to £7,752,000 per day—can be spoken of with any certainty. Even the German military bureaucracy was not so costly as the British, for it cost Great Britain as much to mobilise one million men as it cost the Germans to mobilise four millions.

Costliness of bureaucracy

In the spring of 1917 a large number of members of Parliament petitioned the Government to exercise more rigid control over expenditure in the direction of economy, and a resolution affirming the desirability of steps in this direction was agreed to by the House of Commons. A Select Committee was subsequently appointed to examine current expenditure, and make recommendations with a view to its more effective control by the House. But that branch of the Legislature had in great measure abdicated its function of checking expenditure, and retained little or no control over Government extravagance. The duties of the Controller and Auditor-General, who is an officer of Parliament appointed to make an independent audit or check of expenditure and point out unnecessary outlay in any department, could not well be exercised under the prevailing conditions, and became nominal and perfunctory; while Parliament itself passed great Votes of Credit of hundreds of millions and Supply Votes *en bloc*, without detailed estimates. The more or less effective supervision previously exercised by Parliament was thus, like other guarantees of public rights and liberties, practically suspended in war-time. The Treasury itself had no effective means of controlling the spending departments, but had simply to find the money they required. The nation submitted to its increased burdens with the best grace it could, in the hope that its liberties, so curtailed during the war, would be restored to it when the looked-for victory over its enemies had been won.

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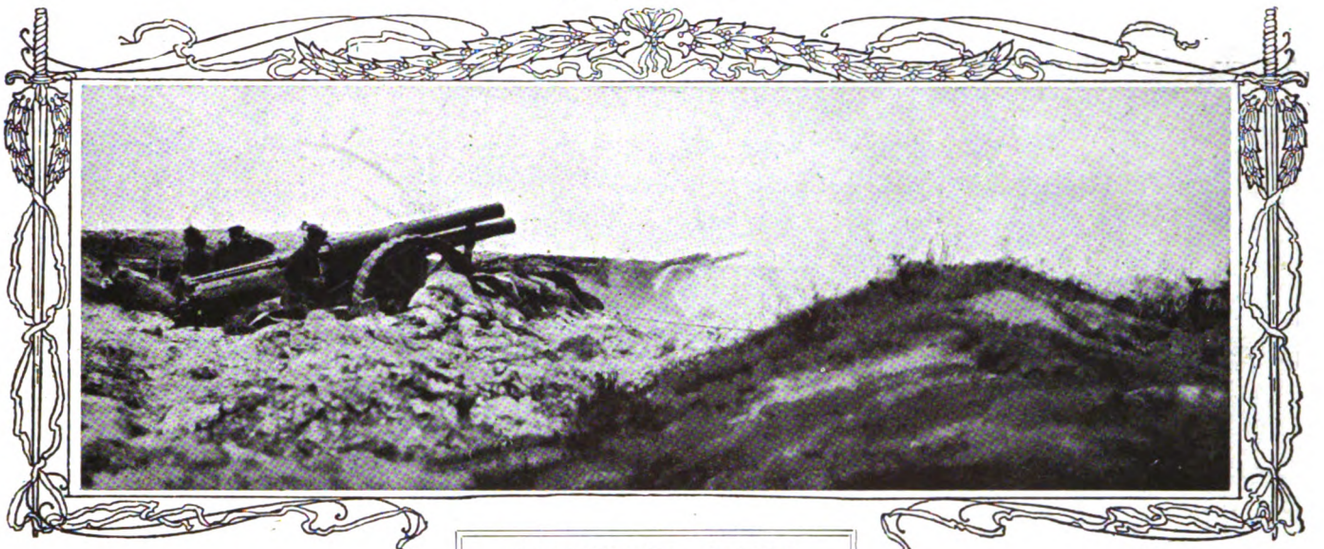


CANADIAN GUN IN ACTION. [Canadian War Records.

CHAPTER CXCII.

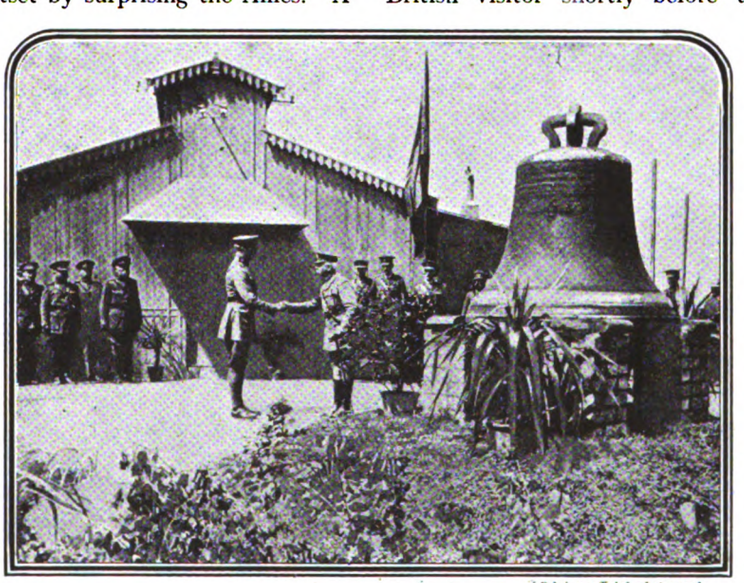
THREE YEARS OF ANGUISH: THE LESSONS OF 1914-1917.

By H. W. Wilson, Author of "Ironclads in Action," etc.

In the following survey of the first three years of the world-war Mr. Wilson has endeavoured to mark a great opportunity with a chapter of history that might be thought worthy of its engrossing theme. Explaining first the fourfold surprise which enabled Germany to take possession of vast areas of her enemies' territory, he proceeds to indicate eight main periods into which the war had fallen up to August, 1917. Drawing attention to the fact that this was the first occasion when man had fought man on more than one plane or level, he dwells upon the effect which the introduction of aircraft and submarines had upon military operations, and notices the new weapons which had been invented to meet new conditions. He comments on the stupendous financial outlay involved in modern war, and the social upheaval caused by the necessary regimentation of the civilian populations. Having indicated the broad strategical plan of Germany at the end of the third year of conflict, he dwells upon the noble inspiration of the British race since it was confronted with the ultimate realities of life and death; and after painting, in a few unstrained touches, the awe-inspiring scene amid which so many heroes went to their glorious death, he concludes with an expression of confidence in the triumph of their righteous cause and of the faith in which they died.

THAT the close of the third year of the war found Germany still in possession of 170,000 square miles of conquered Ally territory, with a population of nearly 30,000,000 Ally subjects or slaves, must be ascribed to the enormous advantage that she gained at the outset by surprising the Allies. A criminal who stealthily arms to the teeth and falls unexpectedly on a victim, may usually count on success. "Surprise," wrote Clausewitz, the greatest of all German theorists on war, "lies at the foundation of all military enterprises." It is the chief secret of victory; it gives the most prodigious triumphs.

If in this war Germany accomplished the most stupendous surprise in history, her misjudgments were also stupendous. Her Staff was composed of soldiers, devoid alike of pity and respect for law, recognising no obligations of humanity and religion, trained by years of education to the highest pitch of proficiency in their specialist work, and doing it so well that in some respects they seemed to have attained a superhuman efficiency. They were, however, wrong in all their fundamental judgments. "In a fortnight—yes, in a fortnight my Army will be in Paris!" the German Emperor told a British visitor shortly before the war. He said this because he was so advised by his experts. The German Foreign Office, in August, 1914, informed the American Government that its troops were shortly about to enter Paris, and asked the American authorities to take certain steps for the security of American citizens. "Belgium will never resist!" was another doctrine that had been accepted by the Staff, which had drawn up its time-table for reaching Paris accordingly. "Great Britain will betray her engagements, steal her Allies' trade (a course which was recommended in effect by certain British newspapers, including the



[Belgian official photograph.

RESTORING WYTSCHAETE'S BELL TO KING ALBERT.

General Plumer presenting a recovered piece of Belgian property to King Albert (with whom he is shaking hands). When the British recaptured Wytschaete during the Battle of Messines, this bell of the church was found intact among the ruins.

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HANDING OUT RATIONS TO HUNGRY PRISONERS.
Scene in a barbed-wire encampment or "cage" for German prisoners taken during the Messines fighting during the summer of 1917. From the platforms of their elevated sentry-boxes the armed guards were able to keep watch over the whole enclosed space in which the prisoners were confined.

'Daily News' and enter the war too late," was the belief of the Staff, which had therefore not made arrangements for attacking her commerce at the very outset. "The United States will never fight, and President Wilson's Notes may be contemptuously tossed into the waste-paper basket!" had been so confidently repeated by the Staff that all Germans had come to believe it. "The submarine campaign will bring England down in six months with certainty!" the German Admiralty declared to all in January, 1917. Six months later the British Empire still stood, though the submarine campaign had not been met with any notable degree of energy or organisation.

At every turn in the first three years of the war Germany came within a hairsbreadth of complete success, yet at every turn success slipped from her. Whenever she had to deal with the sense of honour and duty in nations she was wrong, perhaps because she was led by men who openly proclaimed their disbelief in the claims of honour and duty. Their doctrine was that stated by Herr Bethmann-Hollweg—"Necessity knows no law"—which meant that Germany could commit any crime that suited her purpose of the moment. Yet, as the war progressed, other States showed that they recognised the existence of law and justice, and these States attracted to themselves the steadily-growing support of such neutrals as could not be terrorised or bribed.

The German Staff calculated that the Allies could be cowed by cruelty. The massacres in Belgium and Serbia, the murders of wounded, the frightful outrages on women and children, the devilish submarine atrocities, the devastation of Northern France, were all moves in a game made by men whose morals were of the Stone Age. These moves caused the Allies enormous suffering and loss, enormous economic injury, but they failed in their main object. The Belgians and French were exasperated by this vast system of organised ferocity. The British Government was goaded out of its habitual lethargy by the wanton bomb-throwing of the Zeppelins and aeroplanes and the bombardments of the open coast-towns by the German battle-cruisers, and adopted compulsory service the sooner. The American nation was roused to action by the slaughter of its citizens on the high seas, by the vision of daily atrocity, by the cruelties to Belgium, by the shameless shelling of noble cathedrals, by the systematic destruction of everything precious and lovely in Northern France. Nor were these crimes essential to the successful conduct of war. The Japanese in 1904-5, during their struggle with Russia, found that strict compliance with the letter and spirit of The Hague Conventions did not prevent their victory.

The surprise which the Germans sprang upon Europe in July, 1914, was so stupendous that it all but brought civilisation down in ruins. It was a fourfold surprise. Germany mobilised and was ready to strike before the Allies knew that she was mobilising. She was able to do this because early in 1914 her autocrat and Staff had decided to attack in the summer of 1914, and had fixed the very moment of action—for which they had been systematically preparing during forty years. So far back as May, 1914, before the murder of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand, they began to call up reservists, buy food, and lay up immense reserves of supplies and munitions. In June they placed contracts in the United States for the coaling at sea of cruisers that were to prey on French trade. During July they stealthily raised the German troops with the colours to a strength of two and a half million men. Germany's confederate and ally, Austria, simultaneously carried out similar measures, and also immensely extended her munition works. The position at the end of July, 1914, was that the Allies were still

Germany's fourfold surprise

INTERROGATING GERMAN PRISONERS NEAR MESSINES.
British officers visiting a "cage" and examining German prisoners who had been taken in the Battle of Messines on June 7th, 1917. Over five thousand prisoners were taken by the British during the course of the fighting which resulted in the capture of Messines Ridge and its defence system.

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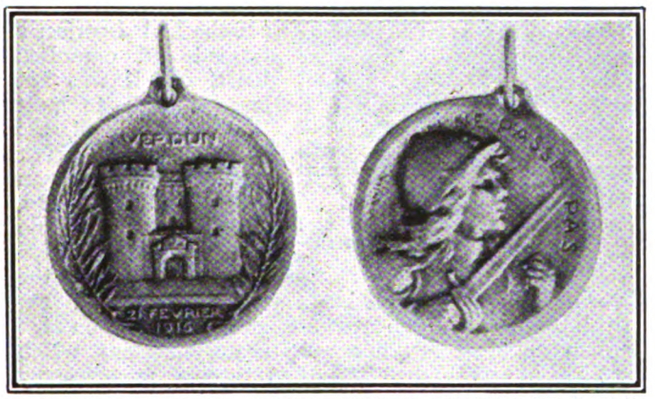
thinking of peace and arbitration, and (except Russia) had scarcely begun to mobilise, while Germany was fully mobilised and Austria had completed all her most important preparations.

A second surprise which affected France was that Germany decided to march on Paris by the shortest routes, through Belgium, violating Belgian neutrality. In this way the extensive and costly defences which the French had constructed on the frontier of Alsace-Lorraine were rendered valueless. French strategists had constantly discussed the possibility of attack by Germany through Belgium in the days before the war. When it came, France, for some unknown reason, was quite unprepared to meet it. Her Army had deployed on the frontier of Alsace-Lorraine, leaving the north bare. As soon as it was certain that the Germans were moving in a wide sweep through Western Belgium, the whole disposition of the French forces had to be rearranged at the last moment, and almost under the enemy's fire. Swift and terrible disaster must have followed but for the heroic resistance of Belgium, who gained by her immense sacrifice the respite needed to save France and the world.

Belgium's sacrifice saves France

A third surprise was that the Germans placed their reserve troops in the fighting-line, whereas the French Staff had calculated that the attack would be made with the active army corps only. The French had expected to meet in the initial shock 1,200,000 Germans with 1,000,000 Frenchmen—odds by no means hopeless even if the Belgians failed and the British were slow in arriving. They calculated on 800,000 Germans being detached to meet the Russians. Actually, the German Staff flung over 2,000,000 men upon France, and had at least another million at the front against Russia, with a further million in reserve. The French generals found their men outnumbered on the battlefield by two to one, odds which would have rendered victory impossible even if their equipment had been equally good.



VERDUN'S JUSTIFIED MOTTO: "THOU SHALT NOT PASS."
Medal struck to commemorate the French victory of Verdun in the early part of 1916, when Germany's repeated desperate attempts on the great fortress system were successively and successfully thrown back.

Another surprise was the superiority of the German equipment and armament at the outset. The French had the best field-gun, but in every other respect they were poorly found. Their uniform was a bad one, revealing the position of their troops, while the German field-grey was perfection. They lacked rifles and boots and heavy artillery, while the Germans had large numbers of 6 in. and 8 in. howitzers, and a certain number of huge 11 in., 12 in., and 17 in. weapons. This was no secret, but none of the Allied Governments had grasped its importance, though the Austrian 12 in. howitzer had been shown in manœuvres shortly before the war, and the 11 in. howitzer had been described in German technical periodicals. The German superiority in these monster high-angle fire weapons was the more serious because, as events speedily showed—as had been foreshadowed at Port Arthur in 1904—they rendered old-type fortresses useless. Again, the French were badly supplied with machine-guns, of which the Germans had eight to twelve per battalion. Though France had led the world in developing the aeroplane, the French Army was short of serviceable machines. Germany had a very large number trained to act in concert with her heavy guns, and with their aid was able in the initial battles to paralyse the French artillery.

German superiority in armament

[British official photograph.
BRITISH HONOURS FOR HEROES FROM FRENCH TRENCHES.
Group of sturdy French soldiers who had come straight from the trenches to receive British decorations at the hands of Prince Arthur of Connaught, who distributed them on behalf of King George.

All the elements of an immense catastrophe for France were here, and yet, through the sublime qualities of the French people, that catastrophe was averted, though

SURRENDER OF GERMANS IN THEIR FIRST LINE.
French soldiers, who had successfully attacked an enemy first-line trench, taking German prisoners. When the photograph was taken one of the Poilus was engaged in searching his captive.

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France was torn as a body on the rack. Spellbound, the world watched during those first weeks of August, 1914, the most terrible that have been known on our earth since man maintained records, the swift and irresistible progress of the Germans, not aware that it was as though two men with rifles chased one with a smooth-bore shotgun. Then gradually the supreme violence of the offensive declined. The French, after a series of initial defeats the history of which had not been disclosed at the end of the third year of war, fell back and allowed the enemy to expend the full fury of his onset in the air. Men cannot march far and fast, and fight hard day after day. At the close of the first month the Germans were within sight of Paris, and everything tottered. But they exhausted themselves; while they had inflicted frightful suffering on the invaded districts, the defence began to hold them, and afterwards very slowly to push them back. The tide ebbed. Month by month the equipment of the British and French Armies improved, and their numerical strength grew with the enrolment of large forces in Great Britain. The peculiar advantage which Germany enjoyed passed very slowly away. Prussia, who, as Mirabeau said, made war her national industry, had failed to annihilate her peace-loving neighbours in the first shock. There was no Sedan in 1914. But a great extent of allied territory was surrendered to the enemy, and its recovery was to prove a task of unimagined difficulty.

That France did not support Belgium at the outset was due to the fact that no measures had been concerted beforehand and to the concentration of the French Army in the wrong direction. France could not justly be blamed for it. It lay deep in the nature of things and in the guilelessness of the Belgian Government, which had actually prepared the ruin of its own country by allowing the construction shortly before the war of the railways that the Germans needed for their treacherous rush on Liège. Great Britain could not give aid with sufficient speed because the movement of even so small a force as the 80,000 men of the Expeditionary Force involved careful preliminary arrangements. The British military attachés in Brussels in 1906 and 1912 had discussed with the Belgian Command the possibility of British action in case Germany violated Belgian neutrality, but on each occasion the Belgian Government had declined even to consider the possibility, and the British Government, believing pathetically in peace, did not press the point.

Only in one direction was Germany incompletely prepared. At sea she had a perfectly trained and organised Fleet, but it was not large enough to meet the full force of the British Navy. Her admirals displayed an unexpected timidity, and attempted no violent and dashing offensive before the British had concentrated. On the other side, the British Fleet made no resolute initial attack on the German naval forces, nor were the submarines which the British and French possessed thrown remorselessly on the German battleships. Each side at the outset

[*French official photograph.*

SORROW TEMPERS JOY AT COMING HOME.

Serbian women returning to their houses in Monastir after its liberation were filled with sorrow and indignation at the pillage to which their homes had been subjected at the hands of the Bulgarian invaders.

[*French official photograph.*

LEADERS OF THE LIBERATING ARMIES.

Vice-Admiral Troubridge, accompanied by one of the Serbian princes, walking through the streets of Monastir after its reoccupation by the allied troops, November 19th, 1916.

[*British official photograph.*

SPOKESMAN OF A GRATEFUL NATION.

General Vassitch, commander of a Serbian army corps, thanking the British troops for their fine work in feeding destitute Serbians during the Austrian invasion. The general spoke in English.

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[*Belgian official photograph.*
GENERAL RUCQUOY.
Appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Belgian Army in 1917.

seemed content at sea to watch the other. Nor was the German attack on British commerce of that energy which had been predicted by German strategists. Timidly conceived, it was half-heartedly delivered by a bare score of ships. Every opportunity for it had been given by the withdrawal of the fast and powerful British cruisers from the trade routes, and by Germany's creation of numerous well-fortified coaling stations, which in 1914 were still in her hands. The Berlin Staff blundered badly. This was another of those fundamental errors that marked its prosecution of the war.

Germany enjoyed an advantage in her central position which told greatly as the war advanced. She could transfer men from one front to another as occasion arose. Divisions would appear on the French front before it was even known that they had left Poland. Thus throughout the war the Allies were exposed to a peculiarly damaging kind of surprise, as it was always possible for the Germans to hold one or more fronts thinly with a screen of troops and machine-guns, and to mass the forces thus liberated at some selected point. Eighteen through railways ran from the eastern to the western fronts in Germany, prepared long beforehand for this war, and the services which they rendered were priceless. North and south the lines leading to the Italian frontier were constantly improved. The Allies had always to be ready to meet a treacherous stroke through Switzerland at Milan.

Again, the Germans secured complete unity in the command of their confederate States. Hindenburg possessed a power which no leader among the Allies enjoyed. The men on the German Staff did not shrink from assassination when any of the German vassals became dangerous. The Turkish heir-apparent, Yussuf-ed-Din, was suspected of goodwill to the Allies, and he immediately disappeared, committing suicide (as was pretended). The Allies were separate States whose interests of necessity often conflicted. Yet their co-operation was one of the wonders of the war. The British Army loyally and zealously carried out the plans which the French Staff framed, though technically it was not under the French command. An allied council prepared schemes for common action by which all the armies timed their attacks.

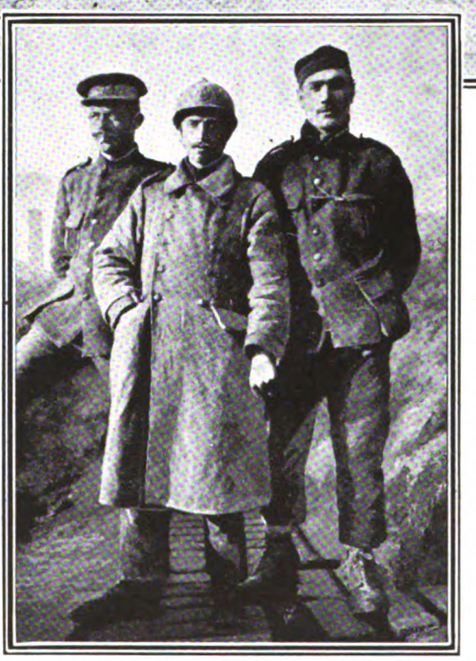
Another German advantage lay in the German form of government. Autocracy has many grave defects, but it favours military efficiency, because it acts secretly and swiftly. German administration was organised on well-thought-out lines to combine knowledge, power, and responsibility in the same hands. It avoided the numberless committees which in democracies waste so much time and too often provide excuses for inaction. The watchword of Germany was "Thorough." Germany's opponents, with the single exception of Russia, which at the outbreak of war was a feeble autocracy of the Asiatic type, were democracies. The watchword of democracy is "Compromise," which means half-measures, drift, talk, and sluggish action. "Half-hearted measures never attain success in war," the British "Field Regulations" state. Napoleon summed up the secret of victory in three words—"Activity, activity, speed." Mr. Lloyd George, in the critical months of 1915, crystallised the history of Great Britain during the first year of war in the phrase, "We have been always six months too late!"

Military autocracy versus democracy

The war was a test of the two systems—inhuman autocracy against comfort-loving democracy. History suggested that democracy, to survive war, needed temporarily to adopt the concentration of effort, vigour, and central control which distinguish autocracy. This was accomplished in the United States by Lincoln in the Civil War. It was to a great extent accomplished by France in this war. Failure to recognise the need for strong central control brought disaster upon Russia after the Revolution. The failure to adapt itself to the changed conditions of war was the defect which led to the defeat of the Athenians, who were the noblest and the greatest people that the ancient world knew.

Germany possessed advantages far greater than Napoleon in his bid for world-empire. His treasury was empty; his country was exhausted by revolution and misgovernment when he began his

[*Belgian official photograph.*
STANDING EASY.
Belgian infantry halted in a village for a brief rest during their march to the front.



TYPES OF BELGIAN MILITARY HEADGEAR.
Three types of head-dress were issued to the reconstituted Belgian Army: A khaki cap of British pattern, a steel helmet, and a small circular cap.

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marvellous career. Germany was rich, with finances in perfect order, abundantly supplied with everything, magnificently equipped. France under Napoleon was always a house divided against itself through Royalist and Republican plots. In Germany there were no divisions and no parties, but a machine-made unity. The people who imagined that Germany would collapse through internal feuds or Socialist upheavals were cruelly undeceived. Not Germany, but her antagonists, suffered from these disorders. Lastly, while Napoleon was situated at one extremity of Europe, so that it was difficult for him to reach opponents at the other extremity, Germany lay in the centre, only a short distance from any capital in Europe.

The efficiency of autocratic government told in another and most important respect. While German expenditure was economical and careful, the Allies, and in particular Great Britain, spent money profusely and sometimes recklessly. In part this was due to their neglect of preparation during peace; in part it was the result of administration by hosts of irresponsible committees (a Parliamentary return late in 1916 showed over one hundred at work in Great Britain); in part it was the vice of an officialism which was either reckless or routine-ridden, and sometimes both. In London almost every large hotel was taken over by Government departments, and filled with thousands of unproductive officials and clerks. Yet waste proceeded on a colossal scale. Aeroplanes of defective design were built by the hundred and immediately scrapped. Bacon was imported by the hundred tons and allowed to rot. While widows were fined for wasting a crust of bread, ships with thousands of tons of wheat or sugar on board were torpedoed, and, so far as has been disclosed, no inquiry and no punishment of those responsible followed. The Mesopotamian Report was followed by Parliamentary debates, in which Ministers screened the officials whose carelessness that Report had condemned. Contracts early in the war were awarded on a defective system. Munition works were taken over by the Government, and so managed that the owners had a positive pecuniary interest in increasing the cost of production. Wages were enormously increased without any corresponding increase in efficiency and output. In the first year of the war Mr. Bonar Law stated in Parliament that munitions were costing three or four times their pre-war figure. Thus it came to pass that by the summer of 1917 the British daily outlay on the war had risen to the stupendous figure of £7,884,000.

Financial extravagance of the Allies

Eight periods of the war

The first three years of the war fell into eight fairly well-defined periods. The first witnessed the triumphant advance of the German armies through Belgium and Northern France, and marked an epoch in the history of military science and of man. The collapse of Liège and Namur before the monster German guns preceded a whole catalogue of German victories. The French advance in Alsace-Lorraine was stopped by defeat at Sarrebourg. The French northern armies which, after a hurried journey from the east, were beginning to advance against the Germans in Belgium, were outflanked by a vast turning movement through Brussels, and were defeated in a series of gigantic battles. The real causes of these defeats, in which the small British Expeditionary Force was involved, were insufficient use of entrenchments and want of numbers and long-range artillery. The French Staff, commenting on them, said: "There were individual and collective failures, imprudences committed under the fire of the enemy, divisions badly engaged, rash deployments and precipitate retreats, a premature waste of men, and, finally, defects in certain of our troops and of their leaders." Similar success marked the German campaign in the east. The Russians, who alone of the Allies were tolerably prepared for war, advanced swiftly and with great energy against the Austrians, whom they defeated with surprising ease. At the hands of the Germans they suffered a terrible reverse at Tannenberg. There, at the end of August, 1914, an entire Russian army under General Samsonoff was annihilated, and this brought the invasion of East Prussia to an end. The disaster was due to treachery, to the East Prussian railway system, which enabled the Germans to concentrate a large force and fling it on the Russians, and to the German heavy artillery.

Italian official photograph.

ITALIAN INFANTRY ADVANCING FOR AN ATTACK.

"First wave" of an Italian infantry attack getting over a substantially built breastwork. In circle: General Cadorna (right) and General Porro (left) on a tour of inspection at Grado, on the Adriatic, after the Italians had captured that place from the Austrians.

The second period of the war opened with the Battle of the Marne, a series of stubborn engagements along the whole western front that checked the German advance. The French were warned by General Joffre that "the hour has come to advance at all costs and to die where you stand rather than give

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way." The hardest and fiercest fighting took place at the eastern end of the line, at the Grand Couronné of Nancy, where the famous French "Iron Corps" gave abundant proof of valour and devotion. Massed assaults by the German troops under the eye of the Kaiser, though supported by a terrifying artillery, were shattered with enormous loss. At Verdun the French were equally steadfast. In the centre and west they and the British rapidly gained ground, and there was a moment when the Germans were on the edge of a great disaster. General Kluck's quickness parried the thrust, and the Marne was not a Jena. Before neutrals had grasped its true meaning, Germany had forced Turkey into war—one of the consequences that followed from the Allies' passivity at sea, as the German Admiral Souchon, with the battle-cruiser Goeben and light cruiser Breslau, reached Constantinople, was allowed to remain there, and at once used all his arts to involve the Sultan.

How Turkey became involved

The hope that the Germans might be quickly driven out of Belgium and Northern France was not destined to be fulfilled. The third period of the war was marked by trench warfare. The American Civil War had given clear indications half a century before that in large-scale war one side or the other would sooner or later entrench itself and force its opponent to undertake siege operations. In the American Civil War Grant was able to outflank Lee. Here no outflanking was possible. The German lines ran continuously from the sea to neutral frontiers. The war became one of attrition, a term dangerously resembling "wait and see," and very slowly Great Britain began to arm in earnest.

Lord Kitchener made many mistakes, but he saw one thing clearly—that the war must be long. He did not apply his knowledge unhesitatingly; but when he perished by so tragic a fate, bewailed by the country which he had striven to serve, he had at least begun the work of organising a vast army. It was an army of volunteers, raised by the crudest experiments, but the thought of it may well fill Great Britain with pride. Never in British memory had such men gone to war as marched in its ranks. The flower of the nation was there. The old regulars of the Expeditionary Force who perished in circumstances of such glory at Ypres, though surpassingly good, came of a limited circle. They were soldiers in many cases by profession, descent, and caste, and the ranks were of a different class from the officers. But in the New Army all stations of life were found in every degree. Side by side with the millionaire (Sir H. Raphael served in the ranks) might be seen the artist, the actor, the poet, the chemist, all wearing the private's uniform. Among the officers figured many men promoted from the ranks who had earned advancement by their valour and skill on the battlefield. As in Napoleon's army, so in this, a career was open to talent. The presence in the High Command of the old British Army of Sir William Robertson, a soldier who had climbed every rung in the ladder by sheer capacity, proved it. The British Army had at last become the British nation.

[British official photograph.

MACHINE-GUN MEN OF THE PORTUGUESE CORPS.

Squad of Lewis-gun men belonging to the Portuguese Expeditionary Corps on the western front in France. When the Portuguese came into action in June, 1917, they "proved themselves in the trenches," to the admiration of their allies.

[British official photograph.

PORTUGUESE OFFICERS ON THE WESTERN FRONT.

Major-General Barnardiston (left) seated beside General Tamagnini, commander of the Portuguese Expeditionary Corps in France. Next to the chauffeur is Lieut.-Colonel Roberto Baptiste, chief of the Portuguese General Staff.

The fourth period of the war was noteworthy for the diversion of large British forces from the main objective in France. The disastrous Dardanelles Expedition was undertaken to aid Russia. It failed completely, involving the loss of some 200,000 British troops in killed, wounded, and sick. Begun without plans or forethought, in defiance of all the principles of war, it never had any real prospect of success, and it led to the resignation of Lord Fisher, who during his brief tenure of the office of First Sea Lord had infused notable energy into British operations at sea. This period was marked by a deadlock in the west and a violent and successful German offensive in the east. The Germans first reorganised the Austrian Army. In April, 1915, they effected a great concentration of artillery and broke through the Russian front near its centre. Then, rapidly advancing, they conquered all Poland and much territory in Western Russia. This series of disasters was due to Russia's want of railways and shortage of ammunition, which could not be manufactured in the country and could not reach her in sufficient quantities by the routes which remained open. The consequences to the Allies were cruel. Austrian forces were freed for an attack on Serbia. Though Italy had now entered the war on the Allies' side, she was as yet insufficiently prepared for a great offensive. In the autumn of 1915 Bulgaria joined Germany against her sister Slav State. Serbia was crushed, and direct and easy communication between Berlin and Asia Minor opened. The Allies despatched a small army to Salonika too late, and at the end of the year evacuated the Gallipoli Peninsula. Half the force wasted there might have saved Serbia and the Balkans had it been intelligently employed.

Serbia overrun and crushed

The effect of the Serbian catastrophe was at once felt in Mesopotamia, where a small, miserably-equipped British force which had been ordered to advance against a large,

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well-equipped Turkish army was captured at Kut. But the fifth period of the war was one generally of allied half-victories. It opened with the terrific Battle of Verdun, which combined an attempt to capture that fortress and to bleed France white. Germany came within very little of success. The safety of Verdun hung for some hours on a hair. But the French held with the cry, "Let the dead arise and fight with us!" though 4,000 German guns of heavy calibre rained death and mutilation on the points selected for assault. In the spring was fought the Battle of Jutland, which was an indecisive victory, in that the German Fleet was allowed to escape after it had been brought to action by greatly superior forces. In June the allied guns opened on the Somme the fiercest bombardment that had up to that date been known, and the new British armies began the attack which they maintained throughout the rest of the year. While in these sanguinary engagements the Germans were not annihilated or decisively defeated, their reputation suffered and their losses were severe.

Battles of Verdun and Jutland

In the sixth period of the war, in the autumn of 1916, Rumania joined the Allies. Her intervention might have been decisive had it been combined with vigorous action from Salonika. This would have involved the removal of the German puppet-king in Greece, who intrigued against the Allies and was unaccountably spared and shielded by them. He paralysed the Salonika army at this fresh crisis, and caused the ruin of Rumania as he had previously caused the ruin of Serbia. Russia was slow in giving aid owing to the disorganisation of her railways, and also, perhaps, to treachery. The Germans were able to overwhelm Rumania. They conquered Wallachia and inflicted a fresh and quite unnecessary disaster on the Allies. This was the more tragic because General Brussiloff had just conducted a brilliant offensive on the eastern front in which he captured over 300,000 prisoners. The sixth period of the war closed in gloom.

[French official photograph.

ARRIVAL OF GENERAL PERSHING IN FRANCE.

General Pershing (right) saluting at the playing of the national anthems of the Allies on his arrival at Boulogne to take up his duties as Commander of the American Troops in France.

The seventh period was marked by the Russian Revolution, which was almost as much a movement against the war as against the Tsar, and was in large measure promoted by German agents. It, for the time being, disorganised the Russian armies, shattered discipline, destroyed the Russian system of government, threatened to break Russia up into a number of weak, chaotic republics, and set free very large German and Austrian forces for work on other fronts. It was an almost unmixed misfortune to Europe and marked the collapse of the old European system. Large portions of what had been Russia declared their independence. Poland, Lithuania, and most of Courland were before the Revolution in German hands. After it Finland and the Ukraine proclaimed themselves separate States. Many towns of Russia constituted themselves independent communes, among them Sebastopol and Kronstadt, which defied the weak authorities in Petrograd. But for this collapse of Russia and the flight of the Russian armies from their positions in July, 1917, the great offensives which began very early in 1917 in the west would probably have ended the war.

The British Army was now thoroughly trained and worked with the precision of a machine, under generals expert in handling masses. No such formidable engine had ever been in British hands, and its spirit and tenacity were such that no check daunted it. At sea the British Navy had not yet been rejuvenated in the same way, but its fleets were now commanded by men of action, and there was hope that a more aggressive strategy would be adopted.

This period saw the opening of the renewed submarine campaign, the clear meaning of which was that until the submarine had been overcome the British Empire could have no stability, and no peace could be more than a precarious truce, liable to be interrupted at any moment by a sudden attack from the German submarines. The day had passed—perhaps for ever—when Great Britain could trust for her food to supplies imported from oversea. Her whole position was transformed, an economic change in its way as tremendous as the Russian Revolution, and one the consequences of which were not at once understood.

This period was also marked by an event of immense importance—the entry of the United States into the war, which was the sole benefit brought by the change of régime in Russia. It placed vast financial resources at the disposal of the Allies and added immeasurably to their manpower. Within a few weeks American destroyers were cruising in the Channel, the advanced guard of an American army was landing in France, and a programme of 20,000 aeroplanes was under construction. Russia having temporarily fallen out of the war and admitted defeat, the United States filled her place.

Have the earlier races altered?
Do they droop and end their lesson, wearied over there beyond the seas?
We take up the task eternal, and the burden and the lesson,
Pioneers! O Pioneers!

So the great American poet had sung two generations before, and now as "the earlier races," worn and dusty and bleeding in the desperate struggle for liberty, expended their last manhood and gave their last sacrifices on those gigantic battlefields, yet another people in all its vigour and freshness of youth prepared to enter the fight.

The tide of war had now overflowed Europe, Asia, and Africa. The struggle spread to every continent and every sea. The Germans were no longer the enemies of the Allies; they were the enemies of mankind. China and Brazil followed the lead of President Wilson, on whom the mantle of Lincoln seemed to have fallen, with such energy and insight did he guide his people when he once decided that the hour to strike had come. In the great struggles of the past, America and Asia had been involved, but the rôle of the United States in the Great War was something for which there was no precedent.

War in every continent

The spring and summer of 1917 formed the eighth period of the war, which was marked by a French offensive,

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delivered without great success owing to the fact that the Germans had been able to withdraw large forces from the east and mass them in Champagne; by a brilliant Italian campaign on the Carso, characterised by even fighting, and by the tremendous blows which the British inflicted in the capture of the Vimy Ridge and Messines Ridge and the Ypres offensive. While these great battles were in progress on land, the Allies were making preparations to cope with the submarine campaign at sea. The weeks of March and April were critical. Then came a slight improvement, though the attack continued to be most formidable in May, June, and July, and the losses incessant.

War in air and under water

The Great War was the first in which men fought on more than one plane or level. The change was so far-reaching that its consequences were only very slowly perceived by the orthodox Admiralties and War Offices, which disliked aircraft and submarines as new-fangled devices, and refused to treat them seriously. For the first time in human history aircraft were employed which made the air a common highway above both land and sea. Beneath the sea it was now possible for submarines to navigate, so that surface ships might command the surface and yet submarines could elude them, pass under their cordon, and attack commerce in their rear. The existence of devices by which man could pass over or under the defending force—for the Allies throughout, so far as concerned these new forms of war, adopted defence as their policy—exposed non-combatants and civilians to new and terrible dangers at the hand of a cruel and lawless adversary. All the security of life vanished for ever, and thus came the greatest catastrophe that has occurred in the history of man, as it is upon his security that his progress has been founded.

The importance of air warfare increased with each month of the war, though it was left to the German Air Command to show how an enemy could be remorselessly and constantly attacked, and the British air service was generally condemned by the politicians to parry the German blows when it was not employed in purely tactical work. In the earliest days of the war aeroplanes were used largely by the Germans, and to some extent by the British and French, to reconnoitre and control heavy artillery fire. They were not then employed on any considerable scale for bombing, machine-gun work, and the offensive generally, though one of the first incidents of the war was the dastardly bombing of Lunéville (August 3rd, 1914), before the Germans had declared war, and though British airmen from the first sought out German aeroplanes and resolutely attacked them. The information obtained by the Allies early in the war was unsatisfactory because the Germans were moving in thickly-wooded country. But British aeroplanes noted General Kluck's wheel on the eve of the Battle of the Marne, and thus gave General Joffre his opportunity of outflanking the invaders.

The advance under the stimulus of war was miraculous on both sides. The Germans at the outset had the better machines; they were quicker in introducing improvements. They were not hampered by military conservatism or by the routine methods and red tape of such institutions as the Royal Aircraft Factory. They tried every make, and their engines were better. By sheer skill and audacity the British airmen at times gained the upper hand on the British section of the front early in the war, and they never permitted the Germans to have their own way there. The Battle of the Somme was remarkable for their exploits. They appeared in hundreds and co-operated with the infantry in the attack on the German positions. Late in 1916 the Germans again made a strong bid for air power and concentrated a large number of new machines and pre-eminent airmen on the British front—in particular the famous "circuses" as they were called, under Richthofen and Bülow. But by the spring of 1917 the British had recovered their position. They paid the price in fearful sacrifices, and Captain Ball, the greatest airman that the war revealed, died the hero's death in the fighting. But at the Battle of Messines they achieved their greatest triumph. The British official report stated that "the enemy's aircraft were prevented from taking part in the battle."

This was the aim of the Air Command on the front—to put out the enemy's eyes, blind his gunners, and render his communications intolerably perilous.

Increasing importance of aircraft

As yet air offensives pure and simple were not attempted, because no one had had sufficient imagination to prepare thousands of machines. The Germans lacked the material, the Allies the energy and offensive spirit. But the importance of aircraft on the battlefield was shown by the work of a British squadron at Messines, which enabled the British gunners to silence seventy-two German batteries. In the old wars nothing cheered the infantry more than the roar of their own guns bombarding the enemy. In the Great War there was one sound which the British infantryman loved above even the thunder of his incomparable artillery—it was the buzz of the indomitable British airmen over his head, like protecting gods guiding his movements and raining down death on his enemy.

Nothing more trying to the physique or nerve can be

[*French official photograph.*

FIRST UNITED STATES CONTINGENT FOR THE FRONT.

Part of the American troops which landed in France with General Pershing on June 12th, 1917, on the quay at Boulogne. They were pioneers of the millions the United States was then preparing to send.

AMERICA'S COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF IN FRANCE.

General Pershing, in command of the United States Expeditionary Force, visiting the French front with members of his Staff. The American leader is to the right of the picture, pointing out something to his companion.

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conceived than the work of an airman in the third year of the war. In the early days Lieutenant Frankau sang in spirited verse of " the Eyes in the Air " :

Our guns are a league behind us, our targets a mile below,
And there's never a cloud to blind us from the haunts of our lurking foe—
Sunk pit whence his shrapnel tore us, support-trench crest-concealed,
As clear as the charts before us, his ramparts lie revealed.
His panicked watchers spy us, a droning threat in the void,
Their whistling shells outfly us—puff upon puff, deployed
Across the green beneath us, across the flanking grey.
In fume and fire to sheathe us and balk us of our prey.

But the " hawks that guide the guns " could no longer fly over the enemy's line at so low a height as a mile in 1917. The anti-aircraft fire of the Germans had become so good and their guns so powerful, including 6 in. and even 8 in. weapons, that machines rose to 7,000 or 9,000 feet, and then made the run across, carrying with them the observers and their paraphernalia. Thanks to them, barrages of 6 in., 8 in. or even 12 in. shells could be turned on with mathematical precision at great distances, or fire concentrated on any refractory point. Direct hits were made at Arras on machine-gun turrets, which offered only a few square feet of target.

Amazing intrepidity of the airmen

The fighters, as distinct from the observers and bombers, climbed to ever greater and greater heights, and moved at ever increasing speed. Height was to the aeroplane what the windward gauge was to the old sailing ship. The German fighting craft early in 1915 cruised at 5,000 feet ; early in 1917 at levels of 17,000, 18,000 or even 20,000 feet. British airmen adopted the same tactics when they had good machines. The speed was terrific. The Sopwith of 1917 was capable of 152 miles an hour ; the ordinary bombing machines flew 90 miles an hour. The airmen were masters of their art. All the old tricks were utilised in battle. Captain Ball, a Titan among them all, would go up whirling round like a tumbler pigeon, almost from the ground. They could nose-dive, tail-dive, side-slip either way or make a spinning nose-dive and bring their machines up. " Looping the loop " was a very common evolution in action.

At sea aircraft grew more and more deadly. At the outset the Germans enjoyed a great advantage in their Zeppelins and big rigid airships, the value of which for naval scouting had been repeatedly indicated. They used their airships to direct their fire in the bombardment of Lowestoft, and according to some, but untrustworthy, reports in the Battle of Jutland, while, unfortunately, the British Admiralty, handicapped by the mistaken parsimony of the Governments before the war, failed to build similar airships, and for some reason did not utilise aeroplanes and seaplanes. For months the system of defence adopted permitted the Zeppelins to range the North Sea and attack British towns and villages with impunity. That more active methods were adopted was due to public pressure. When at last Zeppelins were resolutely attacked by aeroplanes on land, and by seaplanes at sea with incendiary bullets, they ceased to cause grave danger except to their crews.

Elimination of Zeppelin menace

Flying torpedo craft were a new development of the war. Patents for their construction had been taken out in 1914, and they had been built for the British Navy in early 1915, but it did not turn them to any serious use. The mists and fogs of the Battle of Jutland which gave such opportunities of employing them were not utilised. The British tried them with great success against Turkish vessels and transport during the unhappy Dardanelles Expedition. As the bombs carried by aircraft grew in size so their power of attacking warships increased. There was no indication in any British report that the German heavy ships were attacked in this way, though the Germans constantly, and falsely, claimed to have made attacks on British cruisers and even battleships.

The effect of aircraft on land war was curious. By preventing surprise and revealing the enemy's intentions and concentrations of force they prevented decisive blows from being struck. The British Expeditionary Force would probably have been enveloped and destroyed by the enormously superior German force flung upon it in August, 1914, but for its eyes in the air. In the same way information obtained by their airmen enabled the Germans to meet the very formidable flank attack which General Joffre made upon them at the Marne. Decisive results might have been obtained with aircraft had they been employed in strategical work in large forces, like Murat's or Sheridan's raiding expeditions with cavalry. The demands were so heavy for aircraft for purely tactical and auxiliary work with other arms on land and sea that sufficient machines were not available for such large offensives. Ten thousand aeroplanes employed in constant large-scale attacks on the zone behind an enemy's lines would have destroyed his railways, communications, magazines, depots, and munition works, and would have rendered life and movement behind his front intolerable. The German armies might have been cut off from their bases by such an attack with allied machines, precisely as the Germans attempted to cut off the British armies and Great Britain herself from oversea supply by submarine attack.

Aircraft proved their power to inflict great loss of life and destruction when they were skilfully used. In the raid on Folkestone a contemptibly small force of German aeroplanes accounted for two hundred and fifty casualties, and escaped almost untouched. The economic effect of such an attack on a town was very serious, though it never seems to have attracted the attention of Parliament or Government. At the sacrifice of one German machine grievous pecuniary loss was inflicted on one small place. In the first important raid on London the German aeroplanes escaped without a scratch and caused six hundred casualties. For some obscure reason, possibly because the British Government allowed its military policy to be controlled by sentimentalists, or because of the addiction to passive defence which marked the politicians' methods throughout—an addiction due to the fact that less energy and initiative are demanded in parrying than in inflicting blows—the German aeroplanes were not kept busy at home by allied attacks on German towns and fortresses.

The coming of the " tank "

An entirely new weapon which was employed in this war and which was of the greatest importance was the " tank," a large, heavily armoured motor-car of very special design, capable of traversing every kind of ground and of crawling over almost any obstacles. It carried either a light gun or machine-guns, and was proof against rifle fire. It was driven by powerful petrol-engines. The earlier " tanks " had one defect, that they were exceedingly slow. But though they were employed in the Battle of the Somme before the experiments to improve them were complete and before their number was large, they proved their great value. Those who saw them at their work and realised their potentialities regarded them as marking a new era in the history of war on land. They were a purely British invention, but were at once enthusiastically adopted by the French. Even when put out of action they afforded invaluable cover to the infantry. The Germans replied to them with special guns, firing a shell capable of penetrating their armour with great rapidity, but the " tanks " grew more and more dangerous to them.

Other new British weapons were the Stokes gun, the details of which were secret, but which rendered magnificent service, and the Lewis gun, a light automatic weapon which was more and more generally used as the conflict advanced. It could be carried with ease by a single man, and was thus much handier than the older types of machine-gun. Poisonous gas and liquid fire squirted from

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Major-General H. M. Trenchard, C.B., D.S.O., in command of the Flying Corps in the field.

From the painting by William Orpen, A.R.A., one of the official artists on the western front.

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British repelling a smoke-screened liquid-fire attack launched by Germans clad in armour.

Italians on the Isonzo front dispersing Austrian asphyxiating gas by chemical fumes from braziers.

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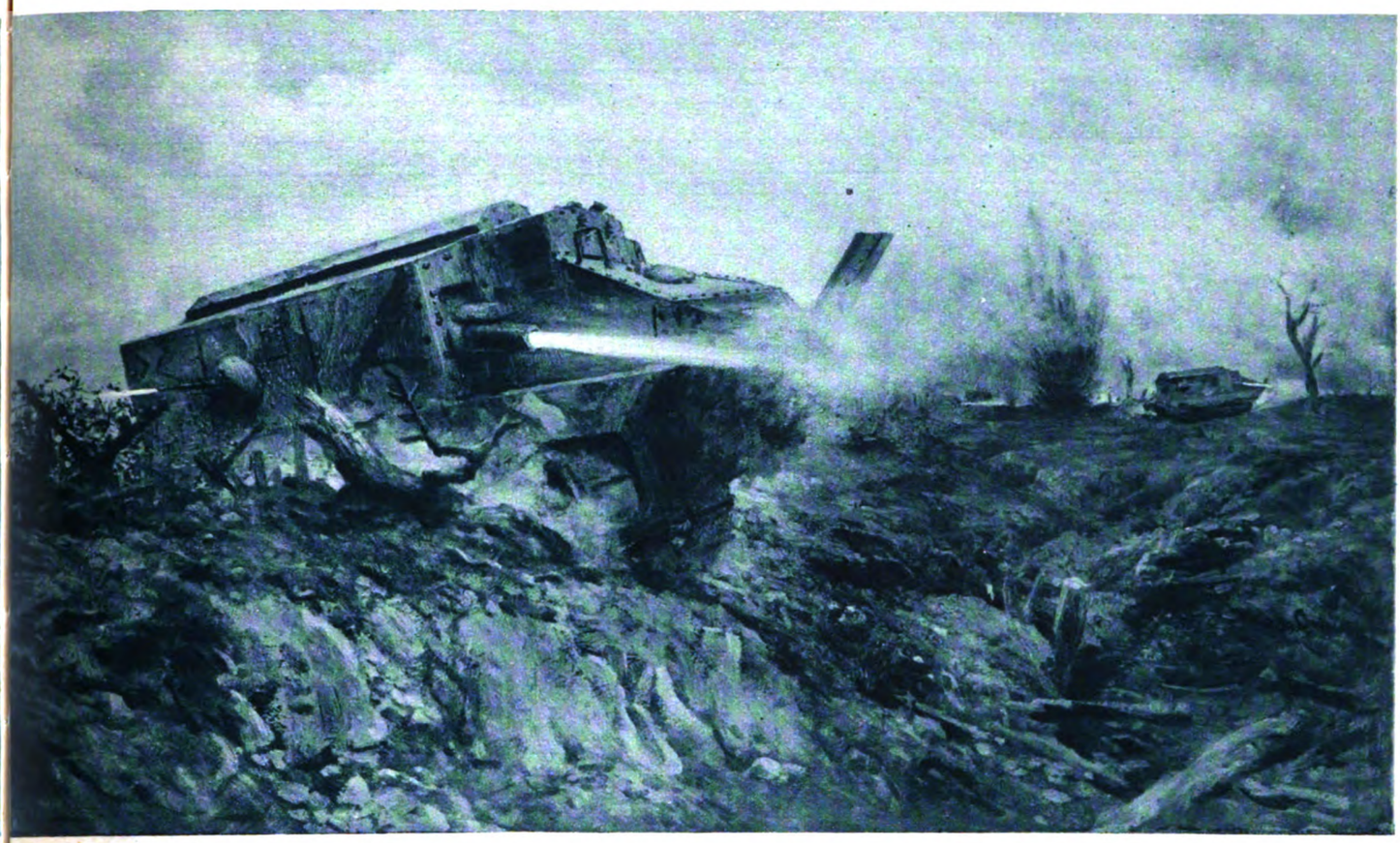

French artillery of assault: "Tanks" invading German trenches on the Aisne, 1917.

Day of deliverance after the long night of terror: French troops entering a recovered town.

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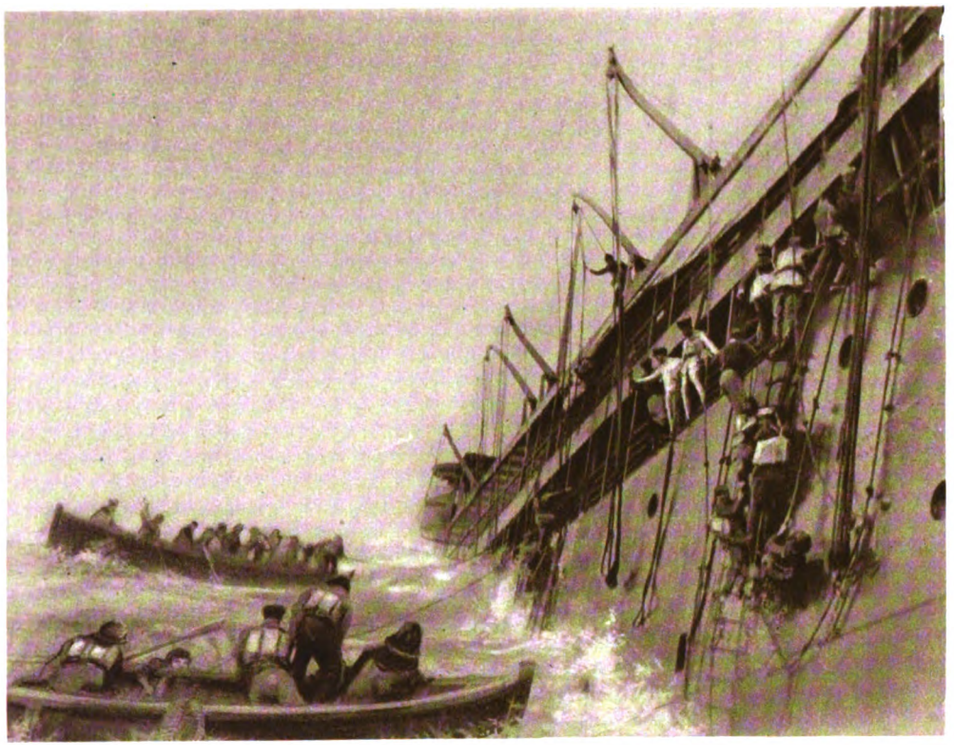
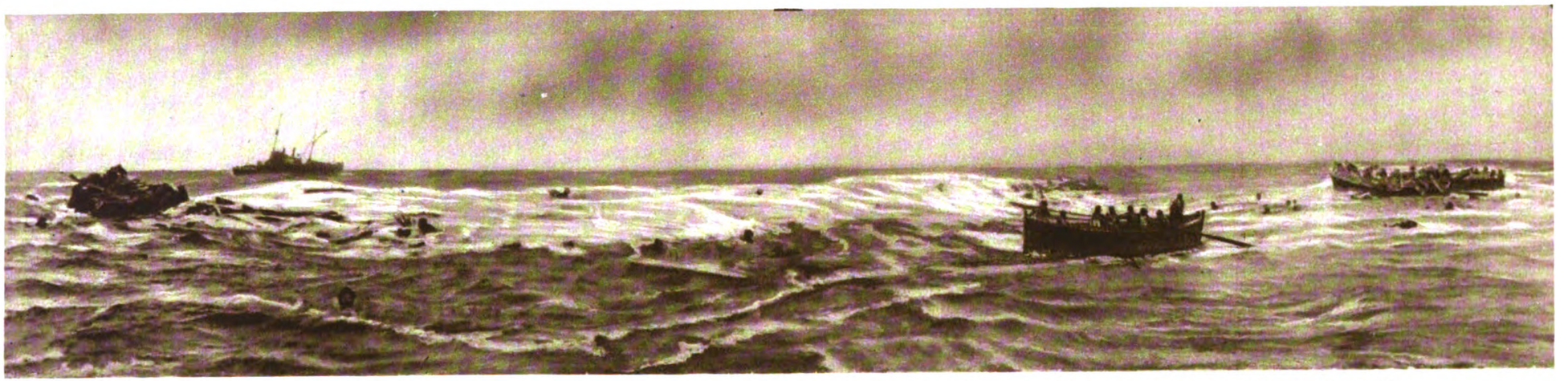


Soldiers and sailors leaving the great French liner Sontay before her final dive

Rescued men climbing aboard the French gunboat that raced up to the rescue.



French gunboat picking up the survivors from the French transport Sontay, torpedoed without warning in the Mediterranean a hundred miles from land.

Vive la France! The cry with which Lieut. Mages, commanding the Sontay, went down with his ship, April 16th, 1917.

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tanks under pressure were two devilish devices introduced by the Germans in defiance of The Hague Conventions and reluctantly adopted by the Allies. The gas chiefly used by the Germans was chlorine, for the manufacture of which they had immense plant in their aniline and dye works, but they also from time to time employed bromine and, later in the war, phosgene, a peculiarly noxious and deadly gas. The British when they adopted gas employed it chiefly in shells, which were of such a nature as to startle even the Germans. At the outset they were hampered in its manufacture by the absence of the necessary plant, owing to the loss of the chemical trade before the war to Germany. Gas discharged from tubes proved to be a very doubtful and uncertain weapon. A shift of the wind might turn it against the army employing it with unfortunate results.

To meet gas the armies used masks which were specially designed to keep men alive in the deadly atmosphere that had so often to be breathed at the front. The efficiency of these masks rapidly improved, and there was not much to choose between either side at the close of the third year of the war. The German liquid-fire device was serviceable only at close range and was, like gas, an uncertain weapon. The British introduced a great improvement on it, which was first mentioned at the Battle of Messines, in the shape of a fearful shell which burst and poured molten metal and boiling oil on the enemy, and is said to have produced panic among the German troops against whom it was first tried.

Another new feature of war was the introduction of the "barrage" (or barrier) or curtain of shells. It was as it were a pillar of fire and cloud combined. An immense number of guns directed projectiles on one particular line of front so that one continuous sheet of shells and splinters and shrapnel bullets rained down there.

Barrages and shell consumption

An improvement on the "barrage" was the "creeping barrage" which advanced at a prearranged rate in front of the assaulting infantry. In the third year of the war an effort was always made to crush the enemy's trenches and machine-gun positions before assaulting, in accordance with General Pétain's principle, "the gun conquers, the infantry occupies the position." The consumption of ammunition rose to fabulous figures. The "barrage" involved a lavish expenditure of shells, and was only possible when they were available by the million and when the concentrations of artillery were enormous. The first great concentration of artillery, that of the Germans on the Dunajec in April, 1915, was marked by the massing of 1,000 heavy guns at one point, and at that point in the crisis 700,000 rounds are said to have been fired. This was soon outdone. At Verdun 4,000 guns are said to have been in action simultaneously, and a million shells were fired by the Germans in twelve hours. One area, 500 yards by 220, was struck by 80,000 large projectiles. The German batteries at Spincourt fired so furiously that the French airmen's photographs of them showed a continual blaze of flame. At the Somme the French fired half a million rounds in one "barrage" on one single day from their field-guns alone. At Messines a single British division fired 170,000 rounds and its heavy guns 80,000 on one small sector, and according to German reports ten divisions fought in the battle. At Vimy Ridge the British artillery fired 5,000,000 rounds.

Machine-gun "barrages" were used on occasions at short range to stop movement over a particular route or past a particular point. They were controlled in the same way as gun curtains, the dust of the falling bullets showing where they were striking.

The German monster howitzers proved their utility at the outbreak of war for attacking fortresses. Their huge projectiles had also a demoralising effect on troops exposed to them, and on occasions prevented the allied artillery from acting effectively. The Allies replied as soon as they could by constructing similar howitzers and immense guns, which were mounted on carriages so as to be capable of firing from railways. By the close of the third year the Allies had more formidable weapons than the 17 in. Krupp howitzers. The cinematographs of the French front showed long naval French 16 in. guns in the act of bombarding, and it may be taken as certain that the British were in no respect behind the French. But the heaviest work fell on the 6 in., 8 in. and 9·4 in. guns and howitzers, and also on the admirable British 60-pounders. The monsters were too costly for ordinary work, though their moral influence was great, and the aid which they gave by compelling the heavy German artillery to remain at a great distance from the front was precious.

In the trench systems, which grew more and more elaborate, earthworks were replaced by elaborate steel and concrete defences that could defy anything but a direct hit from a powerful gun. The huge German fortresses, of which many were taken during the continuous battles of 1916 and 1917, had vast systems of communications and tunnels at a level of thirty or forty feet below the surface, large excavated chambers, some of them big enough to accommodate a battalion, and shafts and special lifts for machine-guns. They were equipped with periscopes, so that the defending force could watch, hidden safe below, what was passing above. Such, however, was the skill and violence of the Allies' attack that these underground labyrinths were stormed, and often turned into death-traps for all within them. Now and again monster shells from the Allies' guns would penetrate the earth above them, burying perhaps hundreds of men alive.

Underground fortress systems

Trench-mortars firing a short-range projectile containing a large charge of high explosive, and aerial torpedoes similar to these projectiles, were other new weapons, or revivals and improvements of older weapons. The British trench-mortars of 1917 were of appalling efficiency, nor were the British air torpedoes inferior. Bombs had reappeared on the German side in the early battles. The Allies quickly adopted them, and by 1917 this terrible weapon was universally employed in close fighting, and again the British pattern left nothing to be desired, except perhaps that it was unnecessarily large and powerful.

Barbed-wire of extraordinary thickness was extensively used by the Germans from the first, and also by their disciples the Turks. Indeed, one of the most painful features of the Dardanelles despatches was their note of pained astonishment that the Turks should have been so well provided with the barbed-wire and machine-guns which the Allies lacked. Used in combination with machine-guns, barbed-wire gave extraordinary delaying power to the defence. At the Marne the attempt to pursue the German armies on their retreat was checked by the plentiful employment of barbed-wire. If the Russians had possessed it in the required quantity, their great retreat of 1915, which involved such disastrous loss, might never have taken place at all, or might have been conducted so slowly as to save all their material and men.

Value of barbed-wire in defence

One of the curious developments of the war was the reintroduction of armour for the head and body. The French, late in 1914, adopted a strong steel helmet which gave perfect protection against spent bullets and splinters, though it was incapable of resisting direct hits at short range. The British followed, after noticeable delay, with a headpiece shaped like a pudding-basin; this, though ugly, saved tens of thousands of men from death. The Germans, last of all, introduced a very serviceable and strong helmet, and provided their sharpshooters with a special pattern in which the front was strengthened till it would resist a direct hit at short range. Similar helmets were used in most of the armies for the men stationed at

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[*French official photograph.*

RUSSIAN SOLDIERS ON THE WESTERN FRONT.
Men of the Russian Contingent standing-to in the French trenches. The fine body of troops which Russia sent to fight in France acquitted itself splendidly.

observation-posts where they had to expose themselves.

Body armour was not so generally employed, because it was not in most cases provided by the military authorities and issued to all. British and French officers for the most part refused to avail themselves of a means of protection which was not supplied to their men. Heavy shields with a loophole in them were often used by the German "thrusting" troops. They were hung round the neck, and protected the heart, stomach, and groin, but they were so awkward and cumbrous that they were not in great favour. The French, so early as September, 1914, tried shields for their infantry in the Argonne, and a large number were ordered for the Russian Government.

Some few officers tried coats of light chain-mail, which gave effective protection against slight wounds and against the risk of tetanus. The cost of these appliances, so long as they were only made in small number, was so heavy that they could only be used here and there. Steel cylinders rolled towards the enemy represented another device which was tried in the earlier period of the war without proving a great success. Heavy shields on wheels were more satisfactory, but were afterwards more efficiently replaced by the "tank" and by armoured motor-cars. Armour appeared also in the aeroplane. There it was placed beneath the pilot. Sometimes in the earlier days it took the form of a sand-bag. Later in the war large armoured aeroplanes appeared.

Armour for men and machines

At sea the new weapons made their influence felt. The submarine rapidly improved, and developed on lines generally similar to the aeroplane. The largest submarine actually in service when the war began was a vessel of about 800 tons submerged, but many Powers had larger craft under construction. The most powerful, according to the published German accounts, which may have been exaggerated or untrue, were vessels of 1,500 tons. Moderate sized submarines seem to have proved most satisfactory for the German campaign of piracy. But one or two large German submarines appear to have been constructed. Neutral newspapers printed accounts of a German submarine cruiser of 3,000 or 4,000 tons, which was said to have been seen in the Baltic. The submarine before the war had been regarded as a very dangerous craft for her crew. In the war she proved comparatively safe. The German losses do not appear to have been heavy, and the British losses certainly were not.

The effect of the submarine on naval operations was to produce a great uncertainty, and to render sea communications extraordinarily precarious. Large ships were chary of showing themselves at sea without escorts of destroyers—which were not always successful in protecting them—and had to proceed at high speed. The German operations were simplified by the Allies' plan of campaign, which gave them free access to the sea and did not close the holes from which they issued. On two occasions fear of submarines seems to have prevented a decisive blow from being struck. The first was at the Dogger Bank, where the pursuit of the German ships was broken off when two of them were badly on fire, one in her magazines. The second was in the Battle of Jutland, after the British Battle Fleet had appeared on the scene.

The mine was another comparatively new weapon,

ENTERING THE BREACHED WALLS OF AN ENEMY POST.
Russian soldiers coming up from a covered trench to a commanding enemy position at Courcy, north of Rheims. The artillery had been trained previously on the post and battered the walls, through which an entrance had been broken.

though it had been employed on a considerable scale in the Russo-Japanese War, when it destroyed a large number of vessels, including two of the best Japanese battleships in a single day. It had no such success in the early part of the Great War, though it inflicted heavy and increasing destruction on merchant ships. The power of the charges in both mines and torpedoes was greatly increased. At the outbreak of war 60 lb. of high explosive was regarded as a respectable charge for an allied mine. At the end of the third year charges of 500 lb. or even more were employed. In the case of torpedoes, charges of 400 and 500 lb. weight took the place of those in fashion at the opening of war, which rarely exceeded 150 or 200 lb.

Development of mines and torpedoes

Everything had to be systematised and organised, and so the old plan of voluntary enlistment, which had survived in Great Britain alone of European Powers, broke down. With the quickness of vision which marked President Wilson, compulsory service was adopted at once in 1917 by the United States. Great Britain clung to voluntary service for many months, until early 1916. The result was mischief and confusion. It skimmed off the bravest men at the outset instead of using them to leaven the mass. It often took the wrong men. Thus the ship-building artisans, the trained engineers, and the skilled workers in iron and steel volunteered in large numbers

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for the front, though they were more urgently needed at home for the manufacture of munitions. On the other hand, it permitted hundreds of thousands of unskilled young men to skulk. Even when compulsory service was introduced in Great Britain (though not in Ireland) in 1916, it was introduced in so half-hearted a way and surrounded by so many qualifications that immense injustice was done. Enormous numbers of young men escaped, and the coward had always a loophole in the clause excusing "conscientious objectors" from service. These persons were treated with special affection and tenderness by the Government, were given excellent berths, and were allowed to do much as they liked. On the other hand, men of forty, with large families and businesses dependent on them were taken for the front. Quakers were allowed to make money by the war, but were not required to fight for their country, though to their honour some of their younger men did so. But the general behaviour of the Society of Friends was as arrogant as it was unpatriotic.

Introduction of compulsory service

The war was marked by an intensity and fury that had been apparent in no previous conflict. The scale of everything was so vast that it resembled a convulsion of Nature. A week of such fighting as began it was equivalent to any year or more of the older wars. For the first time whole nations were placed in the field. In the Franco-Prussian War Germany was credited with a stupendous feat when she assembled a million men under arms. In late 1914 she had at least four millions in the field, and in 1917, after all her losses, she had still five millions. It has been calculated that thirty-four million men in all fought during the first three years, and the casualties and prisoners were reckoned by millions. An estimate of the British War Cabinet, in May, 1917, placed the loss of lives at seven million, including in this women and children who had been starved or murdered in Belgium, Serbia, and Armenia. The German losses, as disclosed down to the end of May, 1917, were 4,356,760, of whom 1,067,000 were killed or died of sickness, 254,000 were missing, and 303,000 were prisoners. As against these appalling casualties, the Germans and their allies claimed to hold 2,080,000 Russian prisoners, 368,000 French, 154,000 Serbians, 98,000 Italians, 79,000 Rumanians, 45,000 British, and 42,000 Belgians, though included in these figures were doubtless large numbers of civilians of military age. In the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71 the total German loss was only 46,600 killed and died of sickness, and 127,000 wounded; the French loss was 138,900 killed or died of sickness, and 131,000 wounded. In the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5 the Japanese lost 80,000 men killed or died of sickness, and 137,000 wounded, against Russian losses estimated at 320,000 killed and wounded, and 67,700 prisoners with, in addition, a heavy loss from disease. In the American Civil War the dead in the United States armies were 360,000; in the Southern armies, from 250,000 to 300,000.

Slowly, and after generations of effort, mankind had tempered the cruelty of the laws of war. The Assyrian despots usually tortured and killed prisoners and enslaved peoples; often they massacred the whole population of conquered States. In the twilight of history the ancient Egyptians alone showed mercy, and can still be seen on their monuments rescuing their enemies from the water. Progress towards the nobler rule was slow and precarious. In the Napoleonic Wars prisoners were usually generously treated, and subject populations spared. Napoleon issued stringent orders against the ill-treatment of captives, and though he was guilty of occasional acts of severity, he could never be reproached with ferocity or wanton slaughter. As a Republican general in the fiendish Terrorist excesses he spared his own disloyal countrymen. After his day international effort built up a code to eliminate needless suffering. Until the Great War it was unhesitatingly obeyed by all but the Balkan States. In a few hours the Germans swept it all away and carried the world back to the ferocious cruelties of the Assyrian age. The savageries of inhuman Asiatics were emulated by the Kaiser's troops and the Kaiser's Navy. The assassination of Captain Fryatt, though carried out with an order and method which made it the more diabolical, stamped every German officer, from the Kaiser downward, implicated in it with ineffable shame. When in a hasty moment Napoleon directed the summary trial and execution of a German soldier, Count Bentinck, the French officers refused to obey. Their master, a nobler and juster being than the German despot, showed them no ill-will for this act of independence. With such deeds did Germany, in Professor Eucken's words, "busily and cheerfully work for the elevation of the German race."

KING VAJIRAVUDH OF SIAM. His Majesty, who was born on January 1st, 1880, and ascended the throne on October 23rd, 1910, is wearing the uniform of Commander of the Royal Guards. The Siamese Government declared war against the Central Empires on July 22nd, 1917.

Not only was the whole able-bodied manhood placed under arms or required to execute urgent war work in all the belligerent States except Great Britain, but also the civilian population, women and older men, was enrolled and regimented for work in munition factories, on the land, and in other directions. Nothing like this had been seen in earlier wars. In France and Germany women and children tilled the land. In Great Britain—though Ireland, all but six counties, enjoyed a dishonourable security and ease—young men gradually disappeared, except in the towns, where they were seen in numbers. The fields and farms and inns emptied. A quiet, as of a house in which the dead lie unburied, brooded over the land, the lists of those who had paid the last sacrifice grew incessantly, and in almost every window was the name of one who was fighting for freedom or whose fight had ended for ever. Silence fell upon the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, except where the cadets messed and forgathered. The great universities were in arms, serving the nation with a heroism and devotion which the gratitude of a great race can never forget. And so it was throughout Europe. Great Britain in the far-off Napoleonic Wars had placed 500,000 men under arms. Now her Ministers claimed that she had 5,000,000 in service.

Obscurity of the great battles

The battles of the war were interminable, obscure, gigantic struggles marked by anonymity; for at the outset each side hid from the other the names of units and generals engaged, and wrapped everything in uncertainty and mystery. Many priceless traditions were lost in this twilight. Bravery is personal, and deeds of heroism do not move mankind when sundered from the character that has produced them. Even Homer's poems without Achilles and Hector and Helen would lose their eternal beauty. So strict was the censorship that it was difficult to discover whether a battle had issued in victory or defeat.

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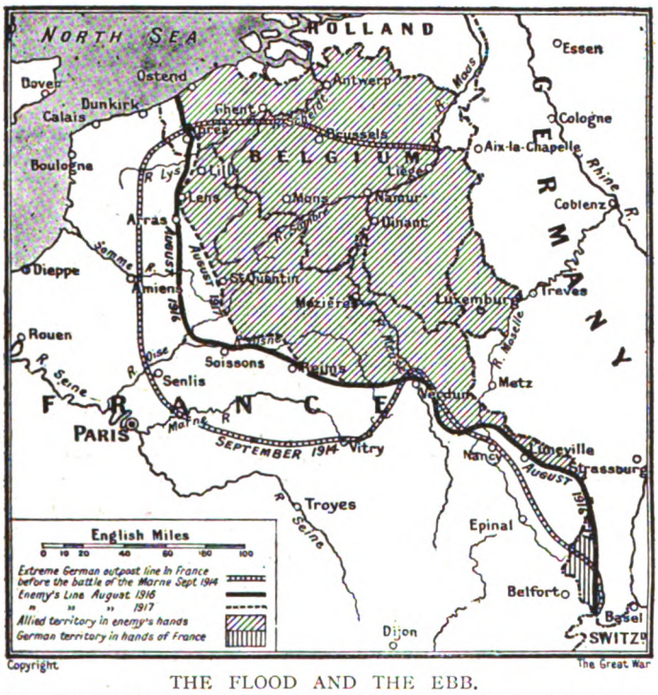
The casualties were not divulged, and each side usually claimed that it had suffered moderate loss and inflicted on the other fearful losses. The notion that the Germans were mown down in masses sustained the constancy of the Allies in the dreadful initial period of the German advance. The gain of ground by one side or the other was the only tangible fact. Thus engagements greater by far than Austerlitz or Sadowa or Mukden produced comparatively little effect. The resisting power shown by nations in arms was astonishing. Moltke, however, had in 1880 predicted that the next great war would be long.

Vast area of battlefields

No one knew when many of the great battles began or when they ceased. It was, for example, exceedingly difficult to determine at what precise moment the Battle of the Marne or the First Battle of Ypres opened and closed. Generally the great battles died down slowly, like an expiring conflagration. There were exceptions, as in the Battle of Messines. The extent of ground covered by the great battles was often enormous. The Marne was fought along a distance of two hundred miles, but there was not one continuous line of attack or resistance over this vast front. At Waterloo the space covered by the British Army and its allies was slightly over two miles



THE FLOOD AND THE EBB.

Map showing the line held in France and Flanders by the German armies of invasion at the end of the first, second, and third years of the war.

at the opening of the battle. Waterloo lasted ten hours; the Marne six days. The forces engaged in it probably exceeded two and a half million men, of whom one and a half million were Germans, and the casualties certainly reached and probably exceeded 350,000, as compared with 201,000 at Mukden in 1905. The First Battle of Arras began on May 9th, 1915, and continued for several weeks. The fighting resulted in 113,000 French casualties, and probably in a German loss of 150,000. It was composed of obscure attacks and counter-attacks, surging round a sugar refinery and a vast trench labyrinth.

The outlay on the war was stupendous. The total cost of the Franco-Prussian War to both combatants was £695,000,000, and of the Russo-Japanese war over £373,000,000. The American Civil War involved a direct outlay to the combatants of £950,000,000, apart from losses of property, which certainly reached another £100,000,000. The Napoleonic Wars cost Great Britain £800,000,000, but this expenditure was spread over twenty-two years. The cost of the Boer War, which was little more than a series of skirmishes, was £223,000,000. Speaking for Germany in the Great War, the German Finance Minister said, in the summer of 1915, that "the expenditure in a single month is a third greater than the entire sum disbursed during the war of 1870." A calculation of the British War Cabinet, in May, 1917, placed the total war expenditure of all the Powers at nine thousand millions at that date. Great Britain had then borrowed £3,195,000,000 for the war. The figures became so immense that they failed to make any impression. The cost rose each month with the increasing fury of the fighting and the ever-advancing consumption of ammunition and multiplication of guns. The latter were used up at a great rate in the protracted bombardments which opened all the great battles.

No one had supposed that such outlay could be borne without repudiation; few had imagined that such amounts could be raised by any device. The patriotism of the British citizen placed vast resources at the disposal of his Government, which, unfortunately, muddled a considerable part of them away. British investments abroad, particularly in the United State—the accumulation of more than a century's profit in trade and manufacture—vanished in a few months. They were sold, and their proceeds were handed to the British Treasury. Conscription of American securities was introduced for the purpose of financing the war, and though it brought heavy loss, it was cheerfully and loyally borne. The British income tax was raised to a level of 5s. in the pound on large incomes, with other taxes which in some cases brought the total up to 11s. or even 12s. in the pound, but there was no murmuring, and such burdensome imposts were never so willingly paid. Nor was this all. Taxed as he was, the British investor in the great loan of 1917 provided over a thousand millions of capital for his Government. A real peril was that throughout the first part of the war money was so easily obtained that it was carelessly spent. Whence all these funds came was a mystery which even the ablest financiers found it difficult to explain. The one certain fact was that the strain would be most felt after peace, as was the case in the Napoleonic Wars, when buildings partially completed had to be abandoned for want of money, unemployment was rife, and wages suddenly collapsed. In Germany money was raised with much greater effort, but still it was raised, and the expenditure being far more carefully controlled the German Government was able to meet all needs.

The very size of armies and the holding power of machine-guns clogged and delayed movements on land. For example, before the Somme offensive the Allies had to construct an immense system of water mains, as otherwise in that upland country an army of many hundred thousand men would have died of thirst. Roads and causeways had to be built, and railways and tramways to be laid. At Messines the mining operations occupied weeks and months. It is probable that one of the causes of the German defeat on the Marne was that sufficient preparation had not been made for the advance of so enormous a force, despite the care and system shown by the German Staff in its organisation. The German troops, in fact, ran out of munitions and food. So, to inflict decisive defeats was extraordinarily difficult. A general might break the enemy's line. There were certainly moments at the Somme and at Arras where the German line was broken. For a small force to advance through the gap in such cases meant probable disaster, while had a large force attempted to pass through it could not have been supplied with food and ammunition over ground which had been rendered impassable by a week of furious bombardment. In Napoleon's day, when armies were small, it was possible to inflict such catastrophic defeats as Austerlitz and Jena. When the scale of the fighting

Colossal work of preparation

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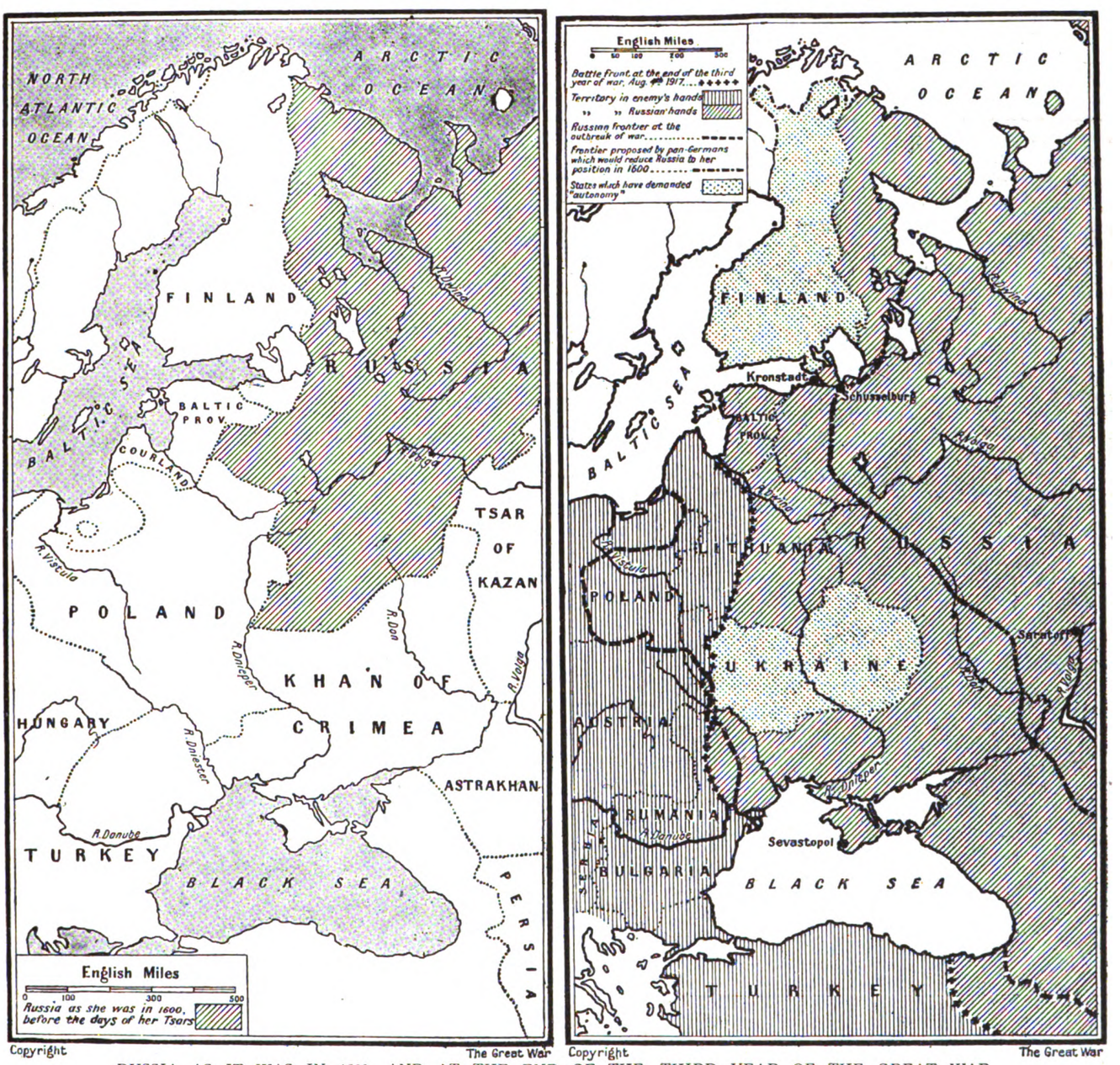
grew, as in the Saxon campaign of 1813, even the greatest soldier of all time found that his methods broke down. The Rumanians, though weak in numbers and poorly equipped, were not completely overwhelmed when the two ablest German generals were sent against them with overpowering numbers.

The German plan on land at the close of the third year was to leave the Russians to decay by revolution and internal chaos, while the other Allies were worn down by holding a very strongly fortified trench line in Allies' territory with the minimum of troops, and all the time vigorously to attack the allied cities with aircraft and the allied commerce with submarines. This was a strategy which gave Germany marked advantages. It enabled her to save men and munitions and money, and to destroy her opponents' resources, while she employed every form of political intrigue to paralyse the energy of the Governments opposed to her. In the United States, where President Wilson knew his own mind, and was not afraid to show a determination worthy of Lincoln, her propaganda encountered unexpected difficulties. Though opponents of compulsory service in Great Britain were allowed surprising licence, in New York one was sentenced to three years' imprisonment and payment of a fine of £2,000. German policy aimed at promoting war-weariness, and spreading the belief that the German armies could not be dislodged. But war-weariness steadily grew in Germany, and the fear of the arrival of a large United States' army became increasingly acute.

The last enemy that shall be overcome is death, and in this war it was overcome with a courage so sublime as to lift man to new heights. The war showed, as Maeterlinck justly said, "that civilisation, contrary to what was feared, so far from enervating, depraving, weakening, lowering, and dwarfing man, elevates him, purifies him, strengthens him, ennobles him, makes him capable of acts of sacrifice, generosity, and courage which he did not know before." Men marched by the hundred thousand



RUSSIA AS IT WAS IN 1600, AND AT THE END OF THE THIRD YEAR OF THE GREAT WAR.

The map on the left shows Russia as it was, cut off from the sea, before the days of the Tsars. That on the right indicates, beside the matters mentioned in the key, the towns, such as Cronstadt and Sebastopol, which on the outbreak of the Russian Revolution proclaimed themselves separate republics, and the frontiers of Lithuania and the Baltic Provinces, which the Germans proposed to form into protected States, with Poland.

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to the bloody trial of the battlefield, and died with a smile. The airman tranquilly flew off at dawn to encounter danger alone, and too often never returned. It is not to be pretended that there were no failures. There were nations, there were troops which yielded on the battlefield. There were men whose hearts, like Peter of old when he denied his Lord, failed them before the great sacrifice. But these were few, and many even of them overcame themselves, and went back to death.

Under the stimulus of this new strange life, in which man was suddenly confronted with the ultimate realities, a nobler inspiration seemed to fire the heart of the British race. Never had it shown so many young poets, nor had their poetry reached such a plane of beauty. Many of them died, leaving imperishable work, and the example of such lives has put meaner men to shame. No generation of the race will probably forget Rifleman S. Donald Cox's half-dozen lines, "To My Mother":

The voice of the young poets

If I should fall, grieve not that one so weak
And poor as I
Should die,
Nay, though thy heart should break
Think only this: that when at dusk they speak
Of sons and brothers of another one,
Then thou canst say: "I, too, had a son;
He died for England's sake!"

Nor is there, perhaps, in literature a more touching epitaph than Pte. F. G. Scott's lines on a soldier's grave in Flanders:

He found the songs for which he yearned,
Hopes that had mocked desire;
His heart is resting now which burned
With such consuming fire.

In all their verse—and the output of it was great from the multitude of writers—there was nothing of hatred for the enemy. Contempt sometimes, disgust for the cruelty and meanness which the Germans so often showed, but beyond that the great charity which was the characteristic of the British soldier. Yet it is to the poets that men must go to learn the real meaning of the war. The English prose-writers and letter-writers at the front commonly glossed over its grim facts, and there was some truth in a reminder which came from one who watched the fighting, that "humility, consideration for others, good-humoured belittlement of suffering or horror are admirable in their way, but war must not be allowed to masquerade as tolerable, enjoyable, and glorious." The men concealed "the discomfort of their lives, the unspeakable sights around them, and the risks they ran." One of the reasons why Great Britain was so slow to wake and act was, undoubtedly, the belief thus spread that war was a glorified picnic or sport and not "a savage encounter with desperate enemies who dealt death and grievous wounds with impartial hands."

The French soldier spoke out more plainly. The truest picture of life in the trenches, as it appeared to a great artist and writer who suffered and fell in battle, is painted in *Lettres d'un Soldat*:

Our existence as infantrymen is rather like that of rabbits which are being shot. We feel pain in shaking off our habits, but perhaps we had all accustomed ourselves too completely to a degree of comfort which could not last. What passes our understanding—and yet after all it is natural enough—is that civilians are able to continue their normal existence while we are in torment. It is perhaps a destiny and privilege of which our generation should be proud to witness these horrors, but what a fearful ransom it has to pay. If there is one thing absolute in the realm of human sensation it is suffering. The true death would be to live in a conquered country. Rain in war; it is a punishment of which you can form no idea. To sleep in a trench full of water has no equivalent in Dante's hell. But what of the awakening, when you have to count the moments before killing or being killed?

And so to his last message, written just before the attack in the spring of 1915, in which he was lost:

In the full possession of all my faculties, let us hope to the last, but above all have steadfastness and love. We are now at the last point of waiting. I send you my love. Whatever happens life will have been beautiful.

Thus they went to death.

The last scene in man's life in this struggle was ordered with terrors which no previous generation had known. Maeterlinck has pointed out that Homer's heroes had to face no such ordeal as met the soldier of the Great War. The ground was shaken with the concussion of interminable bombardments. The approach to the battle up the communication-trenches was like the entrance to the Valley of the Shadow of Death. The men marched into a terrain covered with smoke, into an atmosphere vitiated by the dense clouds of poisonous gas or constant explosion of the shells. Each side used smoke-clouds now that guns had become smokeless. The noise was so terrific that it drowned speech and sometimes even paralysed thought. Through the gas fumes could be perceived the heavy, sweet, evil scent of death. High above droned monstrous terrible insects, the aeroplanes of the two sides. In the advanced trenches the men waited patiently the order to go over the top, which, a French soldier has said, was as the order to mount the scaffold. As the moment approached the bombardment quickened, till sometimes its distant throbbing was heard or felt on British soil, and the mines went up in purple sheets of flame. Then through the darkness and first grey light of dawn the lines advanced, not at a run, for they were too grievously weighted, but generally at a gentle amble or walk, while the roar of the enemy's firing rose and the drumming of the machine-guns increased in violence. Now and again sheets of hissing fire from the flame-projectors would shoot through the air. Last of all, when the surge of battle had passed and peace returned before the counter-attack, a faint, whimpering noise as from a catch of fishes at sea would go up from the mortally stricken, and the salt smell of blood strike the nostril.

Conspicuous among the many brave and doomed to early death, most gallant and most beloved, moved the airmen. Something has already been said of the difficulty of their work, which was enhanced by their spiritual solitude when the moment of their great trial came. The finest at their art fought alone. They were a race apart, though the infantry officers who gave so lavishly of their lives deserved to share their immense glory. "Their flying life is reckoned," wrote a witness at the front, "not in years, or even in months, but in hours; so that a man who has flown fifty hours is experienced, and one who has flown two hundred and fifty—ten days of time—is a veteran. These hours are numbered by fate and by the average of casualties. Fifty hours without a crash would be luck—five hundred would be practically impossible. Within such spans is the fighting pilot's life compassed." The epitaph of these valiant souls is written in the poem that commemorated Sub-Lieutenant Warneford's end:

Whom the gods loved they gave in youth's first flower
One infinite hour of glory. That same hour
Before a leaf droops from the laurel, come
Winged Death and Sleep to bear Sarpedon home.

Of the future, of the hopes that lay beyond the war, only the poets could tell. There was a revival of religious feeling, very marked in France and Belgium in the earlier period of the war and noticeable also in Great Britain. Again, as at Marathon in the crisis of civilisation 2,400 years before, helpers from above were seen by mortal man incarnate and fighting in battle at his side. As the old world of comfort and *laissez-faire* and selfishness came down in such utter ruin, as mankind passed into a new "twilight of the gods," the end of which none could foresee, this at least could be said, that for the first time in the history of the race millions of men had been filled with the spirit which the poet put into these words:

For Honour and the Cross

See young "Adventure" there
("Make-money-quick" that was)
Hurls down his gods that were
For Honour and the Cross!

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Synchronised Chronology of Leading Events in the First Three Years of the War.

EVENTS PRECEDING BRITAIN'S DECLARATION OF WAR.

1914.
June 28.—Assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife at Sarajevo.
July 23.—Austria issues ultimatum to Serbia.
" 25.—Russia's request for extension of time limit for Serbia refused by Austria.
" 26.—Serbia's reply regarded as evasive by Austria. Serbian mobilisation.
" 27.—Sir Edward Grey proposes mediation by France, Germany, Italy, and Great Britain. Serbian troops fire first shots in the war on the Danube.
" 28.—Austria declares war on Serbia. Russia starts mobilising.
" 29.—Austrians bombard Belgrade.
" 30.—Sir Edward Grey announces Britain's refusal of neutrality at expense of France.

1914.
July 31.—Germany sends ultimatum to France and Russia.
Aug. 1.—Germany declares war on Russia.
" 2.—Sir Edward Grey gives conditional assurances to France of British help. German ultimatum to Belgium.
" 3.—Sir Edward Grey in Parliament states Britain's obligations to France. Germany declares war on France.
" 4.—Germany declares war on Belgium. Great Britain declares war on Germany.

1914	The Western Front.	The Eastern Front.	Other European Areas.	War Outside Europe.	War by Sea and Air.	Events at Home.	1914
Aug							Aug
3	Germans invade Belgium.					Moratorium Bill passed.	3
4	Von Emmich attacks Liège.					Government controls railways.	4
5	Fierce fighting at Liège.				Königin Luise sunk off Harwich.	Lord Kitchener War Minister.	5
6		Austria declares war on Russia.			H.M.S. Amphion sunk by mine.	Vote of Credit for £100,000,000.	6
8	French occupy Mulhouse.			Lome (German Togoland) taken		[£1,000,000.	8
15	Fall of Liège.	[Poland.		Germans occupy Taveta.		Prince of Wales' Fund reaches	15
16	British Force lands in France.	Tsar promises Home Rule to	[Shabatz.				16
18	French advance in Alsace-Lorraine.		Serbs defeat Austrians at				18
19	Germans occupy Louvain.	Ger. defeat near Eydtkuhnen.					19
20	Germans occupy Brussels.	Ger. defeat at Gumbinnen.			[Africa.		20
21	Battle of Charlerol begins.			Germans, invade British S.			21
23	British Engaged at Mons.			Japan declares war on Germany			23
24	Retreat from Mons. Fall of Namur.						24
25	Louvain destroyed.	Aust. declares war on Japan.			Zeppelin bombs Antwerp.		25
26	British hold line Cambrai—Le Cateau.			Germans surrender Togoland.	[sunk.		26
27	Allies retired towards Somme.				Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse		27
28	Germans bombard Malines.	Aust. declares war on Belg.		[Zealand force	Battle of Heligoland Bight.		28
30				Surrender of Apia to New.			30
Sept							Sept
1	British engaged near Compiègne.	Austrians defeated at Lemberg			Bombs dropped on Paris.		1
3	French Govt. moves to Bordeaux.				H.M.S. Speedy mined.		3
4					Two Ger. airmen capt. N. Sea.		4
5	Retreat from Mons to Marne ends.	Battle of Tannenberg.			Formation of Naval Brigades.		5
6	Battle of Marne begins.				H.M.S. Pathfinder sunk.	[speech.	6
8	Germans sack Termonde.		Serbian victory near Racha.			Lloyd George's "Silver Bullets"	8
9	British reported across the Marne.			[to Australians.		King's Message to Overseas	9
11	Allied advance reported.		Serbians capture Semlin.	German New Guinea surrenders		[Dominions.	11
14					Carmania sinks Cap Trafalgar.		14
15	Battle of the Aisne begins.				[bar Harbour		15
20	Germans shell Rheims Cathedral.				H.M.S. Pegasus disabled Zanzi-		20
21		Russians take Jaroslav.	Serbs attack Sarajevo.	[Chief	[pedoed		21
22				Botha takes field as Com.-in-	Aboukir, Hogue, Cressy tor-		22
23				[announced.	British bomb Zepp. sheds at		23
25		Battle of Augustovo begins.		Occu. Kaiser Wilhelm's Land	[Düsseldorf.		25
26	Indians land at Marseilles.			German raid on Walfish Bay.			26
29	Germans bombard Antwerp.		Serbians recapture Semlin.				29
Oct							Oct
7	Belgian Govt. removed to Ostend.						7
8				Mutiny of Maritz in S. Africa.	Brit. destroy Zepp. at Düssel-		8
9	Fall of Antwerp.				[dorf.		9
11	First Battle of Ypres opens.				German air raid on Paris.		11
13	Germans occupy Lille.						13
14	Allies occupy Ypres.	Fighting along Vistula and San					14
16					Undaunted sinks 4 destroyers.	Canadian troops arrive.	16
17					Bombardment of Tsing-tau.	Anti-German riots at Deptford.	17
19	Fighting bet. Nieuport and Dixmude.				Monitors bombard Belgian coast.		19
27	Ger. driven from French Lorraine.			Botha routs Beyer's commando			27
30	Germans re-cross the Yser.	Russ. declares war on Turkey.			Lord Fisher First Sea Lord.		30
					H.M.S. Hermes torpedoed.		
					Rohilla wrecked off Whitby.		
Nov							Nov
1			Turkey joins Germany.		Naval action off Coronel.		1
5			Britain at war with Turkey.				5
7				Fall of Tsing-tau.	[E. Afr.		7
10	Germans take Dixmude.				Königsberg bottled up German		10
11	Prussian Guard repulsed at Ypres.				Emden destroyed at Keeling		11
14	Lord Roberts dies in France.			Botha defeats De Wet.	Niger torpedoed off Deal.		14
26	Germans bombard Arras.				[Harbour		26
29	King George in France.				Bulwark blown up Sheerness		29
Dec							Dec
1	Allied advance bet. Bethune and Lens.						1
2				Surrender of De Wet.			2
7			Austrians occupy Belgrade.				7
8	Germans shell Furnes.	Russians admit loss of Lods.		Collapse of S. Afr. Rebellion.			8
15			Serbians retake Valievo.		Naval victory off Falklands.		15
16			Serbians re-enter Belgrade.				16
17					Scarborough and Whitby shelled.		17
24				Egypt a British Protectorate.			24
25					Air raid on Dover.		25
1915					Brit. air raid on Cuxhaven.		1915
Jan							Jan
1					[ported		1
2		Russian victory on Bzwra.		Success at Dar-es-Salaam re-	H.M.S. Formidable torpedoed.		2
4	French retake Steinbach.	German advance on Warsaw.				King's message to Fr. President	4
14	French reverse north-east of Soissons.			Swakopmund occupied.		Stock Exchange re-opened.	14
				Turks occupy Tabriz.			
19					[Lynn		19
22					Zepp. raid Yarmouth, King's		22
					Air raid on Zeebrugge.		
24					[cer Bank.		24
				Turks engaged at El Kantara.	Adm. Beatty's victory off Dog-		
26				Turks advance on Egypt.			26
Feb							Feb
1	German defeat north of La Bassée.	[Sokachev.		Nyasaland rising ended.			1
2	Fighting near Cuinchy.	Hindenburg defeated near		Turkish defeat, Suez Canal.	[Zeebrugge.		2
12	French carry Hill 937 in Vosges.				Com. Samson's squadron raids		12
		[Augustovo.			[men.		
16	Fren. gain bet. Perthes & Beausejour.	German enveloping movement			Naval losses: 348 officers, 5,81		16
18					Blockade of Gt. Britain begins		18
					[forts.		
19	The 200th Day of the War.				Bombardment of Dardanelles	Notes to U.S.A. published.	19
22	French gain in Champagne.	Ger. offensive Pranysch region.		Garub occupied by S. Africans	Zeppelin raid on Calais.		22
23	British capture trench at Givenchy.			Indian troops riot, Singapore.			23
27		Russians retake Prasnysch.			French seize the Dacia.		27
Mar							Mar
1	French gain about Perthes.	Russ. advance Prasnysch region			Brit. blockade of Ger. begins.		1
7	Heights captured near Münster.			Brit. check on Tigris reported	British air raid on Ostend.		7
10	Battle of Neuve Chapelle.				H.M.S. Ariel sinks U12.		
14					Glasgow and Kent sink Dresden		10
18		Russians occupy Memel.			irresistible, Ocean, Bouvet lost		14
					[Dardanelles.		18
21	Loss of Great & Little Reichackerkopf.				Zeppelin raid on Paris.		
22		Fall of Przemysl to Russia.					21
23		Russ. withdraw from Memel.		Turks routed on Suez Canal.			22
26		Russ. capt. Lupkow Pass (Carp.)					23
28					Falaba torpedoed.		26
Apr							28
3				Union forces seize Warmbad.			Apr
5	French gain south-east of St. Mihiel.	Austrian defeat at Bartfeld.			Russians engage Goeben and		3
7	French progress near St. Mihiel.	Aust. retreat across Carpathians			[Breslau		5
13		Russ. victory near Uzsok Pass.					7
14				Brit. rout Turks on Euphrates.	Zeppelins raid Tyneside.	Munitions Committee appointed.	13
17	British capture Hill 60.						14
22	Second Battle of Ypres opens.						17
24	Canadians recapture 4 guns Ypres.				[forts		22
25			Allied forces land in Gallipoli.		Russians bombard Bosphorus		24
27	French recapt. Hartmannsweilerkopf.		Land fighting in Gallipoli.		Léon Gambetta sunk.		25
30					Zepps. raid Bury S. Edmunds		27
May					[and Ipswich.		30
3	German gas attack Hill 60.	Germans break through in W.					May
4	British line Flanders readjusted.	[Galicia.				Second War Budget introduced.	3
7					Lusitania torpedoed.		4
8		Germans capture Libau.					7
9	French advance Carency—Souches.				Zeppelin raid on Southend.		8
	British adv. Bois Grenier—Festubert.						9
12				Union forces occupy Windhoek.	Goliath torp. Dardanelles.		
13	French carry Carency village.			Conquest of Ger. S.W. Africa.			12
14	French success south-west of Souches.	Russ. admit retreat to the San.	Italian Cabinet resigns.			[Windsor.	13
23			Italy declares war on Austria.			Kaiser's Garter removed from	14
24			Gen. Cadorna leaves for front.				23
26			Ital. attack on Trentino front		Zeppelin raid on Southend.		24
27	French carry Ablain Cemetery.				French raid on Ludwigshafen.	New Cabinet announced.	26
					Ell enters Sea of Marmora.	Princess Irene blown up.	27
28			Italians occupy Gradisca.				
31	French organise "Labyrinth" gains.			Brit. occupy Amara.	Zepp. raid Outer London.	Sir Hy. Jackson First Sea Lord.	28
							31

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1915	The Western Front.	The Eastern Front.	Other European Areas.	War Outside Europe.	War by Sea and Air.	Events at Home.	1915
June							June
1		Austro-Ger. attack Przemysl.	Italians occupy Mount Zugna.				1
3	British gain at Givenchy.	Austro-Ger. retake Przemysl.				New Ministry meets Parl.	3
7					Warneford, V.C., destroys Zepp.		7
9			Italians capture Monfalcone.			[Munitions.	9
16	British gain north of Hooge.					Mr. Lloyd George Minister of	16
21	French take Metzeral.			De Wet sentenced and fined.		Second War Loan announced.	21
22		Austrians retake Lemberg.					22
July							July
14		Germans move on Warsaw.					14
16		Russ. admit loss of Prasnysch					16
18		Russ. forced back to Narew.	Ital. success Cadore frontier.				18
19		Russ. stand N. and S. of Warsaw.	Italian success Isonzo annod.				19
20		Russ. yield Bzura-Rawka front.	Ital. victory on Lower Isonzo.				20
25				British take Nasiriyeh.			25
29		Russ. line Lublin-Cholm forced.					29
30	German liquid fire attack at Hooge.						30
31		Russians evacuate Lublin.					31
Aug							Aug
4		Fall of Warsaw.				Intercession Service St. Paul's.	4
5		Fall of Ivangorod.					5
6			New landing Anzac Cove, Gallip.				6
9	British recapt. trenches near Hooge.		Gain at Chunuk Bair reported.		French raid on Saarbrück.		9
12			Austrians bombard Belgrade.		Zepp. raid East Coast.		12
14					Royal Edward transport sunk.		14
15			Advance at Suvla.			National Register Day.	15
16					U boat shells Whitehaven.		16
17		Fall of Kovno.			Zepp. raid Eastern Counties.		17
19		Fall of Novo Georgievsk.	New landing Suvla Bay reptd.		Liner Arabic torpedoed.		19
20			Italy declares war on Turkey.				20
25		Fall of Brest Litovsk.					25
Sept							Sept
2		Fall of Grodno.					2
5		Grand Duke Nicholas appointed					5
8		[to com. Caucasus.			Zeppelin raid on London.		8
18		Fall of Vilna.					18
19			Bulgaria mobilises.				19
21			M. Venizelos invites Allies to			War Budget introduced Parl.	21
25	Allied adv. at Loos and in Champagne.		[Salonika.		French air raid on Metz.		25
28				Turks defeated at Kut-el-Amara			28
30		Russians abandon Lutsk.					30
Oct							Oct
4				Turks defeated near Van.			4
5			Russ. ultimatum to Bulgaria			Lord Derby Dir. of Recruiting.	5
6	French carry village of Tahure.		Allies land at Salonika.				6
9	British advance Hill 70—Hulluch.		M. Venizelos resigns.				9
11			Austro-Ger. occupy Belgrade.				11
12		Russians cross the Strypa.	Bulgarians invade Serbia.				12
13			Miss Edith Cavell shot.		Zeppelin raid on London.		13
15							15
17	French regain Hartmannsweilerkopf.		Britain at war with Bulgaria.				17
22			Italians occupy Pregasina.		Allies bombard Dedeagatch.		22
23			Bulgarians occupy Uskub.		Prince Adalbert torpedoed.		23
27		Austrians across the Drina.	Serbs retake Uskub.	British occupy Banjo.			27
29			Bulgarians retake Veles.		H.M.S. Hythe collides and sinks	General Joffre in London.	29
Nov							Nov
5			Bulgarians enter Nish. [Valley		H.M. steamer Tara sunk.		5
14	Ger. penetrate trench. in "Labyrinth."		French advancing up Vardar		Austrian raid on Verona.		14
15	Fighting in "Labyrinth."		Serbs holding Kathanik Pass.				15
17			Bulg. repulse Babuna Front.		Anglia, hospital ship, founders.		17
20			Serbs lose Novi Bazar.				20
			Bulgarians occupy Prilep.				
23			Serb. capital at Prizrend.	British victory at Ctesiphon.			23
24			Serbian retreat to Albania.				24
29				British evacuate Ctesiphon.			29
Dec							Dec
2			Fall of Monastir.				2
3	Joffre Com.-in-Chief French Armies.			[Amara.			3
4	Franco-British War Conference, Calais.		More British at Salonika.	Townshend reaches Kut-el-			4
6	Allies' Council of War, Paris.		French retire Demir Kapu Pass.		E boat's exploit S. of Marmora.		6
9			Allied retreat in Macedonia.	Russian victory in Persia.			9
12				Attacks on Kut-el-Amara		Derby Recruiting Camp. ends.	12
				[repulsed.			
13			Allies across Greek frontier.	Arab defeat west of Matruh.			13
						[Home Forces.	
15	Viscount French retires com. in France.		Italian landing Avlona ann.			Viscount French Commander	15
17				Russians occupy Hamadan.	E boat sinks Bremen.		17
19	Sir Douglas Haig in command, France.		Withdrawal from Anzac and				19
21	French success Hartmannsweilerkopf.	General Russky retires.	[Suvla Bay.	Russians take Kum.		Sir W. Robertson Chief of	21
31		Russians cross the Styr.				Imperial Staff.]	31
1916							1916
Jan							Jan
1				Yaunde (Ger. Cam.) occupied.			1
4					Geelong sunk, Mediterranean.	Ld. Derby's Report published.	4
5						Military Service Bill introd.	5
8			Complete evacu. of Gallipoli.				8
9			Austrians attack M. Lovtchen.	Turks retr. from Sheikh Saad.	H.M.S. King Edward sinks.		9
10			Austrians take M. Lovtchen.				10
13			Fall of Cettinje.	Turkish defeat at Wadi.			13
19		Russ. offens. N.E. Czernovitz.				Allied War Council in London.	19
23			Austrians occupy Skutari.	Senussi defeat at Mersa Matru	Air raid on Kent.		23
24	German attack E. of Neuville.			Serengetti (E. Africa) occupied.	Seaplane driven from Dover.	Military Service Bill passed.	24
28	German success at Frise.		Allies occupy Kara Burun.				28
29					Zeppelin raid on Paris.		29
31					Zepp. raid Mid. and N.E. Cou.		31
Feb							Feb
1					Captured Appam arriv. Amer.		1
9		Russians capture Uscieczko.			Seaplanes over Margate.		9
10				Smuts in command E. Africa.			10
12			French cross the Vardar.	S. Afrs. engaged Ger. E. Afr.			12
14	Ger. take "International Trench."				Arethusa mined.		14
16				Fall of Erzerum.			16
17				Conquest Cameroon announced.			17
21	Great Verdun Battle opens.				Zepp. shot down in Lorraine.		21
26	Germans take Fort Douaumont.				Provence II. sunk.		26
Mar					Maloja mined in Channel.		Mar
2	Desperate Verdun fighting.			Russians take Bitlis.			2
5				Gen. Aylmer reaches Es-Sinn.	Zepp. raid S East. Counties.		5
6	Germans enter Forges.						6
10	Germans retake Crow's Wood.		Portugal joins the Allies.				10
15				Moshi reported taken.			15
16	Gen. Roques French War Minister.				Von Tirpitz's resignation rptd.		16
22				Russians occupy Ispahan.		General Cadorna in London.	22
23	Brit. line extended to Somme annod.				Minneapolis mined Mediter.		23
25					British raid Schleswig.		25
27	Allied Conference in Paris.						27
31					Zeppelin L15 disabled.		31
Apr							Apr
1	German gain in Vaux village.				Zeppelin raid N.E. Coast.		1
2					Zeppelin raid Eng. and Scot.		2
				[E. Africa.			
3	British crater success at St. Eloi.			Victory Arusha district Ger.			3
6				Falahijah position carried.		Sir J. Nixon's desp. published.	6
14					British raid Constantinople.	[of City of London.	14
18				Fall of Trebizond announced.		Mr. W. M. Hughes rec. Freedom	18
20	Russians at Marseilles announced.					Attempt to land arms, Ireland:	20
22	Struggle for Dead Man Hill.			Occupation Umbugwe annod.		[Sir R. Casement a prisoner.	22
24					Zepp. raid Norfolk and Suffolk	Irish Rebellion breaks out.	24
					[coast.		
25				Kondoa Irangi occupied.	Bombardment of Lowestoft	"Anzac Day" in London.	25
					[and Yarmouth.		
27					H.M.S. Russell mined.	Gen. Maxwell sent to Ireland.	27
29				Fall of Kut.			29
30						Irish Rebellion broken	30
May							May
2					Zepp. raid Eng. and Scot.		2
8	Anzacs announced in France.				Liner Cymric torpedoed.		8
14			Austrian offensive Trentino.				14
18				[doubt.	British raid El Arish.	Royal Com. Irish rising.	18
19			Ital. retreat in Trentino.	Gorringe takes Dujailar Re-	Air raid Kent coast.		19
20				Russ. cavalry joins Gorringe.			20
23				Sultan of Darfur defeated.			23
25					British raid El Hanna.	Military Service Act law.	25
26			Bulgar. occupy Rupel Fort.				26
27	Death of General Galliéni.						27
30	100th Day of Verdun Battle.					Haig's first Despatch published.	30
31					Battle of Jutland.		31
June							June
4		Russ. offen. Pripet to Rumania.					4
5					Lord Kitchener drowned.		5
6	Fall of Vaux Fort.	Russians take Lutsk.					6
8					Allies blockade Greece.		8
9	German gain near Verdun.	Continued Russian offensive.				Allied War Council.	9
10		Russians capture Dubno.					10
12	German attack at Thiaumont repulsed	Russians regain Kolki.	Italian offensive continued.	British enter Kerman.			12
13	Canadian gain near Zillebeke.		Ital. advance Lagarina Valley.			Lord Kitchener Mem. Service.	13
14	Allied Economic Conference, Paris.			Smuts reaches Makuyni.	Russian victory in Baltic.		14
				Wilhemstal occupied.			

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1916	The Western Front.	The Eastern Front.	Other European Areas.	War Outside Europe.	War by Sea and Air.	Events at Home.	1916
June							June
16					H.M.T.D. Eden sunk.		16
17	French gain north of Hill 321.	Fall of Czernovits to Russians.					17
21				Smuts reports Handeni occu.		Text of Paris Economic Conf.	21
23	Germans capture Fleury.						23
24					Blockade of Greece raised.		24
30		Russians capture Kolomea.					30
July							July
1	Franco-British offensive Somme.						1
2	Fricourt, Frise captured.						2
3	Fr. take Herbecourt, Chapitre Wood.	Russ. offensive Riga front.					3
4	British take La Boiselle.	Russ. gain north of Pripet.					4
5	French take Hem, Estrées.						5
6	British advance near Thiepval.						6
7	British take Leipzic Redoubt.			Tanga Ger. E. Afr. occupied		Mr. Lloyd George War Minister.	7
8	French capture Hardecourt.						8
9	French capture Biaches.				Aeroplane raid S.E. England.		9
11				Russians occupy Mamahatun.	U boat shells Seaham.		11
14	German second line breached.			Smuts captures Muansa.			14
15	British Dragoons in action.			Russians capture Baiburt.			15
16	Ovillers completely taken. [line.	Russian success in Volhynia.					16
20	Brit. gain N. of Bazentin—Longueval						20
25		Russ. victory N.E. Galicia.		Russians occupy Ersindjan.			25
26	British take Pozières.						26
27	Captain Fryatt shot in Bruges.	Russians capture Brody.					27
29	[to Somme.				Zeppelins raid East Coast.		29
30	New Allied attack from Delville Wood	Russians force the Stokhod.					30
31				Smuts reports Dodoma occu.	Zepp. raid E. and S.E. Count.		31
Aug							Aug
3	French retake Fleury.			Belgians occupy Ujiji.		Casement hanged.	3
4	British gain W. of Pozières.			Turk defeat near Romani.			4
6	Brit. prog. towards Martinpuich.		Italian victories on Isonzo.				6
7	Brit. attack outskirts of Guillemont.	Russians capture Tlumacs.	Ital. take bridgehead Gorizia.				7
9	French advance N. of Hem Wood.	Russians capture Chryphlin.	Fall of Gorizia.	Turk attack Sinai repulsed.	Zepp. raid East Coast.		9
10	British advance N.W. of Pozières.	Russians capture Stanislau.					10
11	French gain S. of Maurepas.		Italian troops at Salonika.	Deventer occupies Mpapua.	Brit. raid Brussels and Namur		11
12		Russians west of Zlota Lipa.	Ital. occupy Oppacchiasella.		Seaplane raid on Dover.		12
15		Russians reach Bolotwina		Bagamoyo occupied.			15
17	British gain N.W. of Bazentin.		Bulg. adv. towards Kavala.				17
18	British gain Thiepval Ridge.			Smuts crosses Wami River.			18
19		Russ. advance on the Stokhod.	Serbs fight Bulgars at Florina.		German fleet out, but retires.		19
					Nottingham and Falmouth sunk		
20	British carry Pozières Ridge.						20
22	French success N. of Maurepas.		Italian gain in Dolomites.	Deventer takes Kilossa.			22
23	British gain S. of Thiepval.			Russian victory at Rayat.	Zepp. raid on East Coast.		23
24	French take Maurepas.				Zepp. raid E. and S.E. Coasts.		24
25			Bulgarians enter Kavala.		Zepp. raid E. and S.E. Coasts.		25
27	British progress N.W. of Ginchy.	Russ. advance towards Halicz	Rumania joins Allies.				27
29	Falkenhayn dismissed.	Russians take Mount Pantyr.					29
30			Enemy evac. Hermannstadt and		Zepp. raid Bukarest.		30
Sept			[Brasso				Sept
1			Rumanian victory at Orsova.		Allied fleet outside Athens.		1
3	British capture Guillemont.				Zepp. destroyed Cuffley.		3
4	French advance on Somme.			Surrender of Dar-es-Salaam.	British raid Mazar.		4
6		Russ. capt. Halics bridgehead	Fall of Tutrakan to Bulgaria.				6
9	British occupy Ginchy.		Enemy repulsed in Dobruja.				9
12	French capture Bouchavesnes.	Russ. carry Kapul Mountain			Austrian raid on Venice.		12
14			Italians capture San Grado.				14
15	British take Piers, Martinpuich.		Ital. victory east of Vallone.				15
16	British advance N. of High Wood.	Russ. victory N. of Halics	Allied advance in Macedonia.				16
17	British prog. nr. Mouquet Farm.		Franco-Russ. capt. Florina.	Brit. victory at Bir-el-Mazar.			17
20			Rum. 50 miles N.E. Brasso.		Allied blockade Greek coast.		20
22	British line on Somme advanced.				Seaplane attack on Dover.		22
23	Brit. advance E. of Courcelette.		Italians carry the Gardinal.		Two Zepps. brought down Essex.		23
24			British cross the Struma.		French raid on Essen.		24
25	British take Morval and Lesbœufs.		M. Veniselos leaves Athens.		Zepp. raid N.E. Counties.		25
26	Capture of Thiepval, Combles.		[claimed.				26
28	British gains N. and N.E. Courcelette.		M. Veniselos' Prov. Min. pro-				28
29			[Turm Pass.				29
Oct							Oct
1	British take Eaucourt l'Abbaye.		Rumanians retire through Roter		Zepp. destroyed at Potter's Bar.		1
4					Troopship Gallia torpedoed.		4
7	British take Le Sars.						7
8	100th Day Battle of Somme.		Enemy retake Brasso.				8
10	French take Bovent.		Rumanians retreat to Passes.				10
11			Allied ultimatum to Greece.		Greek Fleet surrend. Allies.		11
17			Ital. carry Tooth of Pasubio		Allied landing at Athens.		17
18	Allied Advance N. of the Somme.		Serbians take Brod.				18
19	British prog. Butte de Warlencourt.		Serbians occupy Velliselo.				19
21	Brit. capt. Stuff and Regina Redoubts.		Rumanians evacuate Tusla.				21
22	French carry Ridge 128.		Fall of Constantsa.		Aeroplane raid Sheerness.		22
23	Brit. advance E. of Gueudecourt.		Enemy take Predeal.		Aeroplane raid Margate.		23
24	French capt. Douaumont, Thiaumont.						24
25			Enemy occupy Cerna Voda.				25
26					Ger. raid Channel transports.		26
Nov							Nov
1	Germans evacuate Fort Vaux.		Italians advance on the Carso.		Italian naval raid on Pola.		1
2	French gain W. of Lancourt.		Italians take Faiti Hrib.		Russians bombard Constansa.		2
5	French take Vaux Village.						5
6	French adv. St. Pierre Vaast Wood.		Fierce fight Roter Turm Pass.		Arabia torpedoed.		6
7	French take Ablaincourt, Pressoir.		Allied advance in Dobruja.				7
10	British storm Regina Trench.		Serbians take Chuke heights.		Germans shell Baltic Port.		10
12	French recapture Sailliisel, Divion.		Serbians capture Iven.				12
13	Brit. take Beaumont-Hamel, St. Pierre						13
14	British take Beaucourt-sur-Ancre.		Serbians capture Tchegel.				14
17	British advance on the Ancre.						17
18	British outside Grandcourt.		Fall of Monastir.				18
21		Emperor of Austria dies.	Fall of Craiova.		Hospital ship Britannic sunk.		21
23			Orsova and Turnu Severin taken.		Raid by six Ger. destroyers		23
24			Allied ultimatum to Greece.		Hosp. ship Braemar Castle sunk.		24
26			Mackensen occupies Alexandria.		Naval raid on Lowestoft.		26
			Serbs capture Hill 1,050.				
27			Enemy takes Giurgevo.		Two Zepps. down East Coast.		27
28		Russian success Carpathians.			Naval raid on Zeebrugge.		28
					Daylight raid on London.		
29			Enemy captures Pitesti.		Admiral Beatty to com. Fleet		29
Dec							Dec
1			Allied troops land Athens.			Cabinet crisis.	1
5		Russ. carry Jablonica Pass.				Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd [George resign.	5
			Fall of Bukarest.			Mr. Ll. George to form Minist.	
6						Mr. Lloyd George Premier.	6
7		Russ. offensive in Carpathians.	Rumanian defeat Predeal Pass.				7
8					Allied blockade of Greece.		8
11			Enemy takes Urziceni.		Air raid on Zeebrugge.	New Ministry complete.	11
			Allied Note to Greece.				
12	Gen. Nivelle French Com.-in-Chief.		Contd. retreat of Rum. armies.				12
13		Fighting near Jablonica Pass.		Advance on Kut.			13
14			Rumanians evacuate Buzeu.		Brit. raid Kulell-Burgas bridge.		14
15	Great French victory at Verdun.		Greeks comply Allies' demands.	Further advance on Kut.	British raid on Baslovci.		15
16	French take Bézonvaux.		Enemy pursuit in Wallachia.				16
18	French retake Chambrettes Farm.		Enemy checked at Botogu.				18
20				Adv. to right bank of Tigris		Pres. Wilson's Peace Note.	20
21			New Note to Greece.	Capture of Et Arish.	Air raid on Bargela.		21
23				Capture of Magdhaba.		Swiss Peace Note.	23
24			Germans take Tultcha.				24
25	British line extended.		Germans take Filipesti.				25
26			Rimnic-Sarat taken.		Allied raid on Dillingen, etc.		26
27			Russ. retreat Moldavian front.		Brit. airmen destroy Chikaldir		27
30					[Bridge.		30
1917							1917
Jan							Jan
1	Sir Douglas Haig Field-Marshal.			Mgeta Valley lines stormed.	Ivernia sunk Mediterranean.		1
3			Enemy capt. Macin bridgehead.		Lord Cowdray Air Minister.		3
4		Russ. gain near Mt. Botosul.	Germans capture Braila.		Brit. raid Kulell-Burgas bridge.		4
5			Allied Conference in Rome.				5
7	British raid S. of Armentières.	Russian gain on Riga front.					7
8			Germans capture Focsani.				8
			New Allied Note to Greece.				
9		Russ. gain island in Dwina.		Sinai cleared of the Turk.	Cornwallis torpedoed.		9
11	British gain N.E. Beaumont-Hamel.		Greeks comply Allies' demands.		Seaplane carrier Ben-my-Chree	Allies reply Wilson Note.	11
12					[sunk	New War Loan issued.	12
15			Allied successes in Macedonia.				15
17	Canadian raid N.E. Cité Callonne.						17
22	Ger. attack at Verdun repulsed.		Bulgarians cross Danube.		Dest. actions North Sea and		22
23	British raid at Neuville.	Russians retreat W. of Riga.	Bulg. driven across Danube.		[Schouwen Bank.		23
24	French raids Somme & Woevre fronts.	German progress S.W. of Riga.		[Africa. Ger. surrender S. part G. E.			24
25	German attack Verdun repulsed.			British gain S.W. of Kut.	Suffolk coast shelled.		25
					Laurentic sunk.		
27	British gain near Le Transloy.						27
29	British raids Butte de Warlencourt	Allied Conference at Petrograd.					29
Feb	[Souches.						Feb
1		Russ. suc. Riga and Bukovina.			Intensified U-boat war starts.		1
3	British advance E. of Beaucourt.			Rupt. bet. U.S.A. and Germany.			3
4	British gain N.E. of Gueudecourt.			Senussi defeated near Suva.	Presid. Wilson's Note Neutrals.		4
7	British capture Grandcourt.						7
9					Transport Tyndareus mined off		9
					[Cape Agulhas.		

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1917	The Western Front.	The Eastern Front.	Other European Areas.	War Outside Europe.	War by Sea and Air.	Events at Home.	1917
Feb							Feb
10	Brit. raids nr. Vermelles & Ypres.			Liquorice factory, Kut, capt.			10
11	Brit. adv. towards Puisieux-au-Mont.	German repulse S. of Halicz.		Turks hemmed in W. of Kut.			11
15	German success in Champagne.	Russ. re-estab. line at Zloczow.		Dahra bend of Tigris cleared.			15
16						War Loan, £1,000,000,000.	16
17	British advance in Ancre Valley.	Russ. gain S.W. of Ocna.		British check at Sanna-i-Yat.	Zeppelin raid on Boulogne.		17
20	British thrust N.E. of Gueudecourt.						20
22				British success at Sanna-i-Yat	Dutch ships torpd. Falmouth.		22
23	British gain near Gueudecourt.			British cross Tigris Shumran [Bend.		Ll. George's speech on imports.	23
24	British enter Petit Miraumont.			Fall of Kut to British.			24
25	German retreat on the Ancre.				German destroyers raid Broad-		25
26	British occupy Le Barque.				[stairs and Margate.		26
27	British take Ligny.						27
28	British take Gommecourt.						28
Mar							Mar
1	German retreat N. of Miraumont.				Aeroplane raid on Broadstairs.		1
2	British advance beyond Warlencourt.			Russians retake Hamadan.			2
5	British progress S. of Bucquoy.			Turks abandon Shalal, Sinai.			5
8	Brit. line adv. either side of Ancre.			Brit. cross Tigris S. of Diala.	Death of Count Zeppelin.	Dardanelles Com. Report pub.	8
9	French success near Caurières Wood.	Food riots in Petrograd.		British force passage of Diala.	U.S.A. to arm merchantmen.		9
10	British take Irles.			British approaching Bagdad.			10
11		Riots Petrograd, many killed.		Fall of Bagdad.			11
12	British adv. on Bouchavesnes Ridge.	Revolution in Russia.	British advance Doiran front.				12
13	Germans abandon Bapaume Ridge.			Russians occupy Kermanshah.			13
15		Tsar abdicates.		China breaks with Germany.	Destroyer mined in Channel.		15
16	British occupy St. Pierre Vaast Wood.				Air raid on Kent.		16
17	British take Bapaume.			Russians occupy Kerind.	French destroy Zepp. L39.		17
18	Fall of Péronne, Noyon, Nesle, and [Chaulnes.			Russians take Harunabad.	Ramsgate shelled.		18
19	Ger. retreat; Fr. take Chauny & Ham.				Warship Danton torpedoed.		19
	M. Ribot forms new Fr. Government.				Hospital ship Asturias torp.	Imperial War Conference meets	21
21	French carry Jussy.						24
24	British occupy Roisel.						26
26	Further Allied advance.	Russian reverse Baranovitchi.	French gain W. of Monastir.				27
27	Progress between La Fére and Laon.			British victory near Gaza.	Two British destroyers lost.		29
29	British take Neuville-Bourjonval.						30
30	British take Fins, Heudicourt.				Hosp. ship Gloucester Castle		31
31	British take Herbecourt, Vendelles.			Gen. Maude at Deli Abbas.	[torpedoed		Apr
Apr				[Pass			1
1	British take Savy, Epéhy.			Gen. Baratoff through Paitak [on Diala			
2	British take Selency, Croissilles.			British and Russians in contact			2
3	French take Giffecourt, Cerizy.	Russ. reverse on the Stokhod.					3
4	French progress towards St. Quentin.			Russians occupy Khanikin.			4
5	Great air battles.			U. S. at war with Germany.	Air raid on Kent.		5
7	British two miles from St. Quentin.			Cuba declares war on Germany	2 Ger. dest. torp Zeebrugge.		7
9	Vimy Ridge carried.			Gen. Maude occupies Harbe.			9
				Brazil breaks with Germany.			
10	British take Louverval.				Hospital ship Salta mined.		10
11	British take Monchy-le-Preux.			Brit. def. Turks near Deltawa.			11
12	British storm Wancourt and Heninel.						12
	British take Gouzeaucourt.						
13	British take Bailleul, Vimy, Fayet, [Givenchy-en-Gohelle.						13
14	British take Liévin and Gricourt.				Allied reprisals raid Freiburg.		14
15					Arcadian and Cameronia torp.		15
16	Great French attack on the Aisne.						16
17	French take Auberive.			Turk defeat Wadi-Ghuzzeh.	Hosp. ships Donegal, Lanfranc		17
18	French progress on Aisne.				[torpedoed.		18
20	British take Gonnelieu.				Dests. Swift and Broke defeat		20
23	British take Gavrelle, Guémappe.			Samarra Station occupied.	[6 Ger. dests		23
25			British advance Doiran front.		Germans bombard Dunkirk.		25
26					Germans bombard Ramsgate.		26
28	Canadians take Arleux.						28
May							May
3	Canadians take Fresnoy.						3
4	French take Craonne.					Jellicoe Chief of Adm. War Staff	4
	[des Dames.						
5	Fr. win Craonne Ridge, with Chemin						5
8	Germans recapture Fresnoy.						8
10	French progress at Chevreux.				11 Ger. destroyers chased into		10
	[Cemetery.				[Zeebrugge by Com. Tyrwhitt.		
12	British take Cavalry Farm, Roeux				Zeebrugge bombarded by sea		12
					[and air.		
14	British take Roeux.		British progress Doiran front.		Zepp. L22 destroyed N. Sea.	Sir E. Geddes Con. Admiralty.	14
15	General Pétain French Com.-in-Chief.		Italian victories Plava area.		Austrian defeat in Adriatic.		15
16		Coalition Govt. in Russia.		Van Deventer C.-in-Ch. E. Afr.			16
17	British capture Bullecourt.				U.S. destroyers in Brit. waters.		17
18			Italians capture Hill 652.				18
23			Ital. adv. Kostanjevica to sea.		Zepp. raid in East Anglia.		23
			[to sea.				
24			Italian gains Lisert marshes		Brit. monitors shell Aust. lines		24
25			Ital. progress Southern Carso.		Aerop. raid on Folkestone.		25
26			Italians approach Medeazza.	Brazil annuls neutrality decree.	Hosp. ship Dover Castle torp.		26
27			Italians win San Giovanni.				27
28			Italian gain near Medeazza.			Allied War Conference.	28
June							June
2					Cameronian torpedoed.	Investiture in Hyde Park.	2
5					Aerop. raid Medway and Essex		5
					Destroyer fight in Channel.		
6	British gain on Greenland Hill.		M. Jonnart High Commissioner	Lord Northcliffe on Mission to			6
7	British capture Messines Ridge.		[in Greece.	[U.S.A.			7
8	Messines gains held.		Italians occupy Yanina.			Gen. Pershing arrives in London.	8
10			Italian victory in Trentino.				10
12	British occupy Gapaard.		French troops land Corinth.		Saliff captured by naval men.		12
			King Constantine abdicates.				
13			Allied troops land Piræus.		Aeroplane raid on London.		13
14	British storm Infantry Hill.				Zepp. L43 destroyed North Sea		14
15					Liner Addah torpedoed.	Lord Rhondda Food Controller.	15
16	British progress N.W. of Bullecourt.		Ital. capt. Cormo Cavento.				16
			Brit. evac. left bank Struma.				
17					Zepp. raid E. Anglia and Kent.		17
23	Fighting N. of the Aisne.				Mongolia mined off Bombay.		23
24	French gain E. of Vauxaillon.						24
25	American troops in France.		M. Venizelos returns Athens.				25
26	British occupy La Coulotte.				British air raid on Tekrit.		26
27			M. Venizelos forms a Cabinet.		Allies bombard Ostend.		27
					French cruiser Kléber mined.		
29				Gen. Allenby in com. Palestine.			29
30	British advance S.W. and W. of Lens.		Ital. evacuate Agnella Pass.	Germans driven back Nyasa-			30
July				[land Border.			July
1	Ger. attack French E. of Cerny.	Russ. offensive in East Galicia.					1
2	Ger. defeats Cerny and Verdun.	Russ. prog. around Brzezany.			Brit. air raid Bruges Docks.		2
3	Ger. offens. Jouy to Craonne defeated.	Further Russian attack on					3
4	Slight Brit. adv. near Hollebeke.	[Brzezany.			Air raid on Harwich.		4
5	Slight Brit. adv. S.W. of Hollebeke.	Fighting on Brzezany front.					5
6	French gain Moronvillers Ridge.	Russian attack spreading to					6
		[Stanislau.					
7	British adv. E. of Wytschaete.	[broken.			Great aeropl. raid on London.		7
8	German attacks Aisne repulsed.	Enemy line W. of Stanislau					8
9	British adv. E. of Oosttaverne.	Russians take Wiktorow.					9
10	German success Yser River.	Russians take Halicz.					10
11		Russians take Kalusz.		British success on Euphrates.			11
12		Russians cross the Lomnica.				Mesopotamia Debate Parliament.	12
13		Russ. progress Kalusz.					13
14	Bethmann-Hollweg resigns.			Brit. raid Turk. lines, Gaza.			14
	Ger. attack on Chemin des Dames.						
15	German attack Mont Haut defeated.	Political crisis, Russia.	Italian raid near Versic.				15
16		Russian retreat from Lomnica.			Brit. capture 6 Ger. steamers.	[Windsor.	16
17	French win back position Hill 304.	Disorders in Petrograd.		British gain Narongombe, Ger.		Royal House takes name of	17
18	Ger. att. Verdun, St. Quentin, def.	Petrograd revolt crushed.		[East Africa.			18
19	Ger. attack S. of Lombartzyde.	Russ. troops defection, Galicia.					19
20		M. Kerensky Premier.		British raid S.W. Gaza.		[Michaelis.	20
21		Russ. retreat on the Sereth.			Otway torpedoed and sunk.	Lloyd George replies to Herr	21
22	Ger. attack Chemin des Dames Ridge.	Russian retreat extending.			Air raid Harwich and Felix-		22
23		Fall of Halicz to enemy.	Russo-Ruman. success Moldavia.		[stowe.		23
24	French gain around Craonne.	Fall of Stanislau and Tarnopol					24
		[to enemy.					
25	Artilly. Battle in Flanders increasing.	Russians evacuate Buczacz.					25
26	Allied Conference Paris closes.	Fall of Kolomea to enemy.					26
27	Germans recapture La Basse Ville.		Rumanian Advance.		British capture Batavier II.		27
28		Enemy reach Russ. frontier.	Continued Rumanian success.				28
29	Fury of Artill. batt. Flanders growing.	Ger. across River Zbrucz.					29
30					Ariadne torpedoed and sunk.		30
31	Great Allied Offens. around Ypres.	Russian retreat in Bukovina.					31
Aug		[sarabia.					Aug
1	Brit. withdraw from St. Julien.	Enemy gains footing in Bes-					1
2	Ger. attacks N.E. Ypres repulsed.	General Brussiloff resigns.					2
3	British recapture St. Julien.	Fall of Czernovitz to Austria.		Battle at Lindi, Ger. E. Africa.			3

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